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THE HISTORY Edward OF Dowsett ENGLAND.

Written in FRENCH by

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Tranſlated into ENGLISH, with Additional Notes, by

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and MONUMENTS of the KINGS.

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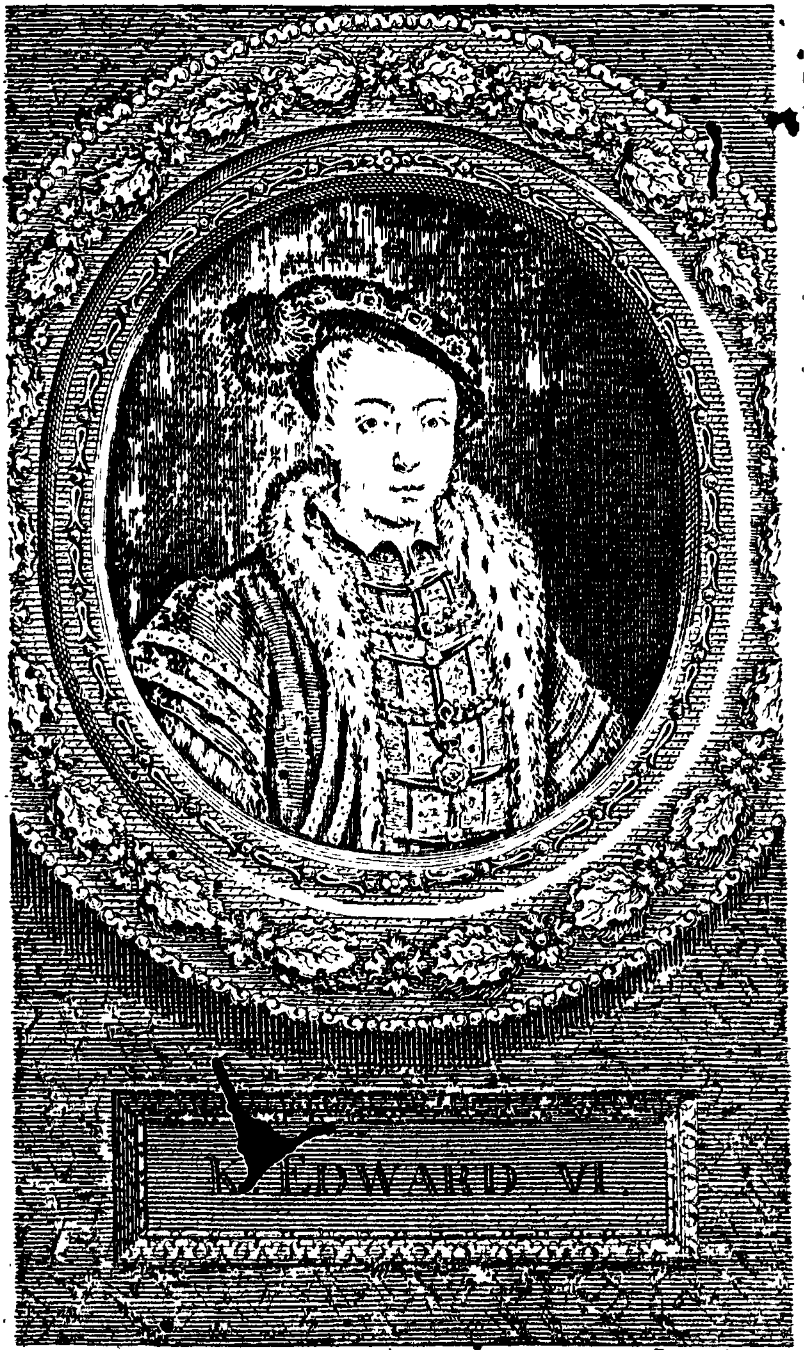

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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XVI.

The Reigns of EDWARD VI. *and Queen* MARY; *containing the Space of about Twelve Years.*

21. EDWARD VI.

1547.

EDWARD VI.

EDWARD VI. only ſon and ſucceſſor to Henry VIII. was nine years and three months old when he aſcended the throne by the death of the king his father. His majority was fixed to the eighteenth year of his age, by the late king's will, but he died before he came to it, after a ſhort reign of ſix years and five months. The hiſtory therefore of theſe ſix years, as may be eaſily judged, will not be ſo much the hiſtory of the king himſelf, as of his governors and miniſters. There was reaſon to hope extraordinary things from this young prince, had it pleaſed God to bleſs him with a longer life. He had an excellent memory, a wonderful ſolidity of mind, and withal, he was laborious, ſparing no pains to qualify himſelf for the well-governing of his kingdom. At eight years of age, he wrote Latin letters to his father. French was as familiar to him as Engliſh. He

His diſpoſition and good qualities.
Hayward.
Burnet.
Strype's Mem.

learnt alſo Greek, Spaniſh, and Italian. After that, he applied himſelf to the liberal ſciences, wherein he made an aſtoniſhing progreſs[a]. Cardan, who ſaw him in his fifteenth year, ſpeaks of him as of the wonder of the age. The teſtimony of this [Italian] philoſopher was the leſs ſuſpicious, as it was after the young prince's death that he publiſhed his praiſes, and in Italy, where his memory was odious.

He is informed of his father's death. Edw. Jour. Strype. Hayward. Burnet.

As ſoon as Henry VIII. had reſigned his laſt breath, the earl of Hertford, and ſir Anthony Brown, were ſent by the council to give young Edward notice of it, and to bring him to London. He was then with his ſiſter the princeſs Elizabeth at Hertford, from whence the deputies conducted him to Enfield. Here they inform him of the king's death, and pay their reſpects to him, as to their ſovereign. After that, they attended him to the Tower of London, where he was received by the council in a body, and proclaimed king the ſame day, the 31ſt of January 1547.

King Henry's will is opened. Burnet.

On the morrow, the council met to ſettle the form of government during the king's minority. There was not much to be debated. The parliament had empowered the late king, not only to ſettle the ſucceſſion by his will, but alſo to appoint what form of government he ſhould think moſt proper, till his ſucceſſor was capable of holding the reins himſelf. All therefore that was to be done, was to open his will and obey the contents. There it appeared, that Henry had nominated ſixteen perſons to be his executors, regents of the kingdom, and governors to his ſon. Theſe were:

Thomas Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury.
The lord Wriotheſley, lord-chancellor.
The lord St. John, maſter of the houſhold.
The lord Ruſſell, lord privy-ſeal.
The earl of Hertford, lord-chamberlain.
The viſcount Liſle, lord-admiral.
Cuthbert Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham.
Sir Anthony Brown, maſter of the horſe.
Sir William Paget, ſecretary of ſtate.
Sir Edward North, [illegible]ancellor of the court of augmentations.

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[a] He continued under the care of the women till he was ſix years old; and then he was put under the government of ſir Anthony Cook; of Dr. Richard Cox, maſter of Eaton ſchool, who was his preceptor for manners, philoſophy, and divinity; and of ſir John Cheeke, profeſſor of the Greek tongue in Cambridge, who was his maſter for the Latin and Greek languages; as John Belmain was for the French. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 2. Strype's Mem. tom. ii. p. 8, 9.

Sir Edward Montague, lord chief-juſtice of the common-pleas.
Judge Bromley.
Sir Anthony Denny, } chief gentlemen of the privy-chamber.
Sir William Herbert, }
Sir Edward Wotton, treaſurer of Calais.
Doctor Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York.

As for Stephen Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, I have obſerved in the late reign, that though he was at firſt among the regents, his name was ſtruck out.

The regents power by the will.

The king empowered theſe ſixteen, or the major part of them, to execute his will, and to adminiſter the affairs of the kingdom, as they ſhould judge fit. Upon this general clauſe, which gave the regents an unlimited power, were afterwards built many alterations, which ſeemed contrary to what Henry had ordained. He gave them however no power to ſubſtitute others in the room of ſuch as ſhould die, but it rather appeared, his intention was that the vacancies ſhould not be filled up. This conſequence was naturally drawn from his commanding the princeſſes his daughters, not to marry without the written conſent of thoſe of the executors who ſhould then be alive. It might alſo be inferred from thence, that he intended none of the regents ſhould be deprived of their dignity.

Burnet.

Beſides the ſixteen who were to exerciſe the ſovereign authority during the king's minority, Henry appointed a privy-council who ſhould be aſſiſting to them, namely:

Burnet.

Henry Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel.
William Parr, earl of Eſſex.
Sir William Petre, ſecretary of ſtate.
Sir Richard Rich.
Sir John Baker.
Sir Ralph Sadler.
Sir Thomas Seymour.
Sir Richard Southwell.
Sir Edmund Peckham.
Sir Thomas Cheney, treaſurer of [illegible]e houſhold.
Sir John Gage, controller.
Sir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain.

The late king's will being thus known, the council reſolved to execute it in all its points, and that very day the regents, as well as the counſellors, entered upon their offices. I have already ſaid, the hiſtory of this reign relates more to his governors than to Edward himſelf; and therefore it will be neceſſary to give the characters of ſuch of the regents and counſellors as had the greateſt ſhare in the affairs of thoſe days.

Characters of ſome of the regents and counſellors.

Of Cranmer.

The character of Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury is ſufficiently known by what has been ſaid of him in the foregoing reign. I ſhall only add two things. The firſt, that he did not much love to meddle with ſtate affairs, for which he was not very proper, by reaſon of certain maxims of candor and ſincerity, which he followed, and which were very oppoſite to thoſe generally obſerved in the government of ſtates. The ſecond thing concerning Cranmer is, that he was extremely zealous to promote the reformation. Since he was no longer reſtrained by ſuch a maſter as Henry, he was ſo far from concealing his opinions, that he even laboured with all his power to eſtabliſh them by publick authority. He was as the firſt mover of whatever was done with regard to the reformation. But his zeal was tempered with a maxim which he believed abſolutely neceſſary, namely, to proceed by degrees, and retrench firſt the groſs abuſes, that the people might be gradually accuſtomed to the changes, before the tenets of greater conſequences were touched. Beſides that this courſe ſeemed to him the moſt natural, he went upon another reaſon no leſs important, and which it will be proper to explain.

Burnet.

It has been ſeen in the late reign, that Henry VIII. left not his ſubjects free to approve or reject the alterations he had been pleaſed to make in religion. There was an abſolute neceſſity of conforming to them, or of reſolving to part with eſtate, liberty, and life itſelf. Hence the church of England abounded with multitudes, who outwardly embracing the eſtabliſhed opinions, were not however inwardly perſuaded of their truth. This was the caſe of ſeveral biſhops, and many dignified clergymen. But it was the inferior clergy that were chiefly infected with this hypocriſy. Moſt of theſe were no other than monks for whom the court of Augmentations, and the poſſeſſors of the Abbey-lands had procured benefices, to eaſe themſelves of the burden of maintaining them, to which they were obliged when the monaſteries were ſuppreſſed. Theſe men were ſtill wedded to the errors that were intended to be reformed. Cranmer thought it neceſſary therefore to gain a little time, in order to change the clergy, by filling the vacant livings with perſons well inclined to the reformation. Herein he met with great oppoſition from the zealous, who wiſhed to bring the reformation to perfection at once, without attending to this worldly wiſdom, which they believed little agreeable to the ſpirit of true religion.

Of chancellor Wriotheſley. Hayward.

The lord-chancellor Wriotheſley was of a quite contrary character to that of Cranmer, and moreover his religious opinions were entirely repugnant to the reformation. He was extremely ambitious, very conceited of his own merit, haughty, imperious, and very angry that his advice was not always followed. This made him extremely troubleſome in the council, where no one could oppoſe his opinion without being liable to be treated with ſharp and offenſive language. But he ſhewed his heat and paſſion chiefly on occaſion of religious matters. Though he had outwardly complied with the late king's innovations, he was however firmly attached to the Romiſh religion. Of this he had given evident proofs in the affair of Ann Aſkew, in his project to ruin the queen, and on many other occaſions. Wherefore ſuch of the regents as deſired to promote the reformation, were to expect from him perpetual oppoſition. Since the duke of Norfolk's impriſonment, the chancellor was conſidered as the head of the Romiſh party. Accordingly, he looked upon the reformers and Cranmer in particular as his enemies; as on their part, they could not without extreme grief ſee him in a poſt which enabled him to countermine their deſigns. Happily for them, their party was ſtrongeſt among the regents and in the council.

Of the earl of Hertford. Burnet. Dugdale. Heylin.

Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, was of a noble and ancient family which came from Normandy with William the Conqueror. Henry VIII. having married Jane Seymour after the tragical death of Ann Bullen, ſir Edward Seymour brother to the new queen was preſently after created lord Seymour and viſcount Beauchamp, and then earl of Hertford. From that time he had always an honourable poſt at court, as well during the queen his ſiſter's life as after her death. Henry VIII. always expreſſed a great eſteem for him, and employed him in ſeveral military expeditions, which he diſcharged in ſuch a manner as increaſed his maſter's regard and affection. He was humble, affable, civil, courteous, and guided in all the tranſactions of his life by the principles of honour, virtue, and religion, which are ſeldom found in the men of the world. In a word, he had many noble qualities, and few faults. Among theſe is reckoned by ſome an immoderate ambition. But very likely, this ambition was rather an effect of his zeal for religion than a natural failing, as will hereafter appear. It is ſaid alſo, he had no very able head, and therefore was deemed more proper to execute than adviſe.

In the late reign he adapted himſelf to the king's religion, becauſe it was very dangerous to oppoſe it. He was not the only perſon that took that courſe. To this reproach all the Engliſh are liable, who lived in that reign, excepting ſome few of both parties who ſuffered death for reſiſting the will of that imperious monarch. However, the earl of Hertford was inwardly a proteſtant, and conſequently a great friend of Cranmer. This drew upon him the hatred of the contrary party, and particularly of the chancellor, who had already attempted to deſtroy him. He always ſhewed a very great zeal for the reformation, and to him and Cranmer is properly due the glory of all that was done in favour of religion during the reign of Edward VI. At king Henry's death he was lord-chamberlain. He was one of the regents named in that prince's will, and, what ſtill increaſed his power, he was uncle to the new king.

Of Dudley, viſcount Liſle.
Hayward.

John Dudley viſcount Liſle, was ſon of Edmund Dudley, put to death in the beginning of Henry the Eighth's reign, for having been Henry VII's inſtrument in his oppreſſions of the people. Henry VIII. feeling ſome remorſe for Dudley's death, was pleaſed, and perhaps thought himſelf bound, to make his ſon a ſort of reparation by creating him lord Dudley, and afterwards viſcount Liſle. So the father's downfal proved the ſon's riſe. After Henry VIII. had given him a place in his favour, he made a conſiderable figure at court. He was honoured with ſeveral employments, and always behaved to the king's ſatisfaction. He ſignalized himſelf chiefly in the wars by his bravery and conduct. He ſerved twice as lieutenant-general under the earl of Hertford, in Scotland and Picardy, and had the honour of having a great part of the ſucceſs aſcribed to him, though he commanded not in chief. Afterwards, being governor of Boulogne, he repulſed by a vigorous ſally from the upper town the French, who were now maſters of the lower. The next year he commanded, as admiral, the fleet deſigned againſt France, and after the French had refuſed to fight, made a deſcent upon the coaſt of France, and carried away a great booty. In a word, he was conſidered as one of the beſt generals then in England. In all probability, had Henry VIII. lived any longer, he would have puſhed his fortune farther, ſince with the qualifications of a ſoldier, he had alſo thoſe of a good courtier. But on the other hand, for his morals, he had nothing worthy of commendation. He was exceſſively addicted to his pleaſures, and even ran ſometimes into ſhameful debaucheries. Beſides, he was not very ſcrupulous with regard to honour and virtue. As his ambition was boundleſs, he did not ſtick to uſe any means to accompliſh his ends. It may eaſily be judged that a man of this character had not the concerns of religion much at heart. As long as Henry VIII. was alive, he kept within the bounds preſcribed by that prince. Afterwards, in the reign of Edward VI. he openly declared for the reformation, becauſe it was then the only way to pleaſe the king, and advance his fortune. Nevertheleſs, he muſt have ſhown, when among the Romiſh party, that he was not their enemy, ſince the court of France believed him very far from being a proteſtant. This is at leaſt what Thuanus affirms in his hiſtory. Hence it may be preſumed, he conſidered religion only as a means to raiſe himſelf, and had made it a rule to follow that which was moſt in vogue. Wherefore how zealous ſoever he appeared for the reformation, he was never looked upon as one of its protectors, becauſe he was thought to act only out of policy. The figure this lord made during the reign of Edward VI. obliged me to dwell the longer upon his character.

Of Tonſtal. Burnet.

Cuthbert Tonſtal biſhop of Durham, was reckoned a perſon of great abilities. He had been employed by Henry VIII. in ſeveral embaſſies, commiſſions, and negotiations, and at length promoted to the ſee of London, and afterwards to that of Durham, the richeſt and moſt conſiderable in the kingdom, by reaſon of the dignity of Palatine annexed to it. As long as Henry VIII. lived, Tonſtal conformed like the reſt to the religion of the ſovereign, but it was perceived he was very ſorry to ſee the religion he had profeſſed from his youth change by degrees. He would have gladly conſented to the reforming of ſome of the moſt notorious abuſes; but was of opinion the king went too far. Mean while, for fear of incurring the royal diſpleaſure, he ſubmitted to what was enjoined. He was however conſidered as one of the chief favourers of the old religion, and ſo much the more formidable to the reformers, as he was able and learned. Nevertheleſs Cranmer had a friendſhip for him, on account of his mild and peaceable temper, which afforded hopes of his being reclaimed.

Of Paget.

Sir William Paget ſecretary of ſtate [b] was a very able politician, and for religion was of the principles of the reformers. By which means he had contracted a ſtrict friendſhip with Cranmer and the earl of Hertford.

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[b] In 23 Henry VIII. he was made one of the clerks of the ſignet; and in the 32d, clerk of the council, and of the privy-ſeal; and ſoon after clerk of the parliament for life; and in the 34th of the ſame king, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 390.

It will be entirely needleſs to ſpeak of the lord St. John, the lord Ruſſel, or the reſt of the regents, becauſe they were wholly guided by the others. But it will be neceſſary to mention ſome of the members of the privy-council, who were to aſſiſt the regents.

Of the earl of Arundel.

The earl of Arundel, a lord of an antient family, was not very well pleaſed to be only among the counſellors, whilſt ſeveral who were his inferiors were inveſted with the dignity of regents. On the other hand, he was not inclined to the reformation. Theſe two reaſons were the cauſe, that he willingly entered into all the intrigues tending to produce any change, either in religion or the government of the ſtate. But he had the misfortune always to labour for others.

Of the earl of Eſſex.

William Parr earl of Eſſex, brother to the queen-dowager, was a perſon of ſlender merit. He made however ſome figure in this reign, and was often employed, becauſe he had the addreſs to be attached to the prevailing party.

Of Petre.

Sir William Petre, ſecretary of ſtate, was expert in the diſcharge of his office. He was become almoſt neceſſary, and therefore had a great ſhare in the moſt ſecret tranſactions of the court [c].

Of Rich.

Sir Richard Rich, a lawyer by profeſſion, was a good courtier; who by his pliant temper found means to become lord-chancellor [d].

Of ſir Thomas Seymour.

Sir Thomas Seymour the king's uncle, and younger brother to the earl of Hertford, thought himſelf unhappy in being only a counſellor, whilſt the king had made his brother a regent. He imagined, his being uncle to the king ſhould have procured him more honour. He had a boundleſs ambition, joined to a high conceit of himſelf. Wherefore the rank given him by the late king in his will, not being capable of ſatisfying him, he had a mind to mount higher, which occaſioned his downfal, as will hereafter appear.

The election of a protector is moved. Feb. 1. Hayward. Burnet.

The form of the government was no ſooner ſettled according to Henry's laſt will, but a change was propoſed. Some of the regents obſerved, it could not but be very troubleſome for the people, and particularly for foreign miniſters, to be forced to apply to ſixteen perſons of equal authority, and moved that one ſhould be choſen to be head and preſident, with the title of protector. They added, that by this means affairs would be more ſpeedily diſpatched, and yet nothing changed in the eſtabliſhed form of government, becauſe the perſon to be raiſed to that dignity ſhould do nothing without the conſent of the major part of the reſt.

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[c] This gentleman was born at Exeter, and was ſon of John Petre of Torbigan in Devonſhire. He had his education at Exeter-college in Oxford, where he commenced doctor of law. In the year 1534, he was appointed one of the commiſſioners for diſſolving the monaſteries; and in 1544, was made ſecretary of ſtate; and in 1549, treaſurer of the court of firſt-fruits for life. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 415.

[d] He was grandſon of Richard Rich, an opulent mercer in London, who was ſheriff of that city in 1441. Idem. p. 387.

The lord chancellor oppoſes it in vain.

The lord chancellor Wriotheſley eaſily perceived this motion was made to his prejudice. As by his office, he was next to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who did not much follow ſecular affairs, he was in hopes of becoming the head of the regency. But he ſaw plainly, if a protector were elected, the choice would not fall on him, but this dignity would be conferred on the earl of Hertford, the king's uncle, who was not his friend. Wherefore he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, declaring, the regents had no power to depart from the late king's will, authorized by act of parliament. But matters were ſo well laid beforehand, that, notwithſtanding his oppoſition, it was reſolved that one ſhould be raiſed over the reſt, and called, 'the protector of the king's realm, and the governor of his perſon.' However, it was with the expreſs condition, that he ſhould do nothing without the conſent of the other regents. Then the choice fell, as it was eaſy to foreſee, upon the earl of Hertford, who probably had cauſed this motion to be made by his friends.

Burnet. Stow. Ed. Jour. Strype.

The earl of Hertford is choſen.

Reaſons for and againſt the election of a protector.

Indeed it was very natural to chuſe for protector the king's uncle, and the perſon of the whole kingdom the moſt concerned for his preſervation. However it was thought by many, the regents had made a falſe ſtep in the beginning of their adminiſtration, for the reaſon alledged by the lord chancellor. It might indeed be ſaid in their excuſe, firſt, that they had given no particular authority to the protector, and conſequently the form of government eſtabliſhed by the late king was not altered. Secondly, that the will empowering the regents,' or the major part of them to adminiſter the young king's affairs as they ſhould judge proper,' whatever was reſolved upon by a plurality of voices was deemed agreeable to the late king's will.

New dignities conferred.

Hayward. Burnet. Heylin. Stow.

Whilſt all things neceſſary for Henry VIII's funeral, and the new king's coronation were preparing, the regents were intent upon an affair which concerned them in particular, or at leaſt the principal of them. Henry had reſolved, before he died, to confer new honours on ſeveral of the regents and counſellors. He had even ſettled the revenues or penſions he deſigned to give theſe new lords, to enable them to ſupport their dignities. But, as ſome had refuſed them be-

cauſe

Edw. VI. 1547.

cauſe they thought theſe penſions too ſmall, the affair had been ſuſpended, both by reaſon of this objection, and of the king's ſickneſs and death. However, he had ordered in his will, that whatever he had promiſed ſhould be made good. This was ſufficient to put the regents upon performing the engagement, eſpecially as the benefit was chiefly to redound to themſelves. But as the late king's intentions and promiſes appeared not in writing, recourſe was to be had to the teſtimony of thoſe to whom he had opened his mind, who depoſed what they had heard from his mouth. Upon their

Feb. 15. & 16. Dugdale.

teſtimony therefore, the earl of Hertford was made duke of Somerſet; the earl of Eſſex, marquis of Northampton; viſcount Liſle, earl of Warwick; the lord chancellor Wriotheſley, earl of Southampton; Sir Thomas Seymour, lord Sudley; Rich, Willoughby, and Sheffield [e], had the title of barons, with the names of their families [f].

Alienation of the chantry-lands. Burnet.

As Henry VIII. had not left his coffers full, expedients were to be deviſed to find the revenues and penſions aſſigned to the new lords. No better was found than to alienate five or ſix thouſand pounds a year of the chantry-lands. Theſe promotions, with the revenues annexed, were not univerſally approved, becauſe they were all in favour of the regents themſelves or the counſellors. Many thought theſe lords ſhowed too much avidity at the beginning of their regency, and that they ought to have ſtaid till the king was of age. The protector eſpecially was liable to much envy, by procuring for himſelf the two great offices of lord-treaſurer and earl-marſhal, vacant by the attainder of the duke of Norfolk. The firſt was conferred on him the 10th of February, and the other the 17th of the ſame month [g].

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[e] Sir William Willoughby was created lord Willoughby of Parham, and ſir Edmund Sheffield lord Sheffield of Butterwike. Hayward, p. 275.

[f] Sir Edward Paget, ſir Anthony Denny, and ſir William Herbert, being required to declare what they knew of the king's mind; Paget, whom he had moſt truſted, declared, That when the evidence appeared againſt the duke of Norfolk and his ſon, the king intended to beſtow their lands among ſome new peers he deſigned to create. Then he ordered him to write in a book ſuch as he thought meeteſt. Which done, the king aſſigned to each ſuch a portion of lands out of the duke of Norfolk's eſtate, as he thought fit. Paget told him it was too little, and king ordered to acquaint thoſe with it who were to be advanced, many thought ſo too, and deſired to remain as they were. The duke of Norfolk hearing of this, and fearing if his lands were thus divided, they would never return to his family, ſent to deſire the king that he would be pleaſed to ſettle all his lands on the prince, for, ſaid he, according to the phraſe of thoſe days, They are good and ſtately geer. Whereupon the king reſolved to reward his ſervants ſome other way, ſo ordered the book to be thus filled up. The earl of Hertford to be earl-marſhal and lord-treaſurer, and to be duke of Somerſet, Exeter, or Hertford, and his ſon to be earl of Wiltſhire, with 800l. a year in land, and 300l. a year out of the next biſhop's lands that fell. The earl of Eſſex to be marquis of Eſſex, and ſo on, with yearly revenues to them. And the king having promiſed to give the earl of Hertford ſix of the beſt prebends that ſhould fall in any cathedral, except deanries and treaſurerſhips; at his deſire the king agreed that a deanry and a treaſurerſhip ſhould be inſtead of two of the ſix prebendaries. All this Denny and Herbert confirmed, for they then waited in his chamber; and when Paget went out, the king made Denny read over the book, and Herbert obſerving the ſecretary had remembered all but himſelf, the king bid Denny to write 400l. a year for him. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 6; 7.

The protector made lord-treaſurer and earl-marſhal.

Act. Pub., xv. p. 124, 130.

The ſame day his laſt patent was diſpatched, his brother Thomas Seymour, created baron of Sudley, was made high-admiral of England [h]. Thus, about a fortnight after Henry's death, the Seymour family was raiſed to ſuch greatneſs, that it was hardly poſſible to make any addition to it. Happy, had they been contented! But we ſhall ſee hereafter, that, by endeavouring to riſe ſtill higher, the two brothers fell into an abys of misfortunes, which might have been avoided by a ſmall ſhare of moderation.

Thomas Seymour is made high-admiral.

Ib. p. 127.
Edw. Journ.

Henry the Eighth's funeral obſequies were performed with great pomp and magnificence at Windſor [i]. He had himſelf ordered his body to be there interred. The day before, his corpſe was brought to Richmond [k], and as the motion cauſed ſome watry matter to run through the coffin, it was reported to be blood, and that a dog licked it up. This was ſaid with deſign, to verify the frier's prediction, who told Henry in a ſermon, that the dogs ſhould lick his blood as they had formerly licked Ahab's. But beſides that ſeveral affirmed, it was not blood which ran from the coffin, the report that a dog licked it up was entirely groundleſs.

Henry VIII's funeral.

Hayward.
Burnet.
Strype.

The ceremony being over, Edward's coronation was ſolemnized the 20th of February, with the uſual formalities [l]. The lord Ruſſel acted as high-ſteward, by virtue of a patent which empowered him to exerciſe that office for that day only. Henry Grey, marquis of Dorſet, had acted the day before as high-conſtable, by virtue of a like patent, which limited the exerciſe of his office to the 19th of February, the

Edward VI. is crowned.

Act. Pub. xv. p. 129, 130.
Edw. Journ.
Strype.

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[g] On the 6th of February the lord protector knighted the king, being authorized thereto by letters patents. So it ſeems, that as the laws of chivalry required that the king ſhould receive knighthood from the hand of ſome other knight; ſo it was judged too great a preſumption for his own ſubjects to give it, without a warrant under the great ſeal. The king at the ſame time knighted ſir John Heblethorn, the lord mayor of London, and William Portman, one of the judges of the king's-bench. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 8. Strype, p. 15.

[h] Ireland, Calais, Boulogne, and the marches. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 127.

[i] On February 16. Strype's Mem. tom. ii. p. 11; and Repoſit. p. 15.

[k] To Sion, where they lay the firſt night. Strype's Repoſ. p. 12.

[l] There were forty knights of the bath made on this occaſion, and fifty-five knights of the carpet, whoſe names ſee in Strype's Mem. tom. ii. p. 23. and Repoſ. p. 30.

day preceding the coronation, from ſun-riſing to ſun-ſetting. Probably, the office of high-conſtable was neceſſary only for certain preparatives, ſince it was to end before the ceremony of the coronation [m].

A general pardon. Hayward.

On the coronation-day a general pardon was granted to all perſons, excepting the duke of Norfolk, cardinal Pole, Edward Courtney, eldeſt ſon of the marquis of Exeter, and three others [n].

The chancellor's diſgrace. Hayward, Burnet.

Burnet, tom. ii. Col. p. 96.

Feb. 28.

March 6.

I have before obſerved, that the lord chancellor Wriotheſley the new earl of Southampton was ambitious, proud, and haughty, very troubleſome in the council, and moreover, a great enemy to the reformation and the reformed. All theſe reaſons made the protector and moſt of the regents wiſh to be rid of him. They were ſo happy, as that he himſelf afforded them a plauſible pretence. Reſolving to apply himſelf chiefly to ſtate-affairs, he had on the 18th of February put the great ſeal to a commiſſion directed to the maſter of the rolls and three maſters of chancery [o], empowering them to execute the lord chancellor's office in the court of chancery, in as ample a manner as if he himſelf were preſent. This being done by his own authority, without any warrant from the lord protector and the other regents, his enemies failed not to improve this occaſion to ruin him. Complaint of what he had done being brought before the council, it was ordered, that the judges ſhould give their opinions in writing. Their anſwer was, That the chancellor being only entruſted with his office, could not commit the exerciſe thereof to others, without the conſent of the king or the regency: That by ſo doing he had by the common law forfeited his place, and was liable to fine and impriſonment at the king's pleaſure. This anſwer being communicated to him in full council, he fell into a great paſſion with the judges, and even talked very haughtily to the regents, the council, and the protector. He told this laſt in particular, that he held his chancellorſhip by an undoubted authority, ſince he held it of the king himſelf, whereas it was a great queſtion whether he himſelf was lawfully protector. But this haughtineſs, inſtead of compoſing his affair, only ſerved to render it worſe. His ſubmiſſion might have leſſened his puniſhment, but by his paſſion and heat he gave the council occaſion to treat him with the utmoſt ſeverity. He was immediately confined to his houſe, with a command not to ſtir till further orders. Then it was debated what his puniſhment ſhould be. It was not doubted that he might be deprived of the chancellorſhip. But as to the regency, the point was not ſo clear, becauſe it was uncertain whether the late king had placed him among the regents as chancellor, or as a private perſon, like ſeveral others who were in no office. For this reaſon it was not thought proper to turn him out of the regency; but to render it uſeleſs to him, he was left under an arreſt, and the great ſeal taken from him, and given to ſir William Pawlet lord St. John, till another chancellor ſhould be appointed. So the earl of Southampton continued in his confinement till the 29th of June [p], when he was diſcharged of his impriſonment, upon entering into a recognizance of four thouſand pounds, to pay what fine they ſhould impoſe on him.

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[m] There was a new form drawn for the coronation of this king, which the curious reader may ſee in Burnet, tom. ii. Collect. p. 93, &c.

[n] Dr. Richard Pates, Mr. Forteſcue, and Mr. Throgmorton. Hayward, p. 276.

[o] To ſir Robert Southwell, maſter of the rolls, John Tregonwell, Eſq; and John Olyver, and Anthony Bellaſis, clerks, maſters in chancery. See the commiſſion itſelf in Burnet, ibid. p. 96.

Hayward.

The protector's ambition.

Burnet.

After the protector was freed from this troubleſome enemy, he thought only of ingroſſing the ſole management of affairs, and to be protector indeed, whereas hitherto it was but an empty title without any peculiar authority. To attain his ends, he repreſented to the regents and council, that ſeveral perſons doubted whether they could by their ſole authority name a protector: that the French ambaſſador in particular had inſinuated a diſtruſt, that he could not ſafely treat with him, without knowing firſt whether he was duly authorized, ſince his title might be conteſted for want of authority in thoſe who had conferred it. Upon this foundation, he deſired [q] that he might be allowed to prepare letters patents under the great ſeal, eſtabliſhing him protector of the realm, and governor of the king. His requeſt appearing reaſonable, it was granted, and probably he was left to draw the patent, wherein it is very likely he uſed ſome deceit. What gives occaſion for this ſuſpicion is, that the patent aſſigned him prerogatives unthought of by the regents, when they made him protector. There was no mention of the condition upon which he had been choſen. On the contrary, the king gave him full authority to do every thing as he in his wiſdom ſhould think for the honour, good, and proſperity of his perſon and realms. Moreover, he appointed him a council, giving him power, with ſo many of them as he ſhould think proper, to annul and change what they thought fitting; re-

The king nominates the protector by patent.

Act. Pub. xv. p. 174.

Burnet.

Remarks on the patent.

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[p] Rapin by miſtake ſays July. See Burnet, tom. ii. p. 17.

[q] By a petition on March 13. Ibid.

The other regents become mere counſellors to the protector.

ſtraining the council to act only by the protector's advice and conſent. It is true, this council conſiſted of the ſame perſons which before compoſed the regency and council, except the earl of Southampton. But whereas fifteen of them were before regents of the kingdom, executors of Henry's will, and governors to the young king, they were now become by this patent only mere counſellors to the protector, each according to the rank his office or birth gave him, without the protector's being obliged to follow their advice.

Remarks on the protector's proceedings.

Very likely, as I ſaid, the protector uſed ſome fraud on this occaſion. And, indeed, it is by no means probable, the other regents ſhould ſo lightly conſent to be deprived of all their authority. Nay, we ſhall ſee hereafter an evident proof that they had no ſuch intention. Thoſe hiſtorians who have endeavoured to vindicate all the duke of Somerſet's actions, in order to preſerve to him the character of a true reformer, have very lightly touched upon this point, whereas his enemies have enlarged on it, to ſhow he was poſſeſſed with ambition. However, as the fact is certain, his motive can only be the ſubject of conjecture; ſome aſcribing it to his exceſſive ambition; others believing he aſpired to become maſter of the government, only to promote more effectually the reformation. It is at leaſt extremely probable that Cranmer and ſuch of the regents as favoured the reformation, were convinced the duke's advancement would be very advantageous to religion.

He becomes abſolute maſter of the government. Burnet.

After the patent was drawn, and the great ſeal put to it, the protector had all the power. He governed with an abſolute authority, without being clogged by the advice of the council, ſince he was obliged only to conſult thoſe that were devoted to him. But, on the other hand, this proceeding, with ſome others of the like nature, drew upon him the envy and hatred of many, and particularly of the nobility, who made him at laſt feel the effects. There was certainly much to be ſaid againſt the patent, which deſtroyed the form of the government eſtabliſhed by Henry VIII, purſuant to an act of parliament which the king himſelf had not power to annul.

Treaties with France. Act. Pub. xv. p. 135, 139. p. 126.

The day before, two new treaties were concluded with France. The firſt was a renewing of alliance between Francis I. and Edward VI, without prejudicing the antient alliance between France and Scotland, and the treaties between the emperor and England. The ſecond concerned the articles which had not been explained in the late treaty of peace, namely, the bounds of the territory of Boulogne, and the fortifications the two kings were making near the place. As to the bounds, they were eaſy to be ſettled, becauſe as England was to keep Boulogne but eight years, it was not very material whether its territory was a little more or leſs extended. As to the fortifications, there was more difficulty. Whilſt the late peace was negotiating, Henry VIII. finding it would be in his power to preſcribe almoſt what terms he pleaſed, ordered the governor of Boulogne to begin fortifying Boulemberg, Blackneſs, and Ambleteuſe. At the ſame time he gave inſtructions to his plenipotentiaries, to inſert in the treaty, that neither of the two kings ſhould be allowed to make new fortifications in or about Boulogne, but only to finiſh ſuch as were begun. This was done according to his deſire. However, after the treaty, the French had attempted to fortify St. Etienne, Portet, and la Pointe. Whereupon diſputes aroſe between the ambaſſadors appointed to ſettle the limits of Boulogne. But as the two courts were equally deſirous to avoid all occaſion of rupture, it was at length agreed, that the Engliſh might continue the works begun: that the French ſhould have the ſame liberty with regard to the fortifications of St. Etienne, but ſhould diſcontinue thoſe at Portet and la Pointe. This treaty, and the other which renewed the alliance between the two crowns, were ſigned at London the 11th of March. But Francis died the 31ſt of the ſame month, before he had ratified them, leaving Henry II. for his ſucceſſor.

Death of Francis I:

Henry II. refuſes to ratify the treaties.
Act. Pub. xv. p. 149.
Burnet.

Upon news of Francis's death, an expreſs was ſent to Nicholas Wotton ambaſſador in France, with a commiſſion to receive the new king's ratifications, and ſee him ſwear to the treaties. But the court of France was entirely changed by Henry II's acceſſion to the crown. The cardinal of Lorrain and his brother the duke of Guiſe managed every thing as they pleaſed, and it was not their intereſt, the king ſhould preſerve a good underſtanding with England. Beſides that they were ſtrongly addicted to the Romiſh religion and the pope, they were contriving means to hinder England from employing her arms to accompliſh the marriage between Edward and the young queen of Scotland their niece. They perſuaded therefore Henry II, that it was his chief concern to recover Boulogne at any rate, for fear the Engliſh ſhould make uſe of that place to confound his future projects. Henry liking their policy, refuſed to ratify the treaties, and diſowned the ambaſſador ſent by his father to London to conclude them. So there not only remained an occaſion of quarrel between the two crowns with reſpect to the limits of the territory of Boulogne and the new fortifications, but alſo in refuſing to confirm the alliance, Henry ſhowed his intention to break the peace.

Affairs of Germany. Strype, t. ii. p. 55, &c. Burnet.

This was the firſt ill effect of the death of Francis I. and Henry VIII. but it was not the only one. Germany as well as England ſuffered by the loſs of theſe two kings. The proteſtants, who had been ill uſed by the emperor in the laſt campaign, found themſelves wholly deprived of the aſſiſtance they expected from France and England. Henry II's miniſters did not think proper he ſhould be engaged in a war with the emperor in ſupport of the proteſtant religion. But, as policy ſeemed to require that he ſhould oppoſe the emperor's progreſs, they intimated to him the expediency of firſt recovering Boulogne; after which, it would be ſtill time enough to protect Germany, in caſe the emperor grew too powerful there. As for the court of England, there was no likelihood, that during a minority, they would undertake to ſupport the proteſtants, eſpecially as France refuſed to be concerned with them. Mean while the princes of the league having ſent to Edward for aid, fifty thouſand crowns were privately given them, with great caution, for fear of offending the emperor. It is very true, the protector was inclinable to ſupport them: but it was not yet convenient to do it openly. The reformation was to be put upon a good foot in England, before any thoughts of protecting it in foreign countries.

Affairs concerning the reformation in England.

Henry the Eighth's death was a ſort of criſis for England with regard to religion. It was obſerved in the hiſtory of his reign, that he ſteered a middle courſe in that reſpect. He reformed ſome things, but left others untouched. In general, the reformation he had begun, may be ſaid to concern only the articles which were directly or indirectly contrary to his temporal ſovereignty or eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy. He was ſo rigorous, that he would never allow his ſubjects to differ in opinion from him, or at leaſt not to ſhow it openly. So all were under conſtraint, there being ſcarce any one but what believed more or leſs than himſelf. As ſoon as he was dead, every one took the liberty to ſpeak his thoughts upon religion, though the laws made in his reign were ſtill in force. But ſome change was expected. If, on one hand, the reformed built their hopes on Cranmer and the earl of Hertford, the contrary party flattered themſelves that chancellor Wriotheſley, Tonſtal, and ſome others, would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to reſtore religion to its antient ſtate, or at leaſt would hinder the reformation from making farther progreſs. The earl of Hertford's promotion to the protectorſhip and

Burnet.

the chancellor's diſgrace gave the reformed all the advantage, who ſeeing themſelves ſupported by the protector and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, entertained great hopes that the work of reformation would viſibly advance. This gave them the boldneſs openly to ſhow their ſentiments, and even publickly to preach them [r]. On the other hand, the contrary party finding the time was not favourable, ſtrove to perſuade that religion ſhould be left in its preſent ſtate till the king was of age. They ſaid, ſince no alterations could be made but in the king's name, as ſupreme head of the church of England, it was neceſſary at leaſt to ſtay till he was able to judge of them himſelf. But the reformers agreed not to this principle. They maintained, on the contrary, that the royal authority was the ſame, whether the king was a minor or not. They oppoſed their adverſaries maxim the more ſtrenuouſly, as it influenced not only the affairs of religion but the government itſelf.

The party of the reformers was ſo ſtrong, that it was very difficult for their enemies to reſiſt them. The king himſelf was at their head. Though he was yet of an age wherein men hardly begin to make uſe of their reaſon, he had made very great progreſs in the ſtudy of religion, by the care of Dr. Cox his preceptor, who was in the ſentiments of the reformers. The duke of Somerſet, Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury, Holgate archbiſhop of York, Holbeach biſhop of Lincoln, Goodrick biſhop of Ely, Dr. Ridley, and Latimer who was diſcharged of his impriſonment, were the chief ſupporters of that party. Theſe were properly whom Dr. Burnet calls in his hiſtory, the reformers. In the other party were the princeſs Mary, Wriotheſley earl of Southampton, Tonſtal biſhop of Durham, Bonner of London, Gardiner of Wincheſter, with many other biſhops, and the major part of the inferior clergy, conſiſting, as I have obſerved, of the ſuppreſſed friers, who had been recommended to livings. But it is certain, though this laſt party was as numerous as the other, they were far excelled by the other in learning and capacity: beſides, the government was in the hands of their adverſaries. There was another thing which very much leſſened the power of this party. Moſt of them had made it a rule to oppoſe to their utmoſt the intended alterations, but when effected to pay them afterwards an outward compliance. This conduct, though beneficial to particular perſons, was however detrimental to the whole party; as it intimated

Burnet, t. ii. p. 25.

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[r] To ſet the reſt of the kingdom an example, evening prayer began to be read in Engliſh in the king's chapel, on Eaſter monday. Stow, p. 594.

they only loved their religion when attended with temporal bleſſings. The biſhops and the reſt of the clergy were properly the eſtabliſhers of this maxim, out of fear of loſing their benefices.

Reſolution to puſh the reformation. Burnet, t. ii. p. 26, &c. Fox. Strype, t. ii. p. 46, &c. Heylin.

The preſent juncture being ſo favourable for the reformation, the protector, and ſuch of the council as were of his ſentiments, reſolved to improve it. To that end, they ordered a general viſitation of all the churches, and appointed viſitors, with power to aboliſh certain groſs abuſes introduced into the divine ſervice, and particularly with regard to images [s]. With this viſitation commenced the execution of the deſign already formed, of perfecting the reformation; which was properly but juſt begun in the late reign. As Dr. Burnet, afterwards biſhop of Saliſbury, has given as full account of theſe matters as can be deſired, in his excellent hiſtory of the reformation in England, it will be needleſs to deſcend to particulars, which will be ſeen with much more ſatisfaction in the work of that illuſtrious author. So, without ſpeaking hereafter of religion any farther than will be neceſſary for the underſtanding of the hiſtory, I ſhall confine myſelf chiefly to the political affairs of this reign [t]. The firſt that offers in the year 1547 is the war with Scotland.

Sequel of the affairs of England with Scotland. Act. Pub. xv. p. 131, 142. Buchanan. Hayward. Hollingſh. Burnet.

Henry VIII. had left his affairs with Scotland in ſuch a ſituation, that the agreed marriage between Edward and the young queen of Scotland was to be relinquiſhed, or the treaty executed by force of arms. The party againſt the marriage in Scotland was ſo powerful, that the others durſt hardly diſcover their contrary ſentiments. If the affair had been to be decided by the two kingdoms, in all appearance Scotland would have been forced to ſubmit. But the king of France took care not to abandon the Scots. He was highly concerned to hinder the king of England from becoming maſter of Scotland. Herein his ſentiments agreed with thoſe of the two Lorrain princes, brothers of the queen dowager of Scotland. It was this that moſt troubled the protector, eſpecially as Henry II. had now declared he would aſſiſt the Scots to the utmoſt of his power. Mean while, the projected marriage was ſo advantageous to England, that it well deſerved ſome endeavours to accompliſh it. Beſides, Henry VIII. had ſo expreſsly ordered, before he died, that all poſſible means ſhould be uſed to effect it, that the protector thought he could not be excuſed from taking ſome ſteps to ſhow he intended to execute his orders. He reſolved therefore to carry war into Scotland. Indeed it was a very extraordinary way of wooing the young queen for Edward: but in this the protector and the council followed Henry VIII's maxim, who always flattered himſelf that the inconveniencies and dangers of a war would at laſt oblige the Scots to execute the treaty. To that end therefore they reſolved to make war upon Scotland, and not with deſign to conquer the kingdom.

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[s] The biſhopricks were divided into ſix precincts or circuits. The 1ſt was London, Weſtminſter, Norwich, and Ely. The 2d, Rocheſter, Canterbury, Chicheſter, and Wincheſter. The 3d, Sarum, Exeter, Bath, Briſtol, and Glouceſter. The 4th, York, Durham, Carliſle, and Cheſter. The 5th, Peterborough, Lincoln, Oxford, Coventry, and Litchfield. And the 6th, Wales, Worceſter, and Hereford. They began their viſitation in Auguſt, about the time that the protector made his expedition into Scotland. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 26, 31.

[t] This year, the book of Homilies, compoſed by archbiſhop Cranmer, was publiſhed, and printed twice by Grafton. Strype's Mem. tom. ii. p. 31.

Hayward. Hollingſh.

War with Scotland reſolved.

Every thing being prepared, and the protector ready to go and command the army, the French ambaſſador deſired him to conſent to a negotiation, to try to conclude a peace before hoſtilities were begun. The protector, who was willing to manage France, complied with his requeſt, and the conferences began the 4th of Auguſt. Tonſtal, who was firſt plenipotentiary [u], had orders to ſubmit to any terms, provided the Scotch commiſſioners had power to agree to the marriage, otherwiſe he was to break off the congreſs. This condition rendered the negotiation ineffectual, becauſe the Scots had nothing like it in their inſtructions. So the protector departing in Auguſt, entered the territories of Scotland the 2d of September, with an army of fifteen thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe [w], having the earl of Warwick for lieutenant-general. He took ſome caſtles in his march, and

Conference for a peace very ineffectual. Burnet.

The protector enters Scotland. Hollingſh. Hayward.

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[u] The other was ſir Robert Bowes. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 31.

[w] According to king Edward's journal, the Engliſh army conſiſted of thirteen thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, (p. 4.) But Hollingſhead gives us the following particulars. The duke of Somerſet was general of the whole army, and captain of the middle ward, which conſiſted of four thouſand foot. The earl of Warwick led the fore-ward, containing three thouſand foot. And the rear-ward, wherein was the ſame number, was brought up by the lord Dacres. The lord Grey of Wilton, marſhal of the army, was captain-general of the horſe, in number ſix thouſand. Sir Francis Brian, captain of the light horſe, in number two thouſand. Sir Ralph Vane lieutenant of all the men at arms, and demi-lances. Sir Thomas Darcy captain of all the king's penſioners and men at arms. Sir Peter Mewtas captain of the harque-butters, in number ſix hundred. Sir Peter Gamboa captain of two hundred harque-butters on horſeback. John Brenne captain of the pioneers, in number fourteen hundred, p. 980. --- In the mean time, the fleet advanced towards Newcaſtle, conſiſting of ſixty-five veſſels, whereof one galley, and thirty-four tall ſhips, were prepared for fighting; the reſt ſerved for carriage of ammunition and victuals. Of this fleet Sir Edward Clinton was admiral, and ſir William Woodhouſe vice-admiral. Hayward, p. 279.

particularly the caſtle of Broughty [x], near the Tay's mouth, where he left a garriſon of two hundred men. A few days after, he came within ſight of the Scotch army, thirty thouſand ſtrong [y], with thirty pieces of cannon, who expected him on the field of Pinkey near Muſſelburgh.

Buchanan. Burnet.

He offers a peace to the regent of Scotland. Hayward. Buchanan. Hollingſh. Strype. Burnet.

The duke of Somerſet, as I ſaid, had undertaken the war againſt his will, and only to avoid the blame of not endeavouring to procure for his young maſter an advantageous marriage. The ſight of the enemies army, ſuperior to his own, increaſed not his deſire to decide the affair by way of arms. Wherefore, to avoid ſo dangerous a deciſion, he wrote to the earl of Arran regent of Scotland, deſiring him to conſider the great quantity of innocent blood which was going to be ſhed. And to ſhow that he was ready himſelf to come to an agreement, he made this offer: That he would retire to England with his army, if the Scots would agree that the young queen ſhould be bred up in Scotland till ſhe came of age, and give ſecurity that ſhe ſhould not till then be contracted to any foreigner. This propoſal might have been accepted without any detriment either to the queen or the kingdom of Scotland. In the firſt place, this condition hindered not the queen from marrying a Scotch lord. Secondly, the worſt that could happen to the Scots, was to be, when their queen was of age, in the ſame ſituation they were in at preſent. Laſtly, the king of England or the queen might die in this interval, and of courſe the death of either ended the quarrel: but the French faction was ſo prevalent in the council of Scotland, that this advantageous offer was proudly rejected. Nay, a rumour was ſpread among the Scotch troops, that the protector of England would not hearken to a peace, unleſs the queen was put into his hands.

His offer is rejected.

The diſpoſition of the two armies. Patten. Hollingſh. Hayward.

The two armies were parted by the river Eſke. The Engliſh were encamped about two miles on the ſouth ſide, and the Scots along the banks, on the north. So if the Scots had been willing to avoid a battle, probably the Engliſh would never have attempted to paſs the river in their ſight. Mean while, the protector having formed the deſign of approaching the Scots, and gaining a riſing-ground on the left which commanded their camp, moved forward with his whole army. But the Scots having notice of it, immediately

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[x] Brochty-Crag, a fort in the county of Angus. Camden. Hollingſhead ſays, it was not taken till September 21. p. 990. Edw. Journ. ſays, it was after the battle.

[y] So Buchanan ſays, l. xv. But in king Edward's journal it is ſaid, that it conſiſted of thirty-ſix thouſand men at leaſt, p. 5.

The protector's march. Hayward.

paſſed the river, and poſſeſſed themſelves of that poſt. The protector having miſſed his aim, marched to the right towards the ſea, in order to encamp on a little hill not far from the river. This march made the Scots imagine he was approaching the ſea, to put his ordnance and baggage on board the fleet which was entered the Frith, that he might retreat the more eaſily. The whole Scotch army were ſo poſſeſſed with this notion, that they conſidered the Engliſh as already vanquiſhed by fear. Mean while the protector had poſted himſelf on the hill, and made ſome intrenchments before his camp. This confirmed the Scots in their opinion, that it was only a feint in order to retire in the night. So, reſolving to hinder the Engliſh from executing this imaginary deſign, they advanced in good order to join battle. The moment the protector had received intelligence of their march, he drew up his army, part on the hill and part on the plain, and expected them without ſtirring. He had placed his artillery in an advantageous place that commanded the whole plain, and on the other ſide, his fleet was near enough to fire upon the enemy in flank. Nay, there was a galliot, which being lighter than the reſt of the ſhips, came very near the land and extremely annoyed the Scotch army [z].

Hollingſh. Hayward.

Battle of Pinkey won by the Engliſh. Patten. Hollingſh. Hayward. Buchanan. Burnet.

It was on the 10th of September that the two armies engaged. I ſhall not relate the particulars of the battle. Beſides that the hiſtorians agree not in the principal circumſtances, there are but few capable of giving a juſt account of what paſſes on theſe occaſions, and of pointing out the chief cauſes of the gain or loſs of a battle. It belongs only to generals themſelves to be good hiſtorians on ſuch ſubjects. I ſhall content myſelf therefore with reciting the ſucceſs of this action. After a very obſtinate fight, the Scots were routed, leaving fourteen thouſand dead on the place and fifteen hundred priſoners in the hands of the Engliſh, of whom eight hundred were gentlemen.

Loſs on the ſide of the Scots. Hollingſh. Hayward.

Great conſternation in Scotland. Hollingſh. Hayward. Buchanan. Burnet.

This great loſs threw all Scotland into the utmoſt conſternation. The regent and the queen after garriſoning the caſtle of Edinburgh, retired to Sterling with the remains of their army, abandoning thus the frontiers to the ravages of the Engliſh. A few days after the protector took Leith, and the Engliſh fleet commanded by the lord Clinton burnt ſeveral ſea-port towns in the county of Fife, with all the ſhips in their harbours. Then the Engliſh army marched to

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[z] It ſlew the maſter of Grahme, and twenty others near him. Hollingſh. p. 984.

Edinburgh, and entering without oppoſition, plundered the city. Such a terror ſeized all Scotland, that if the protector had improved his ſucceſs, by beſieging the caſtle of Edinburgh, it is hardly to be doubted, he would have forced the regent to relinquiſh the young queen, or ſubdued the kingdom: but affairs which concerned him in particular, made him relinquiſh his enterprize, juſt as he was going to reap the fruits of his victory. Whilſt he was employed in Scotland, his brother the admiral caballed againſt him in England, and had now made ſuch progreſs that the protector was upon the point of being ruined, at the very time he was cauſing the king's arms to triumph. The advice he received made him think he could not too ſpeedily return to court, in order to break his brother's meaſures. This was the real motive of his haſty return, which however was coloured with other pretences.

The protector improves not his victory.

He returns to England. Hollingſh. Burnet. Heylin.

The 18th of September he departed for England, having employed but ſixteen days in his expedition from his entrance into Scotland, and if we may believe the Engliſh writers, loſt but ſixty-two men in all [a]. In his return, he marched through the counties of March and Tiviotdale, and leaving a garriſon in the caſtle of Hume, ordered Roxborough to be repaired, where he left ſir Ralph Palmer governor.

The people praiſe him, and the nobles envy him. Burnet.

The protector's glorious campaign in Scotland put the nation in mind of ſeveral noble actions performed by him in the late reign. This gained him great applauſe from the people [b], but withal the envy of the nobles, who, if ſir John Hayward is to be credited, had no great eſteem for him. This contraſt between the nobles and people was very prejudicial to him. It induced him to rely too much on the people's favour, and to raiſe himſelf above the reſt of the nobles, both by an external pomp, and by aſſuming the ſole adminiſtration of affairs. As by the king's patent, he was not obliged to follow the advice of the council, he generally conſulted only his creatures, and neglected the reſt as if there were no ſuch men. This behaviour ſeemed at firſt a little ſtrange in one, who, very far from being naturally proud and haughty, was rather humble, modeſt, and civil. No other reaſon can be given, but his great zeal to promote the reformation. This was doubtleſs what made him think it neceſſary to remove from the adminiſtration thoſe who were not led by the ſame zeal as himſelf, in order to leſſen the oppoſition as much as poſſible. Beſides, he had paſſed the beſt part of his life in the court of Henry VIII, where he had ſeen the authority-royal carried to the greateſt height; and as Henry had ſucceeded by the way of rigour, he deemed it requiſite to follow much the ſame maxims. The reformation was certainly the ſole object the protector had in view, and all his proceedings in the publick affairs both foreign and domeſtick, tended properly to that point.

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[a] Under ſixty, ſays Hayward, p. 287. But Buchanan affirms, that the Engliſh loſt about two hundred horſe in the firſt charge, l. xv.

[b] The mayor and aldermen of London went out to meet him in Finſbury field, on October 8, when he returned to that city. Hollingſhead, p. 992.

Bonner and Gardiner are ſent to priſon. Burnet. Strype.

The commiſſioners appointed to viſit the churches, having made their report, it was found that all the biſhops had complied with the orders of the council, except Bonner of London, and Gardiner of Wincheſter. Theſe had given an advantage againſt themſelves, not only by direct oppoſition but by cavils, which plainly ſhowed how averſe they were to all reformation. They inſiſted chiefly upon the forementioned maxim, that it was not lawful to make any alterations in religion during the king's minority. As this principle might have had pernicious conſequences with reſpect to the government, it was made a pretence to ſend them to priſon [c], notwithſtanding their ſeeming, but very equivocal, ſubmiſſion. The truth is, as ſeveral acts in favour of the reformation were intended to be paſſed in the next parliament, which was ſummoned to meet the 4th of November, the reformers were very glad to be freed from the troubleſome oppoſition of theſe two prelates. The princeſs Mary was alſo diſpleaſed with the inſtructions given to the viſitors, and with the deſign of advancing the reformation. She writ upon this occaſion to the protector, expreſſing her diſlike of all the changes which were making, and of thoſe which were deſigned to be made during the king's minority. The protector ſent her a very ſtrong anſwer, and did not think himſelf obliged to conform to her ſentiments.

The princeſs Mary complains of the ſteps which are making in the reformation. Burnet. Strype.

Rich is made chancellor. Burnet. Act. Pub. xv. p. 164.

Some days before the parliament met, the lord Rich was made chancellor [d]. The 3d of November, the day before the opening of the parliament, the protector, by a patent under the great ſeal, was warranted to ſit in parliament on the right hand of the throne, under the cloth of ſtate, whether the king was preſent or not, and moreover was to have all the honours, privileges, and prerogatives that any of the uncles of the kings of England, or any protectors had ever enjoyed, with a Non-obſtante to the ſtatute of precedence. This proceeding was a clear evidence that the duke of Somerſet's intention was not only to be ſuperior to all, but even to deſtroy by degrees the very remembrance of the form of government eſtabliſhed by Henry VIII. Though he had not forgot to cauſe the patent to be approved by the council before it was ſealed, that was not ſufficient to juſtify him entirely. It was well known the king did nothing but by his direction: that the council was at his command, and that it would have been very dangerous for the counſellors, directly to oppoſe a patent which concerned him in particular.

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[c] To the Fleet. Burnet, p. 37. Gardiner was impriſoned, June 31, and releaſed about the end of the year. Strype, p. 68.

[d] His patent bears date, November 30. See Burnet, tom. iii. Collect. p. 406.

Parliament. Journ. Par. Burnet.

The parliament being met the 4th of November, paſſed ſeveral material acts relating ſome to the ſtate, and others to religion. It is very certain, the number of thoſe who deſired a reformation was very great in the kingdom. However, it muſt not be imagined that then, any more than at this day, whatever the parliament did was agreeable to the general opinion of the nation. The repreſentatives of the commons were choſen, as they are at preſent, without any inſtructions concerning the points to be debated in parliament, nay, without the people's knowing any thing of them. Thus, the houſe of commons had, as I may ſay, an unlimited power to determine by a majority of votes, with the concurrence of the lords and aſſent of the king, what they deemed proper for the welfare of the kingdom. There was no neceſſity therefore, in order to obtain what the court deſired, of having the univerſal conſent of the people, but only the majority of the voices in both houſes. Hence it is eaſy to conceive, that the court uſed all imaginable means to cauſe ſuch members to be elected as were in their ſentiments. This is now; and ever will be, practiſed till ſome cure is found for this inconvenience. I call it inconvenience, becauſe it happens ſometimes that the parliament paſſes acts contrary to the general opinion of the nation. Of this one may be eaſily convinced, by what paſſed in the parliaments held under Edward VI. and queen Mary his ſiſter. In the reign of Edward, popery was entirely rooted out, and under Mary it was wholly replanted. In one or other of theſe reigns therefore, the parliament muſt have acted contrary to the opinion of the people, ſince it is not poſſible to believe, that a whole nation ſhould have thus changed, in an inſtant, from white to black. I don't pretend, by this remark, to weaken the proceedings of Edward VI's parliament in favour of the reformation; what I advance is levelled as much againſt that of queen Mary, as againſt this. My deſign is only to obſerve, that the deter-

Remark on this parliament.

mination of a parliament is not always a convincing proof of the approbation of the whole Engliſh nation. The reaſons therefore which may be drawn from the pretended conſent of the nation, repreſented in parliament, either for or againſt the reformation, ſeem to be of very little weight. Each of the two parties will always ſay, and perhaps very juſtly, that the parliament which oppoſed them, was a parliament devoted to the king and the miniſtry.

The preſent parliament was, in all appearance, directed by the duke of Somerſet, ſince it ſo readily favoured all his deſigns. I ſhall content myſelf with relating the ſubſtance of the chief acts paſſed this ſeſſion, without inſiſting much upon them, becauſe Dr. Burnet has ſpoken of them ſo accurately and fully in his Hiſtory of the Reformation, that it would be needleſs to repeat what he has ſaid.

T. ii. p. 40, &c.

Act for repealing ſeveral ſtatutes.

The firſt ſtatute repealed ſeveral acts paſſed in the late and ſome former reigns: namely,

I. All acts declaring any thing to be treaſon but what was in the ſtatute of 25 Edward III. This ſtatute of king Edward had long ſerved for the ſtandard of treaſon, till during the civil wars between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, and particularly in the reign of Henry VIII, the liſt of treaſonable offences was very much increaſed. Therefore the parliament very juſtly reduced theſe offences within their old bounds, that the ſubjects might not be liable to ſo many rigours.

II. This ſtatute alſo repealed all acts, declaring that to be felony, which was not ſo before the rupture with the pope [e]. And,

III. The act which made the king's proclamations of equal authority with acts of parliament. If this ſtatute had continued, parliaments would have become uſeleſs.

IV. Two acts concerning the Lollards [f].

Act of the ſix articles repealed.

Laſtly, By the ſame ſtatute, the law of the ſix articles was alſo repealed.

By another article of the ſame ſtatute, the king's eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy was again confirmed, with ſeveral penalties upon thoſe who ſhould call it in queſtion. It was likewiſe declared high-treaſon in any of the heirs of the crown, nominated in Henry VIII's will, and in their abettors, to

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[e] Or rather, all acts made upon this head ſince April 23, 1 Henry VIII, as it is in the ſtatute.

[f] Thoſe of 5 Richard II. and 2 Henry V.

Edw. VI. 1547.

endeavour to break the ſucceſſion of the crown ſettled by that prince.

It was alſo enacted, That all ſhould enjoy the benefit of the clergy [g], and the privilege of ſanctuary, as before Henry VIII's reign, excepting only ſuch as were guilty of murder, poiſoning, burglary, robbing on the high-way, ſtealing of cattle, and ſtealing out of churches and chapels.

An act paſſed in Henry VIII's time, empowering his ſucceſſor to annul laws made during his minority till his four and twentieth year, was likewiſe explained; and it was declared, that this act ſhould only take place for the future, and not for the paſt [h].

With regard to religion, ſeveral acts were made, which cauſed very great alterations. Firſt, private maſſes were aboliſhed, and the cup was given to the people in the communion [i].

Another act gave the king power to nominate to the vacant ſees by his letters patents, and ſo aboliſhed the way of chuſing biſhops by conge d' eſlire [k], which was only a mockery, ſince theſe pretended elections were all made by the direction of the court.

The juriſdiction of the eccleſiaſtical courts was alſo very much abridged, by taking from them the cognizance of matrimonial and teſtamentary cauſes, which were removed to the civil courts [l].

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[g] Benefit of the clergy was an antient liberty of the church, confirmed by divers parliaments. When a prieſt or one within orders was arraigned of felony before a ſecular judge, he might pray his clergy, that is, to be delivered to his ordinary, to purge himſelf of the offence objected. But the antient courſe of the law in this point of clergy is much altered; for clerks be no more delivered to their ordinaries to be purged, but now every man, though not within orders, is put to read at the bar, being found guilty, and convicted of ſuch felony as this benefit is granted for, and ſo burnt in the hand, and ſet free for the firſt time, if the ordinary's deputy, ſtanding by, do ſay, Legit ut Clericus.

[h] This law was thus altered, The king, after the 24th year of his age, might by his letters patents void any act of parliament for the future, except this preſent act, and all pardons granted by parliament, but could not ſo void it from the beginning, as to annul all things done upon it between the making and annulling it, which were ſtill to be lawful deeds. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 41.

[i] And becauſe ſome perſons, on account of the abuſes committed by this ſacrament, took occaſion to deſpiſe and revile it, it was furthermore enjoined by this act, That whoever were for the future guilty of depraving or deſpiſing of it, ſhould be impriſoned, and make fine and ranſom at the king's pleaſure. This bill was firſt read on November 15, twice on the 17th, and again on the 24th, when it was delivered to the lord chancellor. The diſſentient from it, were, the biſhops of London, Norwich, Hereford, Worceſter, and Chicheſter. Journals Parl.

[k] But the fees uſually paid on the collation to a biſhoprick, were retained by an article of this act. They amount to 331 l. as the reader may ſee in Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. tom. ii. p. 236.

Statute againſt vagabonds.

Then the parliament paſſed a very remarkable act againſt vagabonds. It was enacted, That if any perſon ſhould any where loiter without work, or without offering himſelf to work three days together, he ſhould be adjudged to be a ſlave for two years, to him that ſhould preſent him to two juſtices of peace, and be marked with the letter V imprinted with a hot iron on his breaſt. This law was thought very ſevere in a country like England, where ſlavery ſeems inconſiſtent with the privileges of the people. But herein the court, by whom the parliament was governed, had an eye only to the monks, who being gone from their monaſteries, little inured to labour, could not think of working for their livelihood. Theſe men ſpent their time in going from houſe to houſe, to cabal againſt the government, and inſpire the people with the ſpirit of rebellion. So the court judging it to be an effect of their idleneſs, and that if they betook themſelves to ſome employment, they would at length loſe this habit, reſolved to make them work, how unwilling ſoever they might be. Mean while, as the law was general, it occaſioned great murmurs among the people. Wherefore it was never rigorouſly executed, and even repealed by another parliament.

Several endowments given to the king. Statutes. Strype.

Laſtly, The parliament gave the king all the lands deſigned for the maintenance of chantries, chapels, and colleges, which were not poſſeſſed by Henry VIII, and all revenues given for obits, anniverſaries, lights in the churches, together with all guild lands [m] which any fraternity enjoyed on the ſame account. This act did not paſs without great difficulty: Cranmer himſelf oppoſed it to the utmoſt of his power [n], not from a deſire to keep theſe endowments for the uſes intended by the donors, but becauſe he hoped to meet with ſome favourable opportunity to convert them to other uſes beneficial to religion, whereas being once in the king's hands, the church was deprived of them for ever. But all oppoſition was in vain. The nobles gaped, as I may ſay, after the church-lands, which they obtained of the court upon very eaſy terms. Beſides, the executors of the late king's will, wanted theſe lands to pay his debts and legacies. It is true, there was a clauſe in the act, importing that theſe lands ſhould be converted to the maintenance of grammar-ſchools and preachers; but it was never put in practice [o].

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[l] Whereas (ſays the act) the biſhops did exerciſe their authority, and carry on proceſſes in their own names; and ſince all juriſdiction both ſpiritual and temporal was derived from the king, therefore their courts and all proceſſes ſhould be from henceforth carried on in the king's name, and be ſealed by the king's ſeal, as it was in the other courts of common law, excepting only the archbiſhop of Canterbury's courts, and all collations, preſentations, or letters of orders, which were to paſs under the biſhops proper ſeals as formerly.

[m] A chantry was a little church, chapel, or particular altar, in ſome cathedral church, &c. endowed with lands, or other revenues, for the maintenance of one or more prieſts, daily to ſing maſs, and perform divine ſervice for the ſouls of the founders, and ſuch others as they appointed. --- Free chapels were independent from any church, and endowed for much the ſame purpoſe as the chantries. --- The Obit was the anniverſary of any perſon's death; and to obſerve ſuch day with prayers, alms, or other commemoration, was called the keeping of the Obit. --- Anniverſaries were the yearly returns of the day of the death of perſons, which the religious regiſtered in their Obitual or Martyrology, and annually obſerved, in gratitude to their founders and benefactors. --- Guild, ſignifies a fraternity or company; from the Saxon, gildan, to pay, becauſe every one was to pay ſomething towards the charge and ſupport

General pardon, of which Gardiner has the benefit. Strype.

The parliament ended with a general pardon, in which were excepted the priſoners in the Tower, and thoſe who had abſented themſelves out of the kingdom. As Gardiner was not in the Tower, he enjoyed the benefit of the pardon.

I juſt mentioned the reaſon which obliged the protector to quit Scotland and return to court, with a precipitation very detrimental to the king's affairs. But it is neceſſary now to ſpeak a little more largely of it, before I conclude the year 1547, becauſe it was during this ſeſſion of the parliament that the affair broke out.

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port of the company. G. Jacob.---Of theſe chantries and free chapels, there were in the kingdom two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four. When they were ſold, in the 2d year of this king, they were valued, in the whole, at about two thouſand five hundred and ninety-three pounds; and were ſold for forty-ſix thouſand two hundred and forty-nine pounds, fourteen ſhillings. See Strype's Mem. tom. ii. Repoſit. p. 85, &c.---- Beſides theſe chantries, the parliament granted alſo the king tunnage and poundage for life; which was three ſhillings of every tun of wine, and of ſweet wine ſix ſhillings, and of every aulme of rheniſh twelve-pence. The poundage was twelve-pence in the pound of the value of all goods imported or exported; and two ſhillings of aliens for tin and pewter exported. The ſubſidy from wool was 33s. 4d. of every ſack of wool; and of that exported by ſtrangers, 3l. 6s. 8d; of every two hundred and forty wool-fells, 33s. 4d; for every laſt of hides and backs, 3l. 6s. 8d; but of ſtrangers, 3l. 13s. 4d. Stevens Hiſt. Ta. p. 231, 232.

[n] As did alſo the biſhops of London, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Hereford, Worceſter, Chicheſter. It was firſt read in the houſe of lords, December 6; and the ſecond, third, and fourth times, on the 12th, 14th, and 15th of the ſame month. It was read again twice on the 24th, and ſent down to the commons. Journ. Parl.

[o] This is a miſtake. There were ſchools founded by king Edward, at St. Edmundſbury in Suffolk, Spilleſby and Louth in Lincolnſhire, Chelmsford in Eſſex, Sedbergh in Yorkſhire, Shrewſbury, Eaſt-Retford in Nottinghamſhire, Birmingham in Warwickſhire, Morpeth in Northumberland: as alſo at Macclesfield, Nun-Eaton, Stourbridge in Worceſterſhire, Bath, Bedford, Guildford, Grantham, Thorne, Giggleſwick, St. Albans, Tunbridge, Southampton, Stratford upon Avon, &c. which were moſtly endowed out of the chantry-lands. Strype's Mem. tom. ii. p. 535, &c.

Cabals of the admiral againſt his brother the protector.
Burnet.
Hayward.

Among all the enviers of the protector, there was not one more paſſionate againſt him than his brother, admiral Thomas Seymour. He was a hot, proud, and haughty man. 'Tis true, he was reckoned to have more ſenſe than his brother, and to be more capable of managing great affairs. But this opinion might proceed from the party he had made among the nobility, who loved not the protector. However, the admiral could not bear the difference the king had put between him and the duke of Somerſet, though they were both uncles to the young king. He thought himſelf, by his birth and natural endowments, as worthy as his brother of having a ſhare in the adminiſtration of the government. Preſently after Henry's death, he gave proofs of his ambition in making his addreſſes to the princeſs Elizabeth: but finding he was not like to ſucceed, he turned to Catherine Parr queen-dowager, and ſo won her heart, that he privately married her, without communicating it to the duke his brother, who was now inveſted with the protectorſhip. This marriage was ſo quickly after Henry's death, that if the queen had bred ſo ſoon as ſhe might have done, there would have been room to queſtion whether the child was the king's or the admiral's. Having kept his marriage private for ſome time, he found means, unknown to the protector, to procure a letter from the king, recommending him to the queen for a huſband. Whereupon he declared his marriage, without uſing any ceremony with his brother. And here began their quarrel. But the protector, who was a man of great moderation, prevented their quarrel from breaking out, though he was ſtill extremely diſpleaſed with his brother. The admiral's envy was greatly increaſed by the duke his brother's promotion, who, from a nominal, was become a real protector. This envy, added to his natural diſpoſition, carried him at length to form the project of ſupplanting him, by inſinuating himſelf into the king's favour, and making a party among the nobility. There is no doubt the protector's ſecret enemies cheriſhed the admiral's ambition by the praiſes they gave him, confirming him in his ill opinion of the duke his brother. He began his cabals about Eaſter, with gaining the king's ſervants to his intereſt, that they might continue their young maſter in a good opinion of him. By their means he ſo ordered it that the king frequently came to his houſe to ſee his mother-in-law. Here it was that he diligently made his court, and even furniſhed him with money for his privy purſe, and for ſmall preſents to his

Burnet.

domeſticks [p]. This pleaſed the young king, who found himſelf freed from the trouble of aſking his governor for money, and of being accountable to him for what he did with it. All this could not be done without the protector's knowledge. He taxed his brother with it, who denied all, but in ſo haughty a manner that it was eaſy for the protector to perceive he had not much regard for him. He was unwilling however to come to an open quarrel, hoping in time to reclaim him.

Burnet.

The protector was no ſooner in Scotland, but the admiral renewed his cabals with leſs reſerve than before. He diſtributed money to ſeveral perſons, and never ceaſed making his court to the king. Nay, he obtained, unknown to his brother, a new and more ample patent for the office of lord admiral, with an addition of two hundred marks to the ſalary. Sir William Paget, who was devoted to the protector, and perhaps had orders to watch the admiral, ſeeing how he increaſed in favour with the king, thought himſelf obliged to talk with him about it. But the admiral's anſwer not ſatiſfying him, he ſent the protector notice of it, and upon this intelligence it was that he ended his campaign in Scotland ſo abruptly, to return to court and break his brother's meaſures.

Act. Pub. xv. p. 157. Aug. 30.

The admiral tries to ſupplant his brother, and gains the king to his ſide. Burnet.

The protector's arrival was not capable of interrupting the admiral's projects. He rather haſtened the execution the more, not to give his brother time to prevent him. He had gained ſome of the privy-counſellors, ſeveral lords of diſtinction, and many members of parliament. In fine, he perſuaded the king that the two offices of protector and governor of his perſon gave the duke of Somerſet too much authority, and that it was proper to part them, and confer the ſecond on him, in order to balance the protector's power. The young king was much better pleaſed to have for governor an uncle, who had all the condeſcenſion poſſible for him, than one who was not ſo complaiſant and kept him more in awe. So his age not allowing him to make other reflections, he writ with his own hand a meſſage to the houſe of commons, deſiring them to make the admiral the governor of his perſon. The admiral was to carry the meſſage himſelf; but his contrivance was diſcovered before he could execute his deſign. The council hearing of it, ſent ſome lords to reaſon the caſe with him and prevail with him to proceed no farther. But the lords did not bring back the ſatisfaction that was expected. On the contrary, inſtead of regarding their remonſtrances, he anſwered with threats [q]. Whereupon, he was ſent for next day by order from the council, but refuſed to come. At laſt, he was threatened to be turned out of all his offices, ſent to the Tower, and proſecuted upon the act of parliament, which made it death for any perſon to diſturb the government. This menace frightened him. He plainly ſaw, though he had the king on his ſide, the young prince who was but juſt entered into his eleventh year, would not have reſolution enough to ſupport him, contrary to the advice of the protector and council. Nay, it was hinted to him, there was no likelihood the parliament would hearken to a meſſage from a minor king, but would doubtleſs ſuppoſe him to have been ſurprized. He choſe therefore to ſubmit himſelf to the protector and council, and to be reconciled to his brother, who deſired only to reclaim him by fair means. However this reconciliation was not perfect. Quickly after he ſhowed he had not relinquiſhed, but only put off his deſign till a more convenient ſeaſon. And, indeed, he never ceaſed endeavouring both by himſelf and by thoſe whom he had gained, to infuſe into the king a diſlike of the protector and his other miniſters. This made the protector ſet ſpies about him to be informed of his proceedings, conſidering him as a very dangerous enemy.

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[p] Particularly, the firſt time Latimer preached at court, the king ſent to the admiral to know what preſent he ſhould make him: Seymour ſent him 40l. but ſaid, he thought 20l. was enough to give Latimer, and the king might diſpoſe of the reſt as he pleaſed. And alſo, at Chriſtmas, the admiral gave Mr. Cheek, the king's tutor, 20l. and 20l. more for Edward to diſtribute among his ſervants. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 54. Strype, p. 78.

His deſign is diſcovered.

The council threaten him.

This year the face of affairs in Germany was entirely changed. The emperor defeated and took priſoner, John Frederic elector of Saxony [r], and declared his couſin Maurice elector, who at the ſame time took poſſeſſion of the electoral dominions. After this diſaſter, the landgrave of Heſſe finding himſelf unable to maintain the war, made the beſt terms he could with the emperor, and came to him upon the faith of a ſafe-conduct, which expreſly ran that he ſhould not be liable to any impriſonment. But by a groſs fraud, inſtead of the German word Emig, which ſignifies any, the word Ewig, which ſignifies perpetual, was inſerted. By this baſe artifice he was detained a priſoner to be releaſed at the emperor's pleaſure.

Affairs of Germany. Sleidan. Burnet.

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[q] He told them, if he were croſſed in his attempt, he would make this the blackeſt parliament that ever was in England. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 53.

[r] April 24. Sleidan, l. 19.

The impriſonment of the two heads rendered the proteſtant party very weak, and the emperor's triumphant. The archbiſhop of Cologn, who had embraced the proteſtant religion, was forced to renounce his dignities of archbiſhop and elector of the empire. After that, the emperor made ſundry alterations tending to deſtroy the reformation, or rather, under that pretence, to render himſelf abſolute in Germany. For this cauſe the pope himſelf grew jealous of him. As after his victory his ambaſſadors were imperious at Trent, the pope ordered the council to be removed to Bologna, under the feigned pretence of the plague's being at Trent.

Several German reformers come into England. Act. Pub. xv. p. 170, 192, 193. Burnet. Affairs of France. P. Daniel. Burnet.

Hitherto Germany had ſerved for ſanctuary to many proteſtants perſecuted in other countries. But ſince the emperor's victory, they were no longer ſafe there. For which reaſon many came into England, where they ſaw the reformation to be in a proſperous way. Among theſe were Peter Martyr [s], Bucer, Ochinus, Fagius, to whom Edward gave penſions and benefices, as appears in the Collection of the Publick Acts.

Though Henry II. had refuſed to ratify the two treaties concluded at London in March, the Engliſh however, as I obſerved, continued the fortifications of Bullenberg, purſuant to an article of the treaty of peace. But after ſeveral complaints from France, Henry ſent ſo rough a meſſage by his ambaſſador, that the protector, rather than hazard a quarrel with France, ordered the works to be diſcontinued before the fort was finiſhed.

1548. Progreſs of the reformation. Burnet. Fox. Heylin.

In the beginning of the year 1548, the council made ſeveral alterations with reſpect to religion. By an order [t], the carrying of candles on Candlemas-day, of aſhes on Aſh-Wedneſday, of palm on Palm-Sunday, with the rites uſed on Good-Friday and Eaſter-day, were forbidden [u]. Moreover, it was left to the people's choice to go to confeſſion or to neglect that practice, hitherto deemed an indiſpenſible duty. Some days after, it was ordered that all images in general ſhould be removed from the churches [w]. As England was then divided in two parties, ſome approved, and others cenſured theſe changes. But the council, in ſpite of all oppoſition, cauſed their orders to be confirmed by the king's proclamation, in virtue of his ſupremacy. Only Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter openly oppoſed theſe changes, upon the maxim that no alteration in religion could be lawfully made till the king was of age. He was not the only perſon that tried to inſtil this notion into the people. All thoſe of his party endeavoured the ſame thing, but had not the courage to do it publickly. Whereupon he was commanded to appear before the council; and as he offered to ſubmit to whatever ſhould be preſcribed him, he was ordered [x] to preach at St. Paul's upon certain points, whereof one of the chief was, that the king's authority was the ſame during his minority as when of age. He preached; but ſo little to the council's ſatisfaction, that it was reſolved to ſend him to the Tower. This ſeverity produced a great effect, in that all the friends of the Romiſh church reſolved to conform at leaſt outwardly to what ſhould be enjoined by publick authority, when they ſaw one of their chief ſupporters was not ſpared.

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[s] Peter Martyr was invited over in the king's name by Cranmer. He was born in Florence. He had a penſion of forty marks a year, as had Ochinus, who was made a canon of Canterbury, with a diſpenſation of reſidence. Fagius was Hebrew profeſſor at Cambridge, and had a penſion of 100l. Peter Martyr had the divinity chair at Oxford, and Bucer that of Cambridge, with a ſalary of 100l. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 170, 192, 193.

[t] Dated January 28. Heylin, p. 55.

[u] All wakes and Plough-Mondays were alſo ſuppreſſed. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 59.

Fox.
Burnet.

Gardiner is ſent to the Tower.
Burnet.

The protector tries in vain to make a truce with Scotland.

Mean while the war with Scotland gave the protector great uneaſineſs. He clearly ſaw it was ridiculous to think of accompliſhing the king's marriage with the queen of Scotland by the way of arms, in ſpite of the queen-dowager, the regent, and the council. Moreover, he knew France was preparing to ſend them a powerful aid; and therefore he perceived it would be very difficult to ſucceed in this undertaking: beſides that the war would very likely occaſion a rupture with France. In ſhort, nothing was more repugnant than a war to his deſign of compleating the reformation. He would have been glad the regent of Scotland had accepted a ten years truce, which he offered him. But the Scots would not hearken to it, becauſe France had promiſed them a powerful aid. The protector therefore was forced to reſolve, even againſt his will, to continue the war. But as he would not command the army himſelf, he gave the conduct thereof to Francis Talbot earl of Shrewſbury, whom he appointed his lieutenant. On this occaſion he plainly ſhowed he meant to ſtretch the prerogatives of the protectorſhip as far as poſſible, ſince he would have the earl take his commiſſion of him. However, as the patent, obtained the 12th of March the laſt year, did not ſo clearly give him the power of nominating his lieutenants, he ordered another to be prepared, wherein his prerogatives were more fully explained and enlarged. In this, the king ſaid, that having by his letters patents of the 12th of March, appointed his uncle the duke of Somerſet, protector of the kingdom and governor of his perſon, his intention was, that the clauſes therein contained ſhould be underſtood in the ampleſt ſenſe, and the moſt favourable to the duke: that however, as the generality of the terms might occaſion ſome doubts, he declared that he conſtituted him his lieutenant-general and captain-general throughout his whole dominions, with power to order his ſubjects to take up arms whenever he ſhould think proper, and to appoint lieutenants to command in his place both by ſea and land. It cannot be denied, all this was very contrary to the eſtabliſhment of the late king, and conſequently to the act of parliament by which it was previouſly authorized. All the favours granted by the king to any but the protector, could be juſtified by the advice of the protector and council: but thoſe done to the protector himſelf, muſt have been aſcribed wholly to the perſuaſions of the perſon who received them. Nay, in extraordinary favours, this rendered in ſome meaſure the king's patents ridiculous, who was made to ſay, he granted them to the protector, by the advice of the protector himſelf.

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[w] February 11. The people were very forward in ſeveral places to pull down the images; and had already begun to do it, before the publication of this order, particularly at St. Martin's, Ironmonger-lane, London, and at Portſmouth. Strype, tom. ii. p. 33.---About this time, to prevent the miſchiefs occaſioned by raſh preachers, it was enjoined, That none ſhould preach without licence from the king, and his viſitors, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, or the biſhop of the dioceſe, except incumbents preaching in their own churches. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 59.

[x] Burnet ſays, Gardiner, when he came before the council, deſired that he might be ſuffered to clear himſelf of all miſrepreſentations that had been made of him, in a ſermon he ſhould preach before the king, in which he ſhould declare how well he was ſatisfied with his proceedings. But he was far from doing ſo, tom. ii. p. 68, 70. Stow, p. 596.

Patent enlarging the protector's prerogatives. Act. Pub. xv. p. 174.

The regent of Scotland beſieges Broughty. Buchanan. Burnet. Hayward. The Engliſh take Hadington. Hollingſh.

Mean time, in the beginning of the ſpring, whilſt the court of England was conſidering whether the war with Scotland ſhould be continued, the regent of that kingdom had opened the campaign with the ſiege of Broughty caſtle [y], which employed him three months in vain, though it was but an inconſiderable place. On the other ſide, whilſt he uſed all his forces in the ſiege, the Engliſh took the caſtle of Hadington, and fortified it with all ſpeed. By means of that place, ſituated in one of the moſt fruitful counties of Scotland, they made excurſions to the very gates of Edinburgh, which was but twelve miles from thence. They took Lauder alſo, and made ſome works there.

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[y] With eight thouſand men. Sir Andrew Dudley was the governor. Hollingſh. p. 993.

The Scots have aid from France. They beſiege Hadington.

About the end of May, the Scots received from France an aid [z] of ſix thouſand French and Germans, commanded by Deſſé d'Eſpanvilliers. After theſe troops were a little refreſhed, the regent joined with them eight thouſand Scots, and with theſe forces the two generals beſieged Hadington [a].

They reſolve to ſend the queen into France. Buchanan. Burnet. Hollingſh. Hayward.

During the ſiege it was, that after ſeveral conferences between the French and the Scots, the reſolution was taken of ſending the young queen of Scotland to France. Many Scots however very much diſliked that reſolution. They affirmed, when the queen ſhould be in France, there would be no way to make peace with the Engliſh; whereas, without any prejudice either to the queen or kingdom, the ten years truce offered by the Engliſh might be accepted. This argument was combated by others, who maintained that the aim of the Engliſh in the war being only to marry the queen to Edward, they would have no farther inducement to continue it, when once that expectation was deſtroyed. Nevertheleſs, it was eaſy to ſee that by delivering the queen to the French king, they were going to be at the mercy of their ally. But beſides that the French declared, France would not engage to aſſiſt Scotland upon any other terms, the queen-mother was extremely deſirous her daughter ſhould be at the court of France, where the princes of Lorrain her brothers bore an abſolute ſway. Beſides, all the clergy earneſtly preſſed the ſending of the queen into France, out of fear of her being forced at laſt to be delivered to the Engliſh, and that their religion would be deſtroyed by her marriage with Edward. In ſhort, to win the regent, the king of France promiſed to confer on him the title of duke of Châtelerault, with twelve thouſand livres a year in land. All this produced the reſolution of ſending the queen into France, in the ſame ſhips that had brought the auxiliary troops. But to avoid meeting the Engliſh fleet, the ſhips ſailed round Scotland by the north [b], and landed the queen in the province of Bretagne.

Buchanan. Burnet.

Mean while admiral Seymour, who commanded the naval forces himſelf, made ſeveral deſcents in Scotland, where he was always repulſed with loſs, and at laſt returned to England without much damaging the Scots.

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[z] Which they had ſent ambaſſadors to demand. Buchan. l. 15.

[a] Sir James Wilford was governor. Hollingſh. p. 995.

[b] By the Iſles of Orkney, and came to Dunbritton, where the queen was received on board.

The earl of Shrewſbury raiſes the ſiege of Hadington. Buchanan. Hayward. Burnet. Hollingſh.

and retires to England. Buchanan.

General Deſſé enters England. Buchanan. Burnet.

Germans in the Engliſh ſervice. Burnet.

At length the Engliſh army, ſeventeen thouſand ſtrong [c], entered Scotland under the command of the earl of Shrewſbury. At his approach, the French and Scots raiſed the ſiege of Hadington and retired [d]. So, the general eaſily ſupplied the place with proviſions, and then marching to the enemies, who were intrenched in an advantageous poſt, offered them battle; but after ſtaying about an hour in their ſight, finding they would not ſtir from their intrenchments, he led back his troops into England. It is hard to gueſs what could be the motive of this abrupt retreat, which gave the Scots an opportunity to make great progreſs during the reſt of the campaign [e]. The Engliſh army was no ſooner retired, but Deſſé attempted to ſurprize Hadington. He was now at the gates, and juſt entering the place, when a French deſerter who had fled thither, fired one of the great cannon, which being diſcharged among the thickeſt of the French troops, ſo diſcouraged them that they retreated with precipitation. From thence Deſſé went and fortified the village of Leith, now become a very conſiderable town. His deſign was to retake Broughty caſtle; but receiving expreſs orders to make an inroad into England, he advanced as far as Newcaſtle, without meeting any reſiſtance, and returned loaded with ſpoil. It is not known what was become of the Engliſh army, led by the earl of Shrewſbury into Scotland, and conſiſting part of Engliſh and part of Landſquenets. Theſe were German troops, who had ſerved the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe, and having no leader in the empire, had offered themſelves to the protector, who had entertained them in his ſervice. This had raiſed great murmurs againſt him, the Engliſh being impatient of ſeeing in the kingdom foreign troops, who are generally too much devoted to the king. It was eaſy to perceive the protector's aim was to ſtrengthen himſelf perſonally with the aid of theſe foreigners.

Sequel of the affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Burnet.

Before the end of the year, the queen-dowager of Scotland complaining to the court of France of Deſſé's conduct, who behaved with great haughtineſs, and abuſed the Scots [f], cauſed him to be recalled, and de Thermes was ſent in his room. The new general was accompanied with Montluc biſhop of Valence, who, being returned from his embaſſy at Conſtantinople, was ſent to be chancellor of Scotland. But the Scots were ſo diſpleaſed to ſee the beſt office in the kingdom in the hands of a foreigner, that the king of France recalled him. They began to repent ſending their queen into France, when they ſaw the French ſhow leſs regard for them.

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[c] King Edward's Journal ſays, it conſiſted of twenty two thouſand men, p. 5.

[d] Sir Robert Bowes and ſir Thomas Palmer were ſent before to relieve the place, with a body of thirteen hundred men; but had the misfortune to be ſurprized and cut off by the enemy. Hollingſh. p. 994.

[e] Hollingſhead ſays, that the earl of Shrewſbury, and the lord Grey of Wilton, who ſerved under him, did as much as their commiſſion would bear, p. 995.

[f] Deſſé, when he got to Edinburgh from Hadington, went to quarter his men in the town, but the provoſt oppoſed

Quarrels between the emperor and the pope. Sleidan. Burnet.

During the year 1548, the pope and emperor had great quarrels about the tranſlation of the council. The emperor, as I obſerved, uſed the pretence of religion to render himſelf abſolute in the empire. The council, aſſembled at Trent, a city of Germany, as the proteſtants had required, furniſhed him with a colour to compel them to ſubmit to its decrees. He was not ſorry they refuſed to comply with them; but deſired they ſhould have no other reaſons than thoſe which they drew from religion itſelf, becauſe then the pretence of conſtraint remained entire. But by the tranſlation of the council to Bologna, a city of Italy, and belonging to the pope, this pretence was taken away, becauſe the proteſtants had cauſe to complain, that the decrees of the diets were not executed. On the other ſide, the pope finding the emperor was become almoſt abſolute in the empire by the ſucceſs of one campaign, grew jealous of his power, fearing it would reach likewiſe over all Italy, and be very detrimental to the holy ſee. For that reaſon, he was very glad to have him always at variance with the proteſtants of Germany, that his affairs there might hinder him from forming new projects. Theſe different intereſts were the cauſe that the emperor and the pope could not agree. The emperor proteſted againſt the tranſlation of the council to Bologna, and the pope rejected the proteſtation.

Interim granted to the proteſtants. Sleidan. Burnet.

Soon after, the emperor, intending to ſhow the pope he could proceed without him, ordered articles of agreement to be drawn, which were called the Interim, becauſe the form of religion contained therein was to laſt only till a general council ſhould meet in ſome town of Germany. The framers of theſe articles, by the emperor's order [g], took care to ſet them

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poſed it. Whereupon the French broke in by force, and killed the provoſt and his ſon, with all they found in the ſtreets, men, women, and children. Deſſé refuſed likewiſe to give the Scots any ſhare of the ſpoil he had taken in England. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 84. Buchanan.

[g] The perſons employed were Julius Pflugius biſhop of Naumburg, Michael Sidonius,

them forth in the ſmootheſt terms poſſible. But, in the main, they contained the doctrines of the Romiſh church, though a little diſguiſed. The only conſiderable ſoftenings were, that marriage ſhould be no bar to prieſt's orders, and the communion given in both kinds to thoſe who deſired it. This work being finiſhed, the emperor ſummoned a diet to Augsburg, where the Interim was propoſed. The elector of Mentz without any order did, in all the princes names, give the emperor thanks for it, which he interpreted as the aſſent of the whole diet; and after that would not receive the proteſtations of ſeveral towns of the empire againſt the Interim. The pope himſelf was extremely diſpleaſed with it, becauſe, without conſulting him, the emperor had preſumed to diſpenſe with the marriage of prieſts, and communion in both kinds. This occaſioned many troubles in Germany, and obliged numbers of divines and others, who diſliked the Interim, to abſcond or retire elſewhere, not to be expoſed to the victorious emperor's reſentment, who was bent at any rate to have his Interim univerſally received. At this diet, Maurice of Saxony was ſolemnly inveſted with the electorate, of which John Frederic had been deprived.

Parliament which forwards the reformation. Burnet. Statutes.

Whilſt the emperor was labouring to deſtroy the reformation in Germany, it daily made freſh progreſs in England. The parliament which met the 24th of November [h], was almoſt wholly taken up with matters of religion. By an act made this ſeſſion, prieſts were allowed to marry. Another confirmed the new liturgy, about which commiſſioners, appointed for examining and reforming the ſeveral offices, had been employed all the ſummer. This new liturgy retrenched divers abuſes, both in the communion ſervice, and all the other offices, and gave the whole a turn favourable to the reformation. It is the ſame the church of England makes uſe of at this day, excepting a few alterations [i].

The

Sidonius, and Iſlebius Agricola, which laſt had been a proteſtant, but was believed to be now corrupted by the emperor, that the name of one of the Augſburg-Confeſſion might make what they were to ſet out paſs the more eaſily. Sleidan, l. 20.

[h] It was firſt prorogued to April 20, and then from October 15, and 25, to November 24, by reaſon of the plague then in London. Journ. Park.

[i] The committee of ſelected biſhops and divines appointed for reforming the offices, and which met at Windſor caſtle for that purpoſe, were, Thomas Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury, Robert Holgate archbiſhop of York, Edmund Bonner biſhop of London, Cuthbert Tunſtal of Durham, Nicholas Heath of Worceſter, William Rugg of Norwich, Robert Parfew of St. Aſaph, John Salcot of Saliſbury, Richard Sampſon of Coventry and Litchfield, Robert Aldrich of Carliſle, Paul Buſh of Briſtol, Robert Farrar of St. David's, Thomas Goodrick of Ely, Henry Holbech of Lincoln, George Day of Chicheſter, John Skip of Hereford, Thomas Thirleby of Weſt-

minſter,

The protector and the archbiſhop of Canterbury were the chief ſupports and moſt zealous promoters of the reformation, though always in purſuance of the maxim they had eſtabliſhed, namely, to advance by degrees. Whatever reaſons they had thus to proceed, the zealous of the reformed party were not pleaſed with it, becauſe they were afraid that by ſome ſudden and unexpected revolution, the work would be left unfiniſhed. They knew the protector was hated and envied by many of the nobility, and that all the Romiſh party had a mortal averſion to him. This was ſufficient to create a dread that his enemies would at length prevail over him; the adminiſtration, he was entruſted with, being of ſuch a nature, that it was almoſt impoſſible not to render himſelf in ſome meaſure obnoxious. They had the more reaſon to be

The protector and Cranmer are blamed by the zealous of their party. Burnet.

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minſter, and Nicholas Ridley of Rocheſter; with Dr. Richard Cox dean of Chriſt-church, Dr. May dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Tailor dean of Lincoln, Dr. Heins dean of Exeter, Dr. Robertſon afterwards dean of Durham, and Dr. Redmain maſter of Trinity college in Cambridge. The firſt thing they examined was the ſacrament of the euchariſt, than which no part of worſhip was more corrupted. After which they proceeded to the compiling of all the offices, beginning with morning and evening prayer. Theſe were put in the ſame form they are now, only there was no confeſſion nor abſolution; the office beginning with the lord's prayer. In the communion ſervice, the ten commandments were not ſaid as now; but in other things it was very near what it is now. The office of receiving began with a ſhort exhortation, a confeſſion of ſins, and abſolution, the very ſame we yet retain. Then thoſe texts of ſcripture were read which we read, followed with the prayer, "We do not preſume, &c." The offertory was to be made of bread and wine mixt with water. In the conſecratory prayer were theſe words, ſince left out, "With thy holy ſpirit vouchſafe to bleſs and ſanctify theſe thy gifts of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy moſt dearly beloved ſon, &c." [This communion-ſervice was printed in 1547, before the reſt of the liturgy was drawn up. See Strype, tom. ii. p. 85. The curious reader may ſee it, in the *form it* was publiſhed, (which was on March 8, 1547-8.) *in* Sparrow's Collection of Canons, &c. and *in* Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. among the records, N. 59.] In baptiſm there was, beſides the forms which we ſtill retain, a croſs at firſt made on the child's forehead and breaſt, with an adjuration of the devil to go out of him, and come at him no more. To all this they prefixed a preface concerning ceremonies, the ſame that is ſtill before the common-prayer book. It is ſaid in the preamble of the act, "That there might be an uniform way of worſhip all over the kingdom, the king, by the advice of the protector and his council, had appointed the archbiſhop of Canterbury, &c. to draw an order of divine worſhip, &c. which they, by the aid of the Holy Ghoſt, had with one uniform agreement concluded on. Wherefore the parliament having conſidered the book, did enact, &c." This act was variouſly cenſured by thoſe who diſliked it. Some thought it too much, that it was ſaid the book was drawn by the aid of the Holy Ghoſt. Others cenſured it, becauſe it was ſaid to be done by uniform agreement, though eight of the biſhops employed in drawing it, proteſted againſt it; namely, the biſhops of London, Durham, Carliſle, Worceſter, Norwich, Hereford, Chicheſter, and Weſtminſter; as alſo the earl of Derby, and the lords Dacres and Windſor. See Journ. Parl. and Burnet, tom. ii. p. 61--95. Collier Eccl. Hiſt. tom. ii. p. 255, &c.

alarmed, when they ſaw him forced to arreſt his own brother, who had now formed a party to ſupplant him.

Project of the admiral againſt the protector. Burnet. Hayward. Strype.

Though the admiral had already endured a great mortification, he ceaſed not however his practices againſt the protector, in ſpite of the warnings which were given him from time to time, that they would in the end prove his ruin. The queen his ſpouſe dying in September the laſt year 1548 [k], he reſolved to renew his addreſſes to the princeſs Elizabeth; but he did not meet with that encouragement from the princeſs which he expected. After all, though he could have obtained her conſent, that would not have been ſufficient without the approbation of the protector and the council. The late king's will expreſsly debarred her from the ſucceſſion, if ſhe married without the conſent of the executors. So the admiral having no hopes of ſucceeding in this project, turned his thoughts another way to try to gratify his ambition. It is pretended he formed a deſign to carry away the king to his houſe of Holt in Denbighſhire, diſplace the protector, and ſeize the government himſelf; and for that purpoſe had now liſted ten thouſand [l] men in ſeveral places. However this be, it is certain he ſpoke openly againſt the protector, charging him with enſlaving the kingdom by means of the foreign troops in his ſervice. It is alſo ſaid that the protector being informed of all his proceedings, ſhowed great patience towards him, refuſing to come to extremity, till he ſaw plainly one or other muſt neceſſarily be ruined. But to ſpeak the truth, one cannot rely upon what the hiſtorians ſay of the admiral's private deſigns, or of the protector's forbearance. The reaſon is, as ſome make it their buſineſs to blacken the protector's reputation as much as poſſible, ſo others ſtrive to vindicate all his actions. Thus much is certain, the admiral was not ſatisfied with his condition, but ſought to ſupplant his brother and put himſelf in his place. But one cannot be ſo poſitive of the means he intended to uſe to execute his deſigns.

Strype. Burnet.

He is ſent to the Tower. Informations againſt him. Hayward. Burnet. Stow. Strype.

At laſt the council being informed he was contriving ſomething againſt the government, ſigned a warrant to ſend him to the Tower [m]. After that, commiſſioners were appointed [n] to receive the depoſitions of thoſe who appeared as

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[k] She died in child-bed, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon from her huſband, that he might be at liberty to make his addreſſes a ſecond time to the lady Elizabeth. Stow, p. 596. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 97. Strype, Notes on Hayward, p. 301.

[l] Rapin, by miſtake, ſays two thouſand. See Burnet, vol. ii. p. 97.

[m] January 19. Idem. p. 98.

[n] The lord Ruſſel, the earl of Southampton, and ſecretary Petre. Ibid.

Edw. VI. 1549.

witneſſes againſt him. The commiſſioners reported to the council [o], that the admiral was accuſed of forming with ſeveral others a conſpiracy againſt the government [p], and of committing many miſdemeanors in the diſcharge of the admiralty: That he was charged with protecting pirates who gave him a ſhare of their robberies, and with refuſing juſtice to private perſons or to princes themſelves, who complained to him of theſe outrages, by which the king was in danger of a war. It is ſaid, before he was brought to his trial, the protector endeavoured more than once to perſuade him to reſign his office and withdraw from court; but to no purpoſe. So his accuſation was drawn, conſiſting of thirty-three articles, upon which ſome of the council were ordered to go and examine him. But he refuſed to anſwer, demanding an open trial, and his accuſers to be brought face to face. The next day, all the privy-council went in a body to the Tower to examine him; but he ſtill refuſed to anſwer, inſiſting upon his firſt demand, which was not thought proper to be granted. It is ſtrange that, as the particulars of his charge were manifeſtly proved (if any credit is to be given to the council-book) not only by witneſſes but by letters under his own hand, he ſhould however be denied an open trial, and to be confronted with his accuſers: and yet he was a peer of the realm, lord high-admiral of England, and uncle to the king. At laſt, finding he could not obtain this favour or rather juſtice, he deſired the articles of his accuſation might be left with him, and ſaid, he would anſwer to them when he had conſidered them. But even this was denied him. I don't know whether it was lawful then to leave with the party accuſed the articles of his charge, and to allow him time to examine them. But as for the bringing his accuſers face to face, it is evident that could not be refuſed without injuſtice, though this pernicious cuſtom had been introduced in the late reign. Nay, it ſeems, it ought to have been aboliſhed during a minority, or practiſed againſt any other rather than againſt an uncle to the king.

Burnet, t. ii. p. 98.

Burnet, tom. ii. Collect. p. 158.

He refuſes to anſwer.

Burnet, p. 98.

However, the council having made their report to the king [q], it was debated, whether the admiral's affair ſhould be brought before the parliament by a bill of attainder; to

His accuſation is brought before the parliament.

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[o] On February 22. Burnet.

[p] Particularly with ſir William Sharington vice-treaſurer of the mint at Briſtol, who was to have furniſhed him with 10,000 l. a month, and had already coined about 12,000 l. of falſe money, and had clipped a great deal more, to the value of 40,000 l. in all. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 97. Strype, tom. ii. p. 122, &c.

[q] On February 24. Burnet, p. 98.

He ſtill refuſes to anſwer.

He is attainted. Burnet, tom. ii. Collect. p. 163.

Burnet.

and executed.

which all the counſellors agreed, the protector himſelf not excepted. Herein their deſign was doubtleſs to take care of the king's reputation, and to caſt the odious part of the proſecution upon the parliament. The king, who believed his uncle guilty, conſented alſo that he ſhould be delivered to the juſtice of the parliament. Before the two houſes proceeded againſt him, ſome of their members [r] were ordered to go and take his defence. He gave an anſwer to the firſt three articles, and then ſtopt on a ſudden, and would not go any farther. This being reported, the bill of attainder very eaſily paſſed the houſe of lords [s]; but there was much more oppoſition in the houſe of commons. They could not forbear exclaiming againſt attainders in abſence, and the irregular manner of judging the accuſed, without confronting them with the witneſſes, or hearing their defence. Perhaps they would have thrown out the bill upon this ſingle conſideration, if the king had not ſent them a meſſage, that he did not think the admiral's preſence neceſſary, and that it was ſufficient they ſhould examine the depoſitions produced in the houſe of lords [t]. After the king had thus made known his will, the commons, in a full houſe of four hundred, paſſed the bill, not above ten or twelve voting in the negative. Very probably they were convinced of the truth of the depoſitions; and, the point in queſtion being only an irregularity which was even become a cuſtom, did not believe it a proper ſeaſon to put a ſtop to it. However this be, the royal aſſent being given to the act, the admiral was beheaded the 20th of March [u].

The protector's conduct is very much cenſured. Burnet.

This tragedy was not acted without giving occaſion to ſevere cenſures upon the protector's conduct. It was ſaid, if the admiral was guilty, it was only againſt his brother whom he would have ſupplanted, and probably, it was this ſame brother who was his adverſary and had brought him to the ſcaffold. It was added, the council would never have proceeded ſo rigorouſly againſt the admiral, if they had not thought it agreeable to the duke his brother, or been afraid of diſpleaſing him by a denial. The young king himſelf, then but twelve years old, would never have been induced to compel, as I may ſay, the houſe of commons to overlook the irregularity of the proceedings, if he had not been ſolicited by the protector to take ſo unuſual a ſtep. It is therefore very difficult to juſtify the duke of Somerſet's proſecuting his own brother to death, for crimes committed againſt his perſon only. And indeed, it was never clearly proved, that he had formed any ill deſign either againſt the king or the ſtate, as he proteſted to his laſt breath. But this is not the only time that plots againſt the miniſters have been reckoned high treaſon. For my part, I cannot help ſuſpecting that they who then thought of ruining the protector, feigning to be his friends, moved him with all their power to be revenged on his brother, and were ready to ſerve as inſtruments of his vengeance, to render him odious. Some ſay, the firſt occaſion of the quarrel between the two brothers ſprung from the dutcheſs of Somerſet's envy at the queen-dowager, wife to the admiral, of whom ſhe pretended to take place as the protector's lady. But it is unlikely ſhe ſhould be ſo void of ſenſe, or ſo ignorant of the cuſtoms of England, as to diſpute the precedence with the queen-dowager [w].

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[r] The lord chancellor, the earls of Shrewſbury, Warwick, and Southampton; and ſir John Baker, ſir Thomas Cheney, and ſir Anthony Denny. Idem. p. 99.

[s] It was firſt read on February 25, and, for the ſecond and third times, on the 26th and 27th, and ſent down to the commons, from whence it was brought up again March 5. The Journals of Parliament obſerve, that the lord protector was preſent at each reading of it.

[t] On the 4th of March, a meſſage was ſent from the king, that he thought it was not neceſſary to ſend for the admiral; and that the lords ſhould come down, and renew before them the evidence they had given in their own houſe. Which was done. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 99.

[u] As for his behaviour on the ſcaffold, Latimer, in his fourth ſermon, ſays, that he died very dangerouſly, yrkſomelye, horryblye; ſo that his end was ſuitable to his life, which was very vicious, profane, and irreligious. Strype, tom. ii. p. 126, 127. Cranmer's hand, as well as the lord protector's, was to the warrant. Burnet, p. 100. The admiral left but one daughter, named Mary, born in September, 1548, which was reſtored in blood in 1549, but died ſhortly after. Strype, tom. ii. p. 128, &c.

Sanders.
Hayward.

Money given to the king.

Before the parliament broke up, a ſubſidy was given the king to aſſiſt him in the conqueſt of Scotland, which is called in the act a part of his dominions. Then the houſes thanked him for the great happineſs they enjoyed under him, and for applying all his endeavours to the advancement of the true religion. The clergy alſo granted him a ſubſidy [x], after which the parliament was on the 14th of March prorogued to the 4th of November [y].

Preſently

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[w] This ſtory was firſt forged by Sanders, from whence Hayward had it, for it is not to be found in Stow, Hollingſhead, or the king's journal.

[x] The clergy granted ſix ſhillings in the pound payable in three years, and the laity twelve-pence. But ſtrangers to pay two ſhillings; and this to continue for three years. They alſo gave another aid, namely, of every ewe kept in ſeveral paſtures, three-pence; of every weather kept as aforeſaid, two-pence; of every ſheep kept in the common, three half-pence. They alſo gave eight-pence in the pound of every woollen cloth made for ſale throughout England, for three years. Strype's Mem. tom. ii. p. 454.

[y] Beſides the two acts made in this parliament, and mentioned above, the following were alſo then enacted, 1. That malt ſhall be three weeks in

making;

The new liturgy is every where ſet up. Burnet.

The princeſs Mary refuſes it.

Preſently after, the council appointed commiſſioners to go and eſtabliſh the new liturgy in all the churches. It was every where received without oppoſition, except at the princeſs Mary's, who would never ſubmit to the change. The king and council ſeemed reſolved to compel her. But upon the emperor's interceſſion, it was thought adviſeable, for reaſons of ſtate, to promiſe to leave her undiſturbed for ſome time. He pretended afterwards, that the promiſe was made without any limitation.

An anabaptiſt woman is condemned to be burnt. Act. Pub. xv. p. 131, April 12. Stow.

At this time, the council being informed that ſeveral German anabaptiſts were come into England, and fearing they might ſpread their errors, commiſſioned Cranmer and ſome others to ſearch after and try theſe people[z]. An unfortunate Engliſh woman, Joan Bocher, commonly called Joan of Kent, who had ſuffered herſelf to be ſeduced, ſhowing an invincible obſtinacy, was pronounced a heretick, and as ſuch delivered over to the ſecular arm, and ſentenced to be burnt. But when the king was moved to ſign the warrant for her execution, he could not be prevailed with to do it. He thought the ſentence was very unjuſt and cruel. Archbiſhop Cranmer, who had a great influence over him, was employed to perſuade him to ſign. At length, the young king, ſilenced rather than convinced by Cranmer's reaſons[a], ſet his hand to the warrant with tears in his eyes, telling him, if he did wrong, ſince it was in ſubmiſſion to his authority, he ſhould

Fox. Burnet.

The king ſigns her warrant with tears. Burnet.

anſwer

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making; except in the months of June, July, and Auguſt, when the ſpace of ſeventeen days is thought ſufficient. 2. That tithes ſhall be paid as they have been within forty years before; and that no one ſhall carry away his corn, &c. before he hath ſet out the tithes, or agreed for them, upon pain of forfeiting the treble value of them. 3. That an incumbent, not paying his tenths due to the king, when demanded, ſhall be deprived of that benefice for which they are due. 4. That butchers, bakers, &c. conſpiring and agreeing not to ſell meat, bread, &c. but at certain prices: or workmen refuſing to work, except at a certain price or rate, ſhall, for the firſt offence, forfeit 10 l. for the ſecond 20 l. for the third 40 l. to be paid within ſix days, or elſe to ſuffer impriſonment for twenty days.

[z] Of theſe anabaptiſts there were two ſorts moſt remarkable. The gentle or moderate ſort, who only thought baptiſm ought not to be given to infants, but only to grown perſons. The other ſort were men of fierce and barbarous tempers, who denied almoſt all the principles of the chriſtian doctrine. They had broke out into a general revolt over Germany, raiſed the war, called, the Ruſtick war, and poſſeſſing themſelves of Munſter, made one of their teachers, John of Leyden, their king, under the title of the king of the new Jeruſalem. Some of them ſet up a fantaſtical, unintelligible way of talking of religion, which they turned all into allegories: theſe being joined in the common name of Anabaptiſts with the other, brought them all under an ill character. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 110, &c.

[a] King Edward thought it a piece of cruelty too like that which the reformers had condemned in papiſts, to burn any for their conſciences. He aſked Cranmer, What, my lord, will ye have me ſend her quick to the devil in her error?

So

anſwer for it to God. Whatever the archbiſhop's arguments were, it may be affirmed, this was not one of his brighteſt actions. He would doubtleſs have done better, not to have concerned himſelf in ſuch an affair, ſo little becoming a proteſtant biſhop. Accordingly this proceeding has been often objected to him, and even ſerved for foundation to very diſadvantageous reflections upon the reformation and the reformed. Two years after, a Dutchman was alſo burnt on the ſame account [b].

Complaints of the people againſt the nobles. Hayward. Burnet.

Whilſt all England ſeemed to receive with ſubmiſſion whatever came from the court, the leaven of diſcontent was fermenting in the kingdom, and upon the point of producing great alterations. The chief cauſe proceeded from the people's not being able to gain their livelihood with the ſame eaſe as formerly. This affected all in general, as well of the new as of the old religion. But the prieſts, the ſuppreſſed monks, and they who were ſtill addicted to the Romiſh religion, took occaſion from thence to inflame the diſcontent univerſally ſpread among the common people, in order to incite them to a rebellion. Beſides, the duke of Somerſet's enemies were not ſorry that the people appeared diſſatisfied with the government. But before I ſpeak of the inſurrections in ſeveral parts of the kingdom during the courſe of this year, it will be neceſſary to make known the cauſes.

Occaſion of theſe complaints. Burnet.

After the ſuppreſſion of the abbies, there were great numbers of monks diſperſed in the kingdom, who were forced to work for their living, their penſions being either ill-paid, or not ſufficient for their ſubſiſtence. So, the work being divided among ſo many hands, the profit became leſs than before. Moreover, whilſt the monaſteries ſtood, their lands were let at eaſy rents to farmers, who to cultivate them were obliged to employ a great many people. But after theſe lands were fallen into the hands of the nobility and gentry, the

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So that Cranmer himſelf confeſſed, that he had never ſo much to do in all his life, as to cauſe the king to ſign the warrant, ſaying, that he would lay all the charge thereof upon Cranmer before God. But to bring him to a compliance, Cranmer argued from the law of Moſes, by which blaſphemers were to be ſtoned. He ſaid, he made a difference between errors in other points of divinity, and thoſe directly againſt the Apoſtles Creed: that theſe were impieties, which a prince as God's deputy ought to puniſh. Strong arguments indeed for the monſtrous doctrine of perſecution. Ibid. Fox, tom. ii. p. 2, edit. 1684.

[b] George Van Pare being accuſed for ſaying, that "God the father was the "only God, and that Chriſt was not "the very God," was burnt in Smithfield. Whereupon the papiſts very juſtly ſaid, it was plain the reformers were only againſt burning, when they were in fear of it themſelves. This Pare was a man of exemplary piety, and ſuffered with great compoſedneſs of mind. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 112. Echard.

rents were much raiſed; whence the farmers, to make them turn to better account, were forced to employ fewer hands, and leſſen the wages. On the other ſide, the proprietors of the land finding, ſince the laſt peace with France, the woollen trade flouriſhed, took to breeding ſheep, becauſe wool brought them in more money than corn. To that end, they cauſed their grounds to be incloſed. Hence aroſe ſeveral inconveniencies. In the firſt place, the price of corn was increaſed, to the great detriment of the meaner ſort of people. In the next place, the landlords, or their farmers, wanted but very few people to look after their flocks in theſe incloſures. Conſequently great numbers loſt the means of getting their livelihood; and the profit of the lands, which before was ſhared among many, was almoſt wholly engroſſed by the landlords. This occaſioned numberleſs complaints and murmurs among the common people, who ſaw they were like to be reduced to great miſery. Nay, ſeveral little books were publiſhed, ſhowing the miſchiefs of theſe proceedings. But the nobility and gentry ſtill continued the ſame courſe, without regarding the conſequences. The protector openly eſpouſed the cauſe of the poor people, whether to mortify the nobles, by whom he was not beloved, or becauſe he foreſaw the miſchiefs which might ariſe from the diſcontent of the commons. In 1548, the inhabitants about Hampton-court complaining to the council concerning a park incloſed there by Henry VIII. the protector gave them content, and the park was entirely laid open. The laſt year, he had appointed commiſſioners to examine whether thoſe who had purchaſed the abbey-lands kept hoſpitality, and performed all the conditions on which theſe lands were ſold to them [c]. But he met with ſo many obſtacles in the execution of this order, that it had no effect. Mean while, the protector increaſed the hatred of the nobility and gentry, whoſe intereſt it was to continue theſe abuſes. Nay, it happened in the laſt ſeſſion of the parliament, that the lords paſſed an act for giving every one leave to incloſe his grounds if he pleaſed. But the bill was thrown out by the commons; and yet the lords and gentlemen went on incloſing their lands. This bred an univerſal diſcontent among the people, who imagined there was a ſettled deſign to ruin

Strype, t. ii. p. 92. Burnet.

Act. Pub. xv. p. 134.

Jour. Parl. Burnet.

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[c] The commiſſion was to enquire, whether deans and chapters, founded by king Henry VIII. and Edward VI. and to whom divers manors, lands, tenements, &c. had been given, upon condition that they ſhould give and diſtribute yearly among poor houſholders, and other poor people, divers ſums of money, and ſhould alſo employ other ſums in repairing the highways, did obſerve thoſe conditions? But ſeveral lands being afterwards taken from them, this was dropped. See Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 134.

them and reduce them to ſlavery. Whereupon the common people roſe in Wiltſhire and Somerſetſhire, but ſir William Herbert diſperſed them, and cauſed ſome to be hanged. About the ſame time, there were the like inſurrections in Suſſex, Hampſhire, Kent, Gloceſterſhire, Suffolk, Warwickſhire, Eſſex, Hertfordſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Rutlandſhire, and Worceſterſhire.

Hollingſh. Fox. Hayward. Burnet.

Inſurrections in ſeveral counties.

The protector perceiving the flames were kindling all over the kingdom, ſent to let the people know he was ready to redreſs their grievances, and by that means ſtopt their fury. To perform his promiſe, he brought the affair before the council, hoping ſome expedient would be found to ſatisfy the malecontents. But he met with ſo great oppoſition, that he thought himſelf obliged to take care of it by his ſole authority. So, contrary to the mind of the whole council, he publiſhed a proclamation againſt all new incloſures, and granted a general pardon to the people for what was paſt. He moreover appointed commiſſioners with an unlimited power to hear and determine cauſes about incloſures, highways, and cottages. Theſe commiſſioners were much complained of by the nobility and gentry, who openly ſaid, it was an invaſion of their property to ſubject them thus to an arbitrary power. Nay, they directly oppoſed the commiſſioners when they offered to execute their commiſſion. For this reaſon, the protector, who every where met with oppoſition, was not able to redreſs this grievance ſo fully as he deſired. So, the people finding the court did not perform what was promiſed, roſe again in ſeveral places, and particularly in Oxfordſhire, Devonſhire, Norfolk, and Yorkſhire. Thoſe in Oxfordſhire were immediately diſperſed by the lord Gray[d].

The protector tries in vain to redreſs the people's grievances. Hollingſh. Burnet. Strype.

The people riſe again. Hayward. Burnet. Edw. Jour.

The inſurrection in Devonſhire was more conſiderable and dangerous. That county abounding with people, who had only complied outwardly with the alterations in religion, the prieſts and monks ran in among them, and fomented the rebellion to the utmoſt of their power. They firſt came together on the 10th of June, and in a ſhort time grew to be ten thouſand ſtrong. The protector neglected this affair at firſt, in expectation that this might be as eaſily diſperſed as were the other inſurrections. At laſt, finding they perſiſted in their rebellion, he ſent the lord Ruſſel with a ſmall force to ſtop their proceedings. That lord, who found himſelf too weak to attack them, kept at ſome diſtance[e], and offered to

The inſurrection in Devonſhire. Hollingſh. Burnet. Hayward. Fox. Edw. Jour.

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[d] Who was ſent againſt them with fifteen hundred horſe and foot, Hayward, p. 292.

[e] At Honiton. Idem, p. 294.

receive

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receive their complaints and ſend them to the council. But this proceeding, which demonſtrated a fear of them, ſerved only to encourage them the more. At the ſame time they ſet at their head Humphry Arundel, a Corniſh gentleman, who was come to join them. Mean while, to ſhow they had not taken up arms out of wantonneſs, they ſent to the king's general their demands, which plainly ſhowed, religion was the chief motive of their rebellion. They were compriſed in theſe fifteen articles:

The rebels demands. Burnet, t. ii. p. 115.

I. That all the general councils, and the antient canons of the church ſhould be obſerved.

II. That the act of the Six Articles ſhould be again in force.

III. That the maſs ſhould be in Latin, and the prieſts alone ſhould receive.

IV. That the ſacrament ſhould be lifted up and worſhipped, and thoſe who refuſed to do it ſhould ſuffer as hereticks.

V. That the ſacrament ſhould only be given to the people at Eaſter in one kind.

VI. That baptiſm ſhould be adminiſtred at any hour, and at all times.

VII. That holy bread, holy water, and palms be again uſed, and images ſet up, with all the other antient ceremonies.

VIII. That the new liturgy ſhould be laid aſide, and the old offices as well as the proceſſions reſtored.

IX. That all preachers before their ſermons, and prieſts in the maſs, ſhould pray for the ſouls in purgatory.

X. That the people ſhould be forbid to read the bible.

XI. That Dr. Moreman and Mr. Criſpin ſhould be reſtored to their livings.

XII. That cardinal Pole ſhould be reſtored, and made of the king's council.

XIII. That every gentleman might have only one ſervant for every hundred marks of yearly rent belonging to him.

XIV. That the half of the abbey-lands ſhould be taken from the poſſeſſors, and adjudged to two of the chief abbies in every county; and all the church-boxes for ſeven years ſhould be given to the ſaid houſes, that devout perſons might live in them, who ſhould pray for the king and the commonwealth.

XV. That for their particular grievances, they ſhould be redreſſed, as Humphrey Arundel and the mayor of Bodmyn ſhould inform the king and the council.

They are rejected. Burnet, t. ii. p. 116. Fox. Hollingſh. Hayward.

Theſe extravagant demands were rejected with indignation. However, to ſhow the unreaſonableneſs of them, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was ordered to draw an anſwer to each in particular. This he did very ſolidly, not without reproaching them for being miſled by ſome ignorant perſons. Then the rebels perceiving, the court granted not one of their demands, reduced them to eight, which were not more agreeable than the former. Nevertheleſs, to convince the people of the juſtice of this refuſal, the council thought fit to ſend an anſwer to theſe demands in the king's name. But this was not capable of reclaiming the rebels, whoſe obſtinacy grew the more dangerous, as at the ſame time there were the like riſings in Norfolk and Yorkſhire, and as the king of France was entering le Boulonnois with an army. I ſhall ſpeak of the rebels of the other counties after having finiſhed what concerns thoſe of Devonſhire.

They beſiege Exeter. Hayward. Burnet. Hollingſh. Fox.

The negotiation breaking off in July, the rebels beſieged Exeter [f], where they met with more reſiſtance than they expected, from a place defended only by the citizens. As they had no artillery, they ſet fire to one of the gates, in order to ſtorm it as ſoon as the violence of the flames was over. But the inhabitants, inſtead of quenching the fire, fed it with much fuel, till they had raiſed a rampart within the gate. The beſiegers having miſſed their aim, wrought a mine: but the citizens found means to countermine and ſpoil their powder. At length, finding they could do nothing by force, they turned the ſiege into a blockade, in hopes that the want of proviſions would compel the beſieged to ſurrender. But the citizens endured extreme famine for twelve days with invincible reſolution [g].

The lord Ruſſel beats the rebels, and relieves Exeter. Burnet. Hayward. Fox. Hollingſh.

Mean time, the lord Ruſſel who had but a ſmall force, being too near the rebels, would have retired at a greater diſtance for fear of being incloſed. But he found they were poſſeſſed of a bridge behind him [h], over which he was neceſſarily to paſs in order to be out of danger. As there was no

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[f] July 2. Hollingſhead, p. 1002.

[g] They were forced to eat their horſes, and to make bread of the coarſeſt bran. They were much encouraged by an aged citizen, who brought forth all his proviſions, and told them, that for his part he would feed on one arm, and fight with the other, before he would conſent to put the city into the hands of the ſeditious. Hayward, p. 295. Compl. Hiſt. vol. ii.

[h] Fenington-bridge. Hayward, p. 294.

Hayward. Hollingſh. Edw. Jour.

other road, he briſkly attacked the guard, conſiſting of two thouſand men, and after a ſlight conflict became maſter of the bridge[i]. This trial convincing him, they were not ſo formidable as he imagined, he reſolved to attack them as ſoon as he had received a ſupply which he expected from Briſtol. Shortly after, the lord Gray joining him with ſome troops, and Spinola with a body of Landſquenets, he marched directly to the rebels[k]. He found a body of them poſted on the ſide of a river, who would have oppoſed his paſſage, but attacking them immediately, ſlew above a thouſand, and then continued his march to Exeter. At his approach, the rebels raiſed the blockade, and divided themſelves into ſmall parties, which were eaſily diſperſed one after another. Arundel their leader, the mayor of Bodmyn[l], and ſome others, were hanged ſoon after. Thus ended the inſurrection in Devonſhire[m].

Ket's inſurrection in Norfolk. Nevil de Fur. Norf. Hollingſh. Burnet. Edw. Jour.

The riſing in Norfolk was no leſs dangerous. One Ket a tanner headed the rebels, who quickly became twenty thouſand ſtrong. The marquiſs of Northampton was ſent againſt them with eleven hundred men only[n], too ſmall a number to inſpire them with terror. Wherefore he had orders to keep at ſome diſtance from them, and try only to cut off their proviſions. Ket marching to Norwich was advanced as far as Mouſhold-hill above that city, where he erected a ſort of a tribunal to adminiſter juſtice as a ſovereign under an old oak, called from thence the oak of reformation. This was becauſe theſe talked only of reforming the ſtate, religion being neither the cauſe nor pretence of their riſing. Their deſign was to deſtroy the gentry, and put ſome of their own body about the king to direct and govern him.

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[i] The rebels loſt ſix hundred men. Hayward, p. 294.

[k] His whole army did not conſiſt of much above one thouſand men. The rebels were defeated, Auguſt 6. Hayward, p. 295. Hollingſhead, p. 102.

[l] Boyer mayor of Bodmyn was baſely uſed. Sir Anthony Kingſton, provoſt marſhal of the king's army, ſent him word he would come and dine with him upon ſuch a day. The mayor received him and his company with many ceremonies of entertainment. A little before dinner ſir Anthony took the mayor aſide, and bid him get a pair of gallows erected againſt they had dined, for execution muſt that day be done in the town. His orders were obeyed; and after dinner the mayor ſhewing him the gallows, Kingſton aſked him, whether he thought them ſtrong enough? And upon his ſaying, yes doubtleſs, he bid him go up and try, and ſo hanged him indeed. Hayward, p. 295.

[m] During theſe inſurrections, and undoubtedly upon account of them, the lords lieutenants of the counties were firſt inſtituted. Their commiſſions are dated July 24, and run, That they ſhould enquire of all treaſons, miſpriſions of treaſon, inſurrections, riots, &c. levy men, and fight againſt the king's enemies, &c. Strype's Mem. tom. ii. p. 178.

[n] Fifteen hundred horſe, and a ſmall band of Italians, ſays Hollingſhead, p. 1033, and Hayward, p. 297. But king Edward's journal has 1060 horſemen, p. 7.

The marquiſs of Northampton is unſucceſsful. Hollingſh. Fox. Hayward. Edw. Jour.

The marquiſs of Northampton neglecting to obſerve the orders given him, marched on to Norwich, and even entered the city. But as the rebels had correſpondents there, he was attacked the next day and glad to eſcape, leaving a hundred of his men dead on the ſpot[o], with thirty priſoners. This loſs obliged the court to ſend the army deſigned againſt Scotland, under the command of the earl of Warwick. It was compoſed of ſix thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe. With this conſiderable body the earl of Warwick entered Norwich, where he waited for a favourable opportunity to attack the rebels. At laſt, as they had themſelves waſted the country about them, and as the earl never failed to cut off their convoys of proviſions, they were forced to remove. Then it was that the earl of Warwick cloſely followed them, and without allowing them time to come to themſelves, fell upon them, killed two thouſand, and took many priſoners, among whom was Ket their captain, who atoned for his crime on a gibbet at Norwich[p].

The earl of Warwick diſperſes the rebels. Burnet.

Edw. Jour.

The Yorkſhire rebels accept of a pardon. Hayward. Hollingſh.

At the ſame time that the male-contents of Norfolk began to riſe, thoſe of Yorkſhire alſo took up arms; but their number never exceeded three thouſand[q]. They committed ſome outrages at firſt, but at length accepted the offer of pardon which was ſent them. Some of the ringleaders renewing afterwards the ſedition, were taken and hanged at York.

The protector's behaviour during the troubles. Burnet.

During theſe commotions, the protector diſcovered by all his proceedings, that he did not deſire to come to extremities with the rebels; whether he was perſuaded the people had reaſon to complain, or was willing to gain their favour, ſince he was hated by the nobility. Nay, after all the troubles were over, he moved in the council, that there might be a general pardon proclaimed for reſtoring the peace of the kingdom. But this was ſtrongly oppoſed. Many of the council were for taking this occaſion to curb the inſolence of the people. But the protector, being of another mind, gave out by his ſole authority a general pardon of all that had been done before the 21ſt of Auguſt, and excepted only a few rebel priſoners. He had power to act in this manner by virtue of his

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[o] Among whom was Edmund lord Sheffield (created baron 1 Edward VI.) anceſtor of the preſent duke of Buckingham. His horſe falling into a ditch, he was ſlain by a butcher with a club. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 386. The rebels loſt one hundred and forty men. Hollingſhead, p. 1035.

[p] This battle was fought Auguſt 27. Idem. p. 1039.

[q] They aſſembled at Semor in the North-Riding. Hayward, p. 300.

patent, but it inflamed the hatred of the nobles, as well as of a good part of the counſellors, who were vexed to ſee themſelves conſulted only for form-ſake, and that their opinions were of no weight.

The king of France enters the Boulonnois. Mezerai. Burnet. Strype.

Whilſt the court was employed in quelling the inſurrections, other troubles unexpectedly aroſe from another quarter. Henry II. finding it a favourable juncture, entered the territory of Boulogne at the head of an army, though there had been no declaration of war between the two crowns ſince the laſt treaty of peace. Nothing was more expreſs than that treaty, wherein Francis I. and Henry VIII. agreed, that Boulogne ſhould be reſtored to France in eight years, on payment of two millions of crowns of gold to the king of England. But Henry II. was no ſooner on the throne of France, than he formed the deſign of recovering Boulogne before the time appointed, and without paying the ſtipulated ſum. His reaſon was, that Henry VIII. had unjuſtly made war upon Francis I. when Francis was employed againſt the emperor. From thence he inferred, he might himſelf improve a favourable opportunity, to repair the loſs ſuſtained by the king his father. It is not neceſſary to examine Henry's grounds, I mean, the pretended injuſtice done to his predeceſſor. It ſuffices to obſerve, that according to this maxim, the moſt ſolemn treaties are to go for nothing. And yet, it is but too much followed, and as if it was an undeniable truth, it is an inexhauſtible ſource of wars between ſovereigns.

His troops are beaten back at Bullenberg. Thuanus.

A ſea-fight. Edw. Jour. Stow.

Siege of Boulogne,

turned into a blockade.

However, Henry ſeeing that the commotions in England preſented him with a fair opportunity to execute his deſigns upon Boulogne, took ſeveral caſtles in the Boulonnois. Then, he ordered the fort of Bullenberg to be attacked, where his troops were bravely repulſed. At the ſame time there was a ſea-fight between the French and Engliſh near Jerſey, each claiming the victory [r], as it often happens in ſuch engagements. At length, Henry beſieged Boulogne in September, and the Engliſh believing they could not keep Bullenberg, carried away their cannon, and blew up the fortifications. The plague, which ſeized the French army, obliging Henry to depart, he left the management of the ſiege to Gaſpar de Coligny lord of Chatillon, who after ſome fruitleſs attempts was forced at laſt to turn it into a blockade.

War with Scotland. Buchanan. Burnet.

The war with Scotland was not ſucceſsful to the Engliſh during this campaign. De Thermes, who had ſucceeded

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[r] In king Edward's journal it is ſaid, that the French loſt a thouſand men, p. 6. The French attempted at the ſame time to land in the iſlands of Jerſey and Guernſey, but were repulſed.

Deſſé, took Broughty-caſtle. On the other hand, the protector finding himſelf obliged to employ the army, deſigned for Scotland, againſt the rebels of Norfolk, and not daring even to ſend that army at a diſtance from the centre of the kingdom, reſolved at length to demoliſh Hadington, which was done the 15th of September.

The protector thinks of reſtoring Boulogne. Burnet.

His reaſons.

Mean time, the war, begun by the king of France, made the protector extremely uneaſy. He had certain advice that Henry II. was entered into a treaty with the German proteſtants, and had promiſed them a ſtrong aid as ſoon as he had recovered Boulogne. Hence it was eaſy to perceive, he would make a powerful effort the next campain, and in order to withſtand him, England would be obliged to make a conſiderable armament. But the king's exchequer was very low [s], and there was danger of raiſing new commotions in demanding freſh ſubſidies of the parliament. On the other hand, as the protector was extremely zealous for the reformation, he plainly ſaw nothing could be more advantageous than the union of France with the German proteſtants. But he was ſorry, it was to coſt the Engliſh Boulogne. The protector alſo conſidered, if the war with France ſhould laſt any time, there was ſome reaſon to fear the Romiſh party would excite troubles in the kingdom. In that caſe, he foreſaw how difficult it would be to maintain three wars at once [t]. In ſhort, there was another reaſon which concerned him in particular, and made him deſirous of a peace with France, namely, the war might give his enemies too great an advantage, on account of the ill accidents it might produce, whereas a peace enabled him to parry their blows. He was not ignorant there was a ſtrong faction already formed againſt him, as well by reaſon of the envy at his greatneſs, and of his diſobliging the nobility and gentry in the affair of the incloſures, as becauſe of the injury he had done to many of the counſellors, in depriving them of the dignity of regents, and reducing them to the bare ſtate of privy-counſellors. Among theſe, the chief were, the earl of Southampton, who had reſumed his place

Burnet.

Burnet.

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[s] The charges of king Edward's wars and fortifications, from the beginning of his reign to this year 1549, amounted to one million, three hundred and fifty-ſix thouſand, ſix hundred and eighty-ſeven pounds, eighteen ſhillings, and five pence three farthings. Strype, tom. ii. p. 178.

[t] Biſhop Burnet ſays, that the ill ſtate of things this year, both at home and abroad, occaſioned that change to be made in the office of the daily prayers; where the anſwer to the petition, "Give "us peace in our time, O Lord," which is ſtill continued, was now made, "Be-"cauſe there is none other that fighteth "for us, but only thou, O God." Tom. ii. p. 129. But this petition and anſwer ſtand in the firſt liturgy, publiſhed in 1548. See his vol. iii. Collect. p. 407.

in the council, and the earl of Warwick. This laſt was extremely ambitious; he envied the protector and eſteemed him but little. As of all the lords who had moſt acceſs to the court, he thought himſelf the only perſon fit to ſucceed him in the adminiſtration of the government; he reckoned, if he could but ruin him, he ſhould infallibly profit by his diſgrace. Upon that account, he had formed in the council itſelf a ſtrong party, of which the protector had ſome knowledge, but which he ſaw himſelf unable to ruin at once.

He propoſes it to the council. Burnet.

It is rejected.

Paget ſent to the emperor. Burnet.

All theſe conſiderations made the protector reſolve to propoſe to the council the reſtitution of Boulogne to France. He ſeconded his motion with all the reaſons he thought moſt plauſible, adding that by concluding a peace with France, England would at the ſame time be freed from a burthenſome and withal a fruitleſs war with Scotland, ſince it was not poſſible to obtain the end propoſed in beginning it. The propoſal was received by the council with marks of indignation, and conſidered as a real cowardice. It was too nice an affair for the protector to determine it by his own authority. And therefore, though he plainly perceived the faction againſt him would carry it, he was willing his propoſal ſhould be debated in form. The reſult of the debate was, that Boulogne ſhould not be reſtored, but an alliance with the emperor endeavoured for the ſecurity of that place. Paget was appointed for the embaſſy, becauſe being devoted to the protector, the ill ſucceſs which was expected from this negotiation, was deſigned to be thrown upon him, in order to blacken the protector himſelf.

Several reports are ſpread againſt the protector. Burnet, t. ii. p. 134.

The duke of Somerſet's enemies having reſolved to execute the plot contrived againſt him, began with ſpreading reports to deſtroy his reputation. It was ſaid, he was more cruel than a wild beaſt, ſince he ſcrupled not to ſacrifice his own brother to his boundleſs ambition: That he was the cauſe of the inſurrections this ſummer, by countenancing the people, and intimating, he thought them unjuſtly oppreſſed: That afterwards he favoured the male-contents to the utmoſt of his power during their actual rebellion; and when their fury was ſtopt, granted them a general pardon, contrary to the mind of the council: That to maintain himſelf in the poſt he had uſurped, he entertained foreign troops, having extorted the council's conſent: That he was raiſing a much larger and more ſtately palace than the king's, and had pulled down ſeveral churches for the ſake of the materials, and alienated church-lands to bear the expence [u]: That he had the boldneſs to call himſelf "By the grace of God, duke of Somerſet," as if he was a ſovereign prince: That he had kept for himſelf the money raiſed by the ſale of the chantry lands: That he had broke through the eſtabliſhment ſettled by the late king, by ſeizing the regency alone, and excluding the other executors, who had no leſs right than himſelf: That he had ill-provided the forts of the Boulonnois, that their loſs might render a peace with France abſolutely neceſſary: That he had demoliſhed Hadington in Scotland for the like reaſon: That he had moſt preſumptuouſly aſſumed the government of the kingdom, and procured the king's letters patents to countenance his ambition: That beſides, he uſed his power tyrannically, rejecting the opinions of the council, and acting in many things by his own authority. In ſhort, Paget being returned from his embaſſy, without ſucceeding in his negotiation, it was rumoured that he had the protector's orders to repreſent the impoſſibility of engaging the emperor in the defence of Boulogne, that it might give a colour to the baſe project of reſtoring that place.

Burnet.

He uſes precautions which ſerve for a handle to his enemies. Burnet.

As it was impoſſible all theſe reports ſhould be publiſhed, and the duke not hear of them and gueſs the authors, the whole month of September was ſpent in diſputes and heats; his enemies only ſeeking an occaſion of quarrel to execute what they had reſolved. Mean while, the protector ſeeing his enemies acting almoſt openly, was afraid they had formed a deſign to carry away the king, and to that end corrupted thoſe about him. For this reaſon, to ſecure himſelf againſt ſuch a deſign, he placed his own ſervants about the king [w], with orders to watch narrowly what paſſed. This proceeding furniſhed his enemies with the pretence they were ſeeking.

The preſident and ſeveral counſellors meet and make reſolves againſt the protector. Edw. Journ. Hollingſh. Burnet, t. ii. p. 135. Hayward.

On the 6th of October the lord St. John, preſident of the council, the earls of Southampton, Warwick, and Arundel, ſir Edward North, ſir Richard Southwel, ſir Edmund Peckham, ſir Edward Wotton, and Dr. Wotton, met at Ely Houſe in Holborn [x], and ſat as the king's council. Secretary

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[u] This was Somerſet-houſe in the Strand, which ſtill bears his name. To make room he pulled down the houſes belonging to the biſhops of Worceſter, Litchfield, and Landaff, together with the pariſh-church. And for a further ſupply of ſtone, timber, lead and iron, he took down at St. Paul's a cloyſter, two chapels, and a charnel-houſe, and moſt part of the church of St. John of Jeruſalem near Smithfield. Hayward, p. 303. Stow, p. 596.

[w] Who was then at Hampton-court. Burnet, p. 135.

[x] Which was then the reſidence of the earl of Warwick. They met there privately armed. Hollingſh. p. 1057.

Petre being ſent to them in the king's name to aſk the reaſon of their meeting, they forced him to ſtay with them. Being thus met, they conſidered the ſtate of the kingdom, and laid on the protector the blame of all the pretended diſorders and of the late loſſes in France, taking for granted, they would not have happened, had he followed the advice of the council. Then they declared they had that very day intended to confer with him, but hearing he had armed his ſervants, and many others whom he had placed about the king, did not think they ought to expoſe themſelves to his violences. This done, they ſent for the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, with the lieutenant of the Tower, and expreſsly forbid them to own the duke of Somerſet for protector. The lieutenant of the Tower [y] promiſed to obey. The mayor and aldermen anſwered more cautiouſly. But in all likelihood moſt of them were now gained, as it plainly appeared two days after.

Burnet, Stow.

The protector removes the king to Windſor. Hollingſh. Edw. Jour. The counſellors of London complained of it. They are joined by ſeven more. They write to the king. Edw. Journ. Burnet, t. ii. p. 137. and Collect. p. 183. Ib, p. 187.

Upon the firſt news of the counſellors undertaking, the protector removed the king to Windſor, and armed ſuch as he could aſſemble at Windſor or Hampton-court. This furniſhed his enemies with a freſh occaſion to complain, that he had carried the king to a place where there were no proviſions fit for him, ſo they took care to ſend him what he might want from London. The ſame day, being the morrow after their meeting, ſeven counſellors, namely, the lord chancellor Rich, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewſbury, ſir Thomas Cheney, ſir John Gage, ſir Ralph Sadler, and the lord chief juſtice Montague, came and joined with them. Whereupon they wrote to the king a letter full of expreſſions of their duty, complaining of the duke of Somerſet's not hearkening to their counſels, and of his gathering a force about his perſon, to make him believe they had ill deſigns againſt him, though they had nothing in view but his good and welfare. They wrote alſo to the archbiſhop of Canterbury and to Paget, ordering them to ſee that the king's own ſervants ſhould attend on him, and not the duke of Somerſet's.

They win the common council of London to their ſide. Stow. Hollingſh. Burnet.

On the 8th of October they went in a body to Guildhall, where the common-council were aſſembled. They declared they were ſo far from having any ill deſigns againſt the king [z], that their ſole aim was to take him out of the hands of the duke of Somerſet, who conſidered only his own private intereſt. Whereupon the common-council openly declared they were ready to ſupport them to the utmoſt of their power.

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[y] Sir Leonard Chamberlaine. Hollingſh.

[z] Or intending to alter religion. Burnet, p. 136.

The duke no ſooner heard that the city of London, and the lieutenant of the Tower had forſaken him, but he was entirely diſcouraged. He called together the few counſellors then about the king, and, proteſting he had no deſign againſt any of the counſellors, offered to ſubmit to the judgment of two of thoſe that were preſent, and two of thoſe that were at London. This offer made him loſe five counſellors more, who ſeeing him thus yield, did not think it prudent to expoſe themſelves for the ſake of a man they believed already undone. So, though they approved not the proceedings of thoſe at London, they joined with them however the next day, being the 9th of October. Theſe five were, the lord Ruſſel, the lord Wentworth, ſir Anthony Brown, ſir Anthony Wingfield, and ſir John Baker ſpeaker of the houſe of commons.

The protector's heart fails. Burnet.

Five counſellors forſake him.

From that day the duke of Somerſet's affairs daily declined, every one forſaking him when he was ſeen himſelf to deſpair of maintaining his ground. Nay, upon an information to the privy-counſellors his enemies, that he had ſaid, if they intended to put him to death, the king ſhould die firſt; and boaſted, it was in his power to carry the king out of the kingdom; they declared him unworthy of the protectorſhip, though they had no proofs of his ſpeaking theſe words. After that they publiſhed a manifeſto, to inform the publick of the reaſons of their conduct. Then they wrote to the king, that his royal father having appointed them executors of his will, and regents of the kingdom, they had choſen the duke of Somerſet to exerciſe the office of protector with the expreſs condition, that he ſhould do nothing without their advice; which condition he had not obſerved, but had made himſelf abſolute maſter of the government. Therefore they judged him unworthy of that honour, and praying his majeſty's leave to diſcharge the office committed to them by the late king, and that the forces gathered about his perſon by the duke of Somerſet might be diſmiſſed.

He is declared by the council unworthy to be protector. Burnet.

The council publiſh a manifeſto, and write to the king to juſtify their proceedings. Burnet, t. ii. Collect. p. 185. Hollingſh. Fox. Hayward. Stow.

Of all the privy-counſellors, only the archbiſhop of Canterbury and Paget ſtayed with the king, who ſeeing the impoſſibility of withſtanding the oppoſite party, adviſed the king and the duke to give the council the ſatisfaction they deſired. The king conſenting to it, the counſellors at London had notice of it by an expreſs. As they had foreſeen the duke would be obliged to ſubmit, they had already ſent deputies [a]

The king approves of the council's proceedings. Burnet. Hayward.

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[a] Sir Anthony Wingfield, ſir Anthony St. Leiger, and ſir John Williams. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 137.

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to Windſor, with a charge to ſee that the duke of Somerſet ſhould not withdraw, and that ſome of his confidents ſhould be put under an arreſt [b]. On the 12th of October, the counſellors, enemies of the duke, came in a body to the king, who received them graciouſly, and aſſured them, he took all they had done in good part. The next day they proceeded to the examination of the duke's friends, who were ſent to the Tower, except Cecil, who had his liberty. On the 14th, the duke of Somerſet was called before them, and the articles of his accuſation were read to him, the principal whereof were as follows:

They come to Windſor. Edw. Jour. Hollingſh. Stow.

The duke of Somerſet is accuſed. Hollingſh. Stow. Hayward.

I. That he had not obſerved the condition on which he had been made protector.

II. That he had treated with ambaſſadors without notifying it to the council, and by his own authority had diſpoſed of governments and biſhopricks.

III. That he had held a court of requeſts in his own houſe [c].

IV. That he had embaſed the coin.

V. That he had iſſued out proclamations in the affair of incloſures, againſt the mind of the whole council.

VI. That he had not taken care to ſuppreſs the late inſurrections, but had even ſupported and encouraged them.

VII. That he had occaſioned the loſs of the forts in the territory of Boulogne, by neglecting to furniſh them with proviſions and ammunition.

VIII. That he had endeavoured to inſtill into the king an ill opinion of his counſellors, by perſuading him they intended to deſtroy him, and had even ordered ſome perſons to put the king continually in mind of it, leſt he ſhould forget it.

IX. That he had cauſed the lords of the council to be proclaimed traitors.

X. That he had maliciouſly not only put the king in great fear by carrying him ſo ſuddenly to Windſor, but caſt him into a dangerous diſeaſe.

XI. That he had armed his friends and ſervants, and left the king's ſervants unarmed; and that he intended to fly to Jerſey or Guernſey.

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[b] Namely, ſecretary Smith, ſir Michael Stanhope, ſir John Thynn, Edward Wolfe, and William Cecil. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 138.

[c] The intent of this court was to hear poor mens petitions and ſuits. And, upon the hearing of them, he either decided their buſineſſes, or ſent his letters to the chancery in their favour. Which was reckoned to be a ſtopping of the proceedings of the courts, or influencing the judges. Strype, tom. ii. p. 183.

He is ſent to the Tower. Burnet.

Upon theſe accuſations, to which it was then not a time to anſwer, he was ſent to the Tower; thoſe whom he had taken ſo much pains to humble, being become his proper judges. He could not indeed deny the truth of moſt of the facts laid to his charge. But the queſtion was, whether they were crimes, for he was accuſed neither of fraud, nor rapine, nor extortion: but that was to be decided only by the peers of the realm, or by the parliament. As ſoon as the duke was in the Tower, an order was made that ſix lords ſhould be the governors of the king's perſon, two of whom were in their courſe conſtantly to attend him [d]. Then it was eaſily ſeen that the earl of Warwick had been the chief promoter of the protector's ruin, ſince all the other counſellors ſuffered him without oppoſition to take upon him the principal adminiſtration of the government, though without any title which might give him a particular authority.

The council appoints ſix governors of the king. Edw. Journ.

The earl of Warwick aſſumes the chief authority.

The Romiſh party are no gainers by this revolution. Burnet.

The enemies of the reformation gloried in the protector's fall. They were perſuaded the earl of Warwick was in his heart more catholick than proteſtant, and his ſtrict union with the earl of Southampton confirmed this belief. Accordingly Bonner and Gardiner, who were then in the Tower, writ to him a hearty congratulation, upon his having freed the nation from the tyrant, ſo they called the duke of Somerſet. It was even thought for ſome time, that the duke of Norfolk was going to be releaſed. But the earl of Warwick was not yet fully known. That lord, who was wholly ſwayed by ambition, was properly of neither religion. He was far therefore from undertaking to deſtroy the reformation, which had too many friends in the kingdom. On the contrary, knowing how deſirous the young king was to eſtabliſh it, he openly declared in its favour. Thus the adherents of the pope and the old religion had not long reaſon to rejoice at the late revolution at court.

Bonner is deprived. Fox. Burnet.

Bonner, biſhop of London, had been deprived and impriſoned ſome time before this turn. He was known to be ſtrongly addicted in his heart to the Romiſh religion, and to pay only an outward compliance to what was eſtabliſhed by publick authority, whilſt by a doubtful behaviour he plainly ſhowed his diſlike of theſe alterations. They who were then at the helm, reſolved therefore to put him to a trial which could not fail either to give them an advantage againſt him,

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[d] Theſe were the marquis of Northampton, the earls of Warwick and Arundel, the lords St. John, Ruſſel, and Wentworth. And theſe four knights, ſir Andrew Dudley, ſir Edward Rogers, ſir Thomas Darcy, and ſir Thomas Wroth. Edw. Journ. p. 9.

Act. Pub. xv. p. 191, 192.

Act. Pub. xv. p. 191. Sept. 8.

or make him forfeit the eſteem and truſt of his party. He was ſummoned before the council, and after a declaration of the cauſes of complaint againſt him, he was ordered to preach on a Sunday at St. Paul's Croſs, and to prove in his ſermon certain points, whereof this was one of the principal: That "the authority of a king was the ſame when he was in minority, as when of full age." He preached on the 1ſt of September, before a numerous audience, and touched upon all the points that were enjoined him, except the laſt. Beſides, he brought in ſome things which gave offence to the court. Whereupon the king appointed judges to examine the matter [e]. Dr. Burnet ſays, he behaved before the judges more like a madman than a biſhop. However, he was deprived [f] and ſent to the Tower. It was doubtleſs with joy that a pretence was found to be rid of ſuch a biſhop, who embarraſſed the reformers.

Burnet.

The earl of Southampton was no leſs deceived in his expectations than the reſt of his party. He imagined that, having been one of the principal inſtruments of the duke of Somerſet's ruin, he ſhould be rewarded for this ſervice with the office of high-treaſurer, or at leaſt reſtored to that of lord chancellor. But he found himſelf much miſtaken. Rich ſtill kept the great ſeal, and the treaſury was given to the lord St. John, who ſome time after was alſo created earl of Wiltſhire [g]. It was not the earl of Warwick's intereſt to advance to any high poſt ſo intriguing a perſon as the earl of Southampton, who beſides was looked upon as the head of the party againſt the reformation. He would thereby have loſt the king's favour, whom it was his buſineſs to perſuade, that religion was not concerned at all in what had paſſed with regard to the duke his uncle. So, without a moment's heſitation, he forſook not only the earl of Southampton, but alſo all the Romiſh party, who had flattered themſelves with ſeeing ſome great change in religion. Southampton was ſo full of indignation to be thus ſlighted, that he could not forbear caballing againſt the earl of Warwick: but perceiving

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[e] The commiſſion was iſſued out to Cranmer, Ridley, the two ſecretaries of ſtate, and Dr. Day, dean of St. Paul's. They, or any two of them, had full power to ſuſpend, impriſon, or deprive him as they ſhould ſee cauſe. Bonner, when called before them, ſaid of the witneſſes, that one talked like a gooſe, another like a woodcock; and that Hooper had miſrecited his ſayings, like an aſs as he was. See his Trial at large in Fox, tom. ii. p. 20, &c. and Burnet, tom. ii. p. 123.

[f] On October 1. Fox, p. 39.

[g] William Paulet, lord St. John, was created earl of Wiltſhire, on January 19; and at the ſame time, John lord Ruſſel was made earl of Bedford. Stow, p. 603.

Warwick was informed of his proceedings, and knowing his revengeful temper, relinquiſhed his projects. Shortly after, he withdrew from court without taking leave, and lived at one of his manors, where he died with grief and vexation. Some even ſay he poiſoned himſelf [h].

The earl of Southampton quits the court and dies. Burnet.

Mean while, the war with France made the council very uneaſy. Henry II. it was plain, was reſolved to beſiege Boulogne, and it was juſtly feared that place was not tenable. Whilſt the duke of Somerſet was alone burthened with that incumbrance, his enemies would have it to be cowardice to reſign Boulogne to avoid a war, wherein they hoped to find an occaſion to ruin him. But when they had the government in their hands, they found difficulties in that affair, which they would not own ſo long as they thought the event would be laid to his charge. They reſolved therefore to ſend a ſecond embaſſy to the emperor [i], to perſuade him to take Boulogne into his protection, imagining Paget had magnified the difficulties. But the ambaſſadors found the emperor very cold, and conſtantly alledging his alliance with France. He even told them, that ſo long as religion continued in England in its preſent ſtate, the Engliſh could not expect much aſſiſtance from him. This anſwer determined the council to make peace with France. We ſhall ſee preſently the effects of this reſolution [k].

The war with France perplexes the miniſtry. Burnet. Hayward. Strype.

The emperor refuſes to aſſiſt England.

The council reſolves upon a peace.

The parliament met the 4th of November, without the duke of Somerſet's diſgrace occaſioning any change in the affairs of religion. It was ſtill the ſame parliament the duke of Somerſet had called, and the council had ſtill the ſame maxims with reſpect to the reformation, the earl of Warwick's policy not ſuffering him to make any change. The parliament began with a ſevere act againſt unlawful aſſemblies, in order to prevent any more inſurrections. But by another act, the ſtatute againſt vagrants, as too ſevere and contrary to the liberties of the nation was repealed, and a law made in the late reign revived.

The parliament meets. Burnet.

Act againſt unlawful aſſemblies.

Act againſt vagrants repealed.

1550.

The 2d of January, 1550, a bill of attainder againſt the duke of Somerſet, with a confeſſion ſigned by his own hand, was read in the houſe of lords. But as ſome of the lords

Act of attainder againſt the duke of Somerſet. Burnet.

ſuſpected

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[h] He died at his houſe called Lincoln Place in Holborn (afterwards Southampton-houſe) July 30, 1550, and was buried in St. Andrew's, where a fair monument was erected to his memory. Stow's Ann. p. 604.

[i] They ſent to him, on October 18, ſir Thomas Cheney and ſir Philip Hobby. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 140.

[k] This year, on May 8, commiſſioners were appointed to viſit and reform the univerſity of Oxford. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 183.

He throws himſelf upon the king's mercy. Stow, p. 603. He is fined. Edw. Jour. Burnet.

ſuſpected the confeſſion to be extorted, four temporal lords and four biſhops were ſent to know the truth from his own mouth [1]. Next day, they made their report, that the duke thanked the houſe for their kindneſs, and owned he had freely ſubſcribed the paper, after having confeſſed the contents before the king and council. He proteſted however, he had no ill intention againſt the king or ſtate. Whereupon, he was fined by act of parliament in two thouſand pounds a year of land, with the forfeiture to the king of all his goods, and the loſs of all his places. Many thought his confeſſion very ſtrange, and much cenſured ſo abject a proceeding: but it was doubtleſs becauſe they wiſhed he had taken another courſe, which would not have failed to prove fatal to him. It is certain, among the articles of his accuſation, there were ſeveral which could be juſtified only by the intention, which would have been little ſerviceable to him in the houſe of peers, moſt of whom were not inclined to favour him. For inſtance, to mention only the chief article, could he deny that, contrary to the condition on which he was made protector, he had degraded as it were the other regents, and reduced them to bare counſellors? It is true, he might have alledged the king's patent: but it was the patent of a minor king, not eleven years old, who looking upon him as his governor, acted only by his advice, as it was ſaid in the very patent which conferred his authority on him. Wherefore the duke could never have cleared himſelf upon this article, nor upon ſeveral others. Conſequently his only remedy was to own himſelf guilty of all, and caſt himſelf upon the king's mercy. Beſides, it concerned him highly to get out of priſon on any terms, ſince it was very dangerous for him to remain any longer in the hands of his enemies. He was very ſucceſsful in this courſe. They who wiſhed his deſtruction ſeeing the king had been very hardly prevailed with to conſent to his trial, thought it was not yet time to puſh their hatred any farther, till they had ruined him in the king's favour. He came therefore out of the Tower the 6th of February, giving bond of 10000 l. for his good behaviour, and ten days after had his pardon: Thus his fall was not ſo great as his enemies expected. He forfeited however much of the eſteem he had acquired among the people, who not diving into the reaſons of his conduct, could not help thinking him guilty, ſince he had confeſſed all. But the king judged otherwiſe,

He goes out of the Tower, and has his pardon. Act. Pub. xv. p. 205. Feb. 16. Stow. Edw. Jour.

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[1] January [illegible], when the bill was read for the ſecond time; as it was for the third time, Jan. 14. Journ. Parl.

ſince on the 6th of April following, he gave him a place again in his council [m].

The parliament confirms the new liturgy,

Mean while the parliament, knowing the friends of the Romiſh church drew from the duke of Somerſet's fall conſequences which might breed ill effects, thought it proper to confound their hopes. To that end an act of parliament was made, confirming the new liturgy, and ordering all miſſals, breviaries, &c. to be delivered to ſuch as ſhould be appointed to receive them, and all the prayers to the ſaints to be daſhed out in all the primers ſet out by the late king. Moreover, thoſe who had any images taken out of churches were required to burn or deface them before the laſt of June [n]. Then the parliament was prorogued on the 1ſt of February, after granting the king a ſubſidy [o], which was followed by a general pardon, in which the priſoners of the Tower were excepted. It was during this ſeſſion that the eldeſt ſons of peers were firſt permitted to ſit in the houſe of commons [p].

and orders images to be burnt.

The earl of Warwick is made high admiral and great maſter.
Act. Pub. xv. p. 194, 208.

After the late revolution at court by the duke of Somerſet's diſgrace, the earl of Warwick had not forgot himſelf. On the 28th of October laſt, he was made great maſter of the king's houſhold, a new title introduced by Henry VIII, inſtead of that of ſteward of the houſhold, when he conferred this office on the duke of Suffolk [q]. But it was not ſo much by his poſts that the earl of Warwick was grown powerful

He directs all affairs,

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[m] This year was publiſhed the Bible in Engliſh, of Tindal's tranſlation, reviſed by Coverdale; and alſo the form of ordination. Strype, tom. ii. p. 200, 203.

[n] The other acts made in this ſeſſion were theſe: 1. That a form of conſecrating archbiſhops, biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, ſhould be drawn by ſix archbiſhops, and ſix other men of the realm, learned in God's law, and ſet forth before the firſt of April next coming. The biſhops of Durham, Carliſle, Worceſter, Chicheſter, and Weſtminſter, proteſted againſt this act. 2. That the Cuſtodes Rotulorum ſhall be appointed by the lord chancellor.

[o] Twelve-pence in the pound of goods, and of every alien two ſhillings in the pound. See Statutes, c. 23. They alſo releaſed the relief on ſheep and cloaths, granted 2 and 3 Edward VI, and continued that on goods for three years; which was of every perſon worth 10 l. or upwards, in money, goods, &c. 12 d. in the pound; and of every alien worth 20 s. and under 10 l. 12 d. in the pound. Stevens, p. 232.

[p] Sir Francis Ruſſel becoming by his brother's death heir-apparent to the lord Ruſſel, it was on the 21ſt of January, carried upon a debate, That he ſhould abide in the houſe as he was before. So it is entered in the original Journal of the houſe of commons, communicated to Dr. Burnet, by Mr. Surle and Mr. Clarke, in whoſe hands it was then, and is the firſt journal that ever was taken in that houſe. See Hiſt. Ref. vol. ii. p. 143.

[q] And on February 2, this year, William Parr marquis of Northampton was made lord great chamberlain of England; the lord Wentworth lord chamberlain of the houſhold; ſir Thomas Darcy vice-chamberlain, and captain of the guard; and ſir Anthony Wingfield comptroller. Stow, p. 603. See Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 203.

and conſiderable, as on account of his directing the council, who acted only by his advice. Some of the counſellors looked upon him as their friend, others as the head of their party, and ſome were afraid of offending him. What he had lately done with regard to the duke of Somerſet demonſtrated how dangerous it was to have him for an enemy.

He reſolves to give up Boulogne. Burnet.

Notwithſtanding all his greatneſs, the earl of Warwick was not a little embarraſſed concerning the affair of Boulogne. He had himſelf moſt exclaimed againſt the duke of Somerſet for propoſing to reſign that place, and ridiculed all his reaſons; and yet for theſe ſame reaſons, he reſolved at length to do what he ſo much blamed in another. But not to appear inconſiſtent with himſelf, he choſe to cauſe the reſtitution of Boulogne to be moved and reſolved in council, and to appear himſelf to be no farther concerned, than to comply with the opinion of the majority. It is not very difficult for one that directs an aſſembly, to procure what reſolutions he pleaſes without acting openly. But the difficulty conſiſted in the diſhonour of making the firſt ſtep, and the danger of ſhowing a deſire to conclude a peace with France. The earl of Warwick ſoon found an expedient to avoid this inconvenience by employing one Guidotti, an Italian merchant, who lived at Southampton. This man coming to Paris on ſome pretence, inſinuated himſelf into the conſtable's family, who was the king's chief favourite. In his converſation with ſome of the conſtable's officers, he ſaid, he verily believed the court of England might be eaſily brought to reſtore Boulogne for a ſum of money. The conſtable, to whom this was told, preſently gueſſed the meaning. He ſpoke himſelf to Guidotti, and charged him to intimate to ſome one of the council of England, that the king of France had rather end the affair of Boulogne by a treaty than by arms. Whereupon Guidotti made ſeveral journies to London and Paris. At laſt he ſet the matter in ſo fair a way, that the courts, being equally deſirous of ending it, agreed to ſend plenipotentiaries to ſome place in Picardy to treat of a peace and the reſtitution of Boulogne [r].

Guidotti is employed in that affair. Hayward. Act. Pub. xv. p. 185. Burnet. Strype.

Plenipotentiaries of the two courts. Edw. Jour. Burnet. Stow. Act. Pub. xv. p. 202.

Monſieur de la Rochepot of the houſe of Montmorency, Gaſpar de Coligny, afterwards admiral, and two more, were appointed by France; and the court of England made choice of the lord Ruſſel, Paget now made a baron [s], ſecretary Petre, and ſir John Maſon. Their inſtructions were a clear evidence, that the council would have a peace at any rate. The ſubſtance of them was:

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[r] For this good piece of ſervice, Guidotti had a penſion of 250l. per ann. allowed him by the court of England; and his ſon John a penſion of 35l. 10s. See Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 227, 228. Edw. Journ. p. 11.

The Engliſh ambaſſadors inſtructions. Burnet, t. ii. p. 148. and Collect. p. 198.

I. That as to the place of congreſs, they were not to appear very difficult: but, if poſſible, they were to have it at Calais or Boulogne.

II. They might offer the reſtitution of Boulogne.

III. But then they were to demand that the young queen of Scotland ſhould be ſent home, to conſummate her marriage with the king of England.

IV. That the fortifications of Blackneſs and Newhaven ſhould be demoliſhed.

V. That the penſion promiſed by Francis I. to Henry VIII. ſhould be continued and all arrears paid: but, if they could not obtain the firſt, they were to be ſatisfied with the arrears.

VI. That as for Scotland they ſhould affirm, England could not treat without the emperor's concurrence: but if the emperor would agree to it, the king of England would reſtore all the places he held in Scotland, except Aymouth and Roxburgh.

VII. That if the French ſpoke any thing of the king's marrying Henry II's daughter Elizabeth, they ſhould anſwer, they had no inſtructions upon that head, and ſhould inſiſt upon the king's being ſo young.

Conference about the peace. Burnet. Hayward. Strype's Mem. tom. ii. Repoſ. p. 114.

The plenipotentiaries meeting near Boulogne [t], thoſe of France ſaid plainly, it was not to be expected that the king their maſter would ſend back the queen of Scotland, ſince he deſigned her for his ſon the dauphin: That as for the perpetual penſion, Francis I. promiſed it when forced by his affairs, but the king his ſon never intended to be tributary to England: That however, they were ready to treat about the reſtitution of Boulogne for a ſum of money: That moreover, the king their maſter did not mean the Engliſh ſhould keep any one place in Scotland. This was talking imperiouſly. But Henry II. had diſcovered the intentions of the council of England, and was reſolved to improve the occaſion to deſtroy the grating claim of the kings of England to the crown of France, or at leaſt to the perpetual penſion promiſed by Francis I. in lieu of that claim. Some time after, the Engliſh ambaſſadors received freſh inſtructions, empowering them to conclude a peace upon terms leſs difficult to be obtained than thoſe firſt demanded. However, as the court of England would not abſolutely deſiſt from the penſion, an expedient was found, with which that court was ſatisfied, namely, all claims of the two kings were to remain as before, except ſuch as ſhould be adjuſted by the treaty, which was at length ſigned the 24th of March, and was in effect as follows:

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[s] He was ſummoned to the houſe of peers, Decemb. 3, 1549, by the title of baron of Baudeſert. Journ. Parl.

[t] The latter end of January. See Burnet, tom. ii, p. 148.

Burnet, tom. ii. Collect. p. 201.

Treaty between the two crowns. Act. Pub. xv, p. 211.

I. That the city of Boulogne ſhould be reſtored to France, with all the ordnance and ammunition found there by Henry VIII, when he took the place.

II. That in conſideration of Henry's improvements and charges in tranſporting proviſions and ammunition, the king of France ſhould pay the king of England the ſum of four hundred thouſand crowns of gold [u], half on the day of reſtitution; and half before the 15th of Auguſt.

It is to be obſerved upon this article, that the king of France very carefully avoided mentioning either the penſion ſtipulated in the laſt treaty of peace, or even what was due to the crown of England ſince the time of Charles VIII, which had been always increaſed afterwards by ſeveral treaties.

III. That for the ſecurity of the payment of the two hundred thouſand crowns in Auguſt, France ſhould give ſix hoſtages, and England the like number [w] for the ſecurity of the reſtitution of Boulogne.

IV. As to Scotland, it was agreed that the king of England ſhould deliver to the queen of Scotland the two forts of Lauder and Dunglaſs, with all the ordnance, except what was brought thither from Hadington.

V. That if theſe two forts remained in the king of England's power, he ſhould be obliged to demoliſh the fortifications of Aymouth and Roxburgh, which ſhould never be rebuilt by England or Scotland: but if he reſtored Lauder and Dunglaſs, he ſhould however be obliged to raze Aymouth and Roxburgh, provided the queen of Scotland demoliſhed alſo Lauder and Dunglaſs; and that none of theſe four places ſhould be ever re-fortified.

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[u] Then of equal value with the Engliſh noble.

[w] The Engliſh hoſtages were, the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Hertford eldeſt ſon of the duke of Somerſet, the lord Mautravers eldeſt ſon of the earl of Arundel, the lord Talbot the earl of Shrewſbury's eldeſt ſon, the lord Strange the earl of Derby's eldeſt ſon, and the lord Fitzwarin eldeſt ſon of the earl of Bath. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 214.

VI. That the king of England ſhould make no new war upon Scotland, unleſs he had freſh cauſe: that is to ſay, Edward relinquiſhed his marriage.

VII. That the king of England's demands, claims, and pretenſions, as well upon France as Scotland, and all the king of France's and the queen of Scotland's upon England, ſhould remain as before.

Thus all the pains taken by Henry VIII. to ſecure a penſion, or rather a yearly tribute in lieu of the title he pretended to have to the crown of France, were rendered fruitleſs by this treaty, which contained in favour of England only an indeterminate reſervation of the claim which had occaſioned the effuſion of ſo much blood ſince the reign of Edward III. There remains to the kings of England only the empty title of King of France, none of Edward VI's ſucceſſors having ever ſeriouſly thought of proſecuting their pretended right.

The earl of Warwick avoids ſigning the ratification of the treaty. Hayward. Burnet.

The treaty being brought to London to be ratified, the earl of Warwick feigned ſickneſs, not to be obliged to ſign a peace he had ſo much exclaimed againſt. But this was only to impoſe on the publick, ſince he had ſigned all the orders and inſtructions, by virtue whereof the ambaſſadors had concluded it.

The council's conduct is cenſured.

The reſtitution of Boulogne opened the eyes of the people, with reſpect to the conduct of thoſe at the helm. They who had now delivered up that place for four hundred thouſand crowns, in lieu of the two millions Francis had promiſed to pay, were the ſame who ſome months before had reviled the protector for only intending to reſtore it. The earl of Warwick, who had the chief direction of affairs, and whoſe intereſt it was to procure the people's affection, ſeeing them a little enraged, thought proper to divert them by giving them ſome ſatisfaction in other reſpects. To that purpoſe, he called to a ſtrict account thoſe who had managed the king's money, or been guilty of miſdemeanors in the exerciſe of their offices. He had alſo in this another motive, namely, to pay the king's debts, which were conſiderable. In this inquiſition, his chief friends who had ſerved him as inſtruments to ruin the duke of Somerſet, were leaſt ſpared. The earl of Arundel was fined in 12,000 l. payable in twelve years. Southwel was put in the Fleet, and the reſt made their compoſitions with the court as well as they could. As

Inquiry of miſdemeanors. Burnet.

Edw. Jour.

there were few but what were guilty of ſome miſdemeanor, this inquiry eſtabliſhed the earl of Warwick, every one fearing he would find means to be revenged of thoſe who expreſſed not great ſubmiſſion[x].

Changes in the ſees. Act. Pub. xv. p. 219, 221, 222, 237; 240. Edw. Jour.

In the courſe of this year there were ſome changes in the biſhopricks. The ſee of Weſtminſter, vacant by the reſignation of Thirleby, was united to that of London, and given to Ridley biſhop of Rocheſter[y]. Thirleby had the ſee of Norwich, Poinet that of Rocheſter[z], and on the third of July, John Hooper was made biſhop of Glouceſter[a].

Polydore Virgil retires into Italy. Act. Pub. xv. p. 234. Burnet.

This year, Polydore Virgil, an Italian, who had been now forty years in England, had leave to go and ſpend the reſidue of his days in his own country. The king permitted him to enjoy his preferments[b], in conſideration of his having

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[x] Sir Thomas Smith, ſir Michael Stanhope, Thomas Fiſher, and William Grey, each of them acknowledged they owed the king 3000 l. and ſir John Thynn ſubmitted to 6000 l. fine, and then were diſcharged. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 140.

[y] On February 24. Burnet, p. 149. --- Miles Coverdale was alſo made, Auguſt 14, next year, biſhop of Exeter, in the room of John Veyſey, who reſigned, after having alienated almoſt all the lands belonging to that biſhoprick, and reſerved to himſelf a yearly penſion of 485 l. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 166. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xv. p. 282, &c.

[z] Poinet, not having a houſe upon his biſhoprick, held in commendam a prebend of Canterbury, the vicarage of Aſhford in Kent, the rectories of St. Michael's Crooked-lane, London, and of Towen in the dioceſe of Bangor. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xv. p. 241. But by an order of council of June 29, 1550, it was decreed, That no biſhop ſhould henceforth keep other benefice than his biſhoprick only. Strype, tom. ii. p. 220.

[a] Upon the vacancies of theſe, and other ſees, the beſt and almoſt all the manors belonging to them, were ſurrendered into the king's hands, and diſtributed amongſt the courtiers; and to make ſome ſort of compenſation, there were beſtowed upon the ſame ſees, either worſe manors, or elſe rectories, and impropriated tithes. Thus on September 26, 1547, Shaxton, biſhop of Lincoln, reſigned to the king twenty-four manors; ſo that at preſent the revenues of that biſhoprick are ſaid to conſiſt of impropriations: Buckden being the only manor it has left. May 20, 1548, the biſhop of Bath and Wells made the like reſignation or exchange of ten manors. And April 12, 1550, Ridley, biſhop of London, yielded up to the king the manors of Stepney and Hackney in Middleſex, and of Branktree and Southminſter in Eſſex; in the room whereof he had the manors of Fering, Kilvedon, &c. in Eſſex; of Greenford, Hanwel, Drayton, and Paddington, in Middleſex; the advowſon of St. Martin's in the Fields, and others; of which the reader may ſee an account in Strype's Eccl. Mem. tom. ii. p. 217, who there obſerves, that the advantage of the exchange was conſiderably on the biſhop's ſide. The ſee of Wincheſter was alſo regulated. See ibid. p. 272. --- Rymer's Fœd. tom. xv. p. 166, 171, 226. King Henry VIII. had led the way in this general regulation, as it was called, of the biſhopricks, by a ſtatute made in the 37th of his reign, c. 16. when no leſs than ſeventy manors, all at the old rents, were taken at once from the ſee of York, and annexed to the dutchy of Lancaſter, impropriations and tithes being given in lieu of them; and many were alſo at the ſame time diſmembered from the archbiſhoprick of Canterbury. See Stat. 37 Henry VIII. Strype's *Mem.* tom. ii, p. 75, &c. Heylin, p. 18.

[b] His archdeaconry of Wells, and his prebend of Nonnington in the church of Hereford.

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employed the beſt part of his life in writing the hiſtory of England [c].

Before we proceed to the next year, it will not be improper to mention what had paſſed in foreign countries.

Death of Paul III. Spond.

Pole loſes the pontificate by nicety.

Paul III. dying the 13th of November 1549, the cardinals who entered the conclave the 29th of the ſame month, agreed in few days to raiſe cardinal Pole to the papal throne, and even came in the night to his chamber to adore him according to cuſtom. But he deſired them to defer the ceremony till it was day, telling them it ought not to be a work of darkneſs. This ſcruple, unheard-of till then, ſeemed to them ſo extraordinary, that ſome imputed it to ſtupidity. Others were afraid, if Pole was pope, he would reform the court of Rome, and the college of cardinals in particular. However this be, from that moment they thought of electing another pope. After which, being divided into three factions, they could not agree upon the perſon till the February following, when they choſe the cardinal de Monte, who took the name of Julius III. [d].

Julius III. choſen pope.

Affairs of Germany. Sleidan. Burnet.

In Germany, the emperor having opened the diet of the empire about the end of July, would have obliged all the proteſtants to ſubmit to the determinations of the council, now removed back to Trent. Maurice elector of Saxony ſtrongly oppoſed it, but with ſo much caution and regard for the emperor, that he did not loſe his favour. On the contrary, the emperor agreed, that the diet ſhould declare him general of the army of the empire, to end the war by the ſiege of Magdeburg, the only proteſtant town which ſtill held out. Maurice had great deſigns, which the emperor knew not, till it was too late to hinder the execution.

Affairs of Scotland. Burnet.

Scotland enjoyed a great tranquillity after the concluſion of the peace [e]. James Hamilton earl of Arran in Scotland, and duke of Chatelerault in France, ſtill governed the kingdom as regent. But he was himſelf governed by the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's his natural brother, a man of a very lewd and infamous life. Let us return now to England, and ſee what paſſed there during the year 1551.

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[c] This year, the city of London purchaſed from the king all the liberties of Southwark, for the ſum of one thouſand marks. Stow, p. 604.

[d] He gave a ſtrange omen of what advancements he intended to make, when he gave his own hat (according to the cuſtom of the popes, who beſtow their hats before they go out of the conclave) on a mean ſervant of his, who had the charge of his money; and being aſked what he ſaw in him to make him a cardinal? He anſwered, As much as the cardinals had ſeen in him to make him pope. But it was commonly ſaid, that the ſecret of this promotion was an unnatural affection to him. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 137.

[e] It had been included in the late peace made between the crowns of England and France; and accordingly took care to have this comprehenſion ratified. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. xv. p. 255—273.

Affairs of religion. Burnet.

After the concluſion of the peace with France and Scotland, the principal affair in the kingdom was that of the reformation, which the young king wiſhed to bring to as high a degree of perfection as poſſible. He was kept in this diſpoſition by Cranmer, and the reſt of the reformers. The earl of Warwick appeared alſo very forward to complete the work, becauſe he thereby inſinuated himſelf more into his young maſter's favour. The conſtant maxim of the Romiſh party was to oppoſe with all their power any intended alterations, before they were eſtabliſhed by law. But they complied with them, at leaſt outwardly, when there was no remedy, till a favourable opportunity ſhould offer to throw off the maſk. It was not poſſible to be rid of theſe hypocrites at once, becauſe they gave no advantage by their outward behaviour. But they were narrowly watched, that their falſe ſteps might be improved. By this means Bonner was put out of the way the laſt year, and by the ſame method Gardiner was this year deprived on the 18th of April [f].

Burnet. Fox.

A confeſſion of faith is prepared. Burnet.

The princeſs Mary refuſes it. Edw. Jour. Fox. Burnet. Strype.

She would have gone out of the kingdom, but is prevented. Hayward. Edw. Jour. Burnet.

During all the reſt of the year, choſen commiſſioners were preparing a confeſſion of faith [g], which was the laſt mortal wound to be given to the old religion. Some places of the new liturgy were alſo corrected [h]. But the princeſs Mary refuſed to ſubmit to theſe or the former changes. She continued to have maſs ſaid in her houſe, and thereby drew upon herſelf great mortifications from the council and the king himſelf, who ſeemed reſolved to force her to a compliance. She was ſo alarmed at it, that ſhe formed a deſign to withdraw out of the kingdom, by means of ſome veſſels which the regent of the Low-Countries was to ſend upon the coaſt

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[f] He muſt have been deprived ſooner; for J. Poinet biſhop of Rocheſter was tranſlated, on March 23, to the ſee of Wincheſter, ſaid then to be vacant by the deprivation of Stephen the late biſhop.---See Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 253. According to king Edward's Journal, it was on Feb. 13.---January 28, this year, a commiſſion was given to ſeveral biſhops, and others of the clergy and laity, to enquire after, repreſs, and extirpate the errors of the anabaptiſts, libertines, and other hereticks. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 215.

[g] It is not known who were the compilers of theſe articles of the church of England, being forty-two in number, nor what method was taken in preparing them. Burnet thinks they were framed by Cranmer and Ridley, and that they were by them ſent about to others, to correct or add to them as they ſaw cauſe. The reader may ſee them in Burnet's Collection, numb. 55, vol. ii. with the differences between theſe and thoſe ſet out in queen Elizabeth's time, marked in the margin.

[h] A general confeſſion and abſolution was added. And the commandments were put in the beginning of the communion-ſervice. The chriſm, uſe of the croſs in conſecrating the euchariſt, prayers for the dead, &c. were laid aſide. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 169, 170.

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of England. But the deſign being diſcovered, the execution was prevented, though it ſhould ſeem that princeſs would have occaſioned leſs trouble and embarraſſment, had ſhe been out of the kingdom. In all appearance, the project of excluding her from the ſucceſſion was not yet formed, neither was the king's death thought ſo near as it was.

The earl of Warwick's ambitious project. Burnet.

This princeſs's obſtinacy drew upon her the king her brother's diſpleaſure, who from thenceforward loſt much of the eſteem and affection he had for her. It was this, probably, that inſpired the earl of Warwick with the thoughts of excluding her from the ſucceſſion, and of forming in favour of his own family the project mentioned hereafter. It will be neceſſary however briefly to ſay here, that this project was, to marry the princeſs Elizabeth abroad, to cauſe Mary to be ſet aſide, and to marry one of his ſons to Jane Grey, eldeſt daughter of Henry Grey marquiſs of Dorſet, and of Frances Brandon, who was the next in the ſucceſſion, after Henry VIII's two daughters [i].

The ſweating ſickneſs. Edw. Jour. Hayward.

At this time the ſweating-ſickneſs broke out in England with great violence, carrying off in twenty-four hours ſuch as were ſeized with it, in ſpite of all remedies [k]. If we may believe the hiſtorians, this ſickneſs was peculiar to the Engliſh nation. It did not ſeize the foreigners who were in England, and in other countries Engliſhmen only were afflicted with it. For this reaſon it was called the Engliſh ſweat. There is much the ſame thing to be obſerved among the Polanders, who are alone ſubject to a diſtemper they call plica [l], unknown, as it is affirmed, in all other countries. The duke of Suffolk, ſon of Charles Brandon by his ſecond wife, died of the ſweating ſickneſs, as did alſo two days after his brother, who had ſucceeded him. So, the title of duke of Suffolk being void, the earl of Warwick reſolved to procure that honour for the marquiſs of Dorſet, father of Jane Grey,

Two dukes of Suffolk die of it.

The earl of Warwick links himſelf in the family of the marquiſs of Dorſet. Burnet.

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[i] Laſt year, on June 3, John, the earl of Warwick's eldeſt ſon, married Ann, daughter of the duke of Somerſet. And on the 4th of the ſame month, Robert, his third ſon, married ſir John Robſart's daughter. Edw. Journ. p. 14, 15.

[k] This ſickneſs began firſt at Shrewſbury in April, and ſpreading towards the north, ended not till October. Rapin. Whoever was ſeized with it, died, or recovered within nine or ten hours at moſt. If he took cold, he died within three hours; if he ſlept, within ſix hours, he died raving. It raged chiefly among young men, of a ſtrong conſtitution. Edw. Jour. p. 30.

[l] They that are troubled with it, loſe the uſe of their limbs, as if they had a palſy, and feel great pains in their nerves, which generally continue a whole year. After that they fall into a great ſweat at night, and next morning their hair is glued together, and has a nauſeous ſmell, which continues ever after. If they cut their hair, the humour falls on their eyes, and makes them blind. This diſtemper is infectious, and communicated by coition. Atlas. Geog. tom. i. p. 199.

whom he deſigned for one of his ſons. He wanted the concurrence of that lord to ſet the crown on his daughter's head, to whom the mother was moreover to reſign her right. It is however very difficult to conceive, that the earl of Warwick ſhould have formed this project ſo early, ſince Edward was in good health, in his fifteenth year only, and very likely to have a numerous iſſue. The earl of Warwick muſt therefore have known that the king was to die very ſoon. And this is what they would inſinuate, who make him form his deſign at the time I am ſpeaking of, and before the king was ſeized with his laſt illneſs, in order to repreſent him as the author of his death[l]. However, it is pretended, all this lord's proceedings, from the death of Jane Grey's two brothers, to the end of this reign, had relation to this project; as, for inſtance, the marriage of the princeſs Elizabeth to the king of Denmark's eldeſt ſon, which he cauſed to be privately treated, but without effect.

Deſign of marrying the princeſs Elizabeth to the prince of Denmark. Hayward.

Negotiation for the king's marriage with a daughter of France. Burnet.

The marriage of the king himſelf with a daughter of France, which was negotiated and concluded this year, ſeems directly contrary to the earl of Warwick's deſigns, ſuppoſing they were already formed. Wherefore Dr. Burnet ſays, that this marriage was only to amuſe the young king. Hayward, who wrote the hiſtory of Edward VI. ſays alſo, that after the marriage was concluded, Edward thought himſelf in perfect ſafety, though indeed he was in extreme danger. But whatever the earl of Warwick's motive might be, the marquiſs of Northampton, the biſhop of Ely, and ſome other ambaſſadors were ſent with a ſplendid retinue to carry the Order of the Garter to Henry II. and to propoſe a marriage between his daughter the princeſs Elizabeth and Edward. Henry being then at Chateaubriant, the Engliſh ambaſſadors came to Nantes, from whence they were conducted to court. The marquiſs of Northampton, as head of the embaſſy[m], preſented the collar of the order to the king. Then the biſhop of Ely deſired him to appoint commiſſioners to treat with them about an affair tending to the common good of the two kingdoms. The commiſſioners being named, the ambaſſadors propoſed the marriage of Edward with the princeſs Elizabeth, and the treaty was ſigned at Angers, the 19th of July. The princeſs's portion was to be two hundred thouſand crowns, and her dower as great as any queen of England had ever enjoyed. But the marriage was not to be contracted by

Edward ſends an embaſſy to France on pretence of carrying the Order of the Garter to the king. Edw. Jour. Hayward. Burnet.

Treaty about the king's marriage. Act. Pub. xv. p. 273, 293.

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[m] The reſt of the ambaſſadors were, Thomas Goodrick biſhop of Ely, ſir John Maſon, ſir Philip Hobby, ſir William Pickering, ſir Thomas Smith, and Dr. John Uliber. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 274.

words of the preſent tenſe, till a month after the princeſs was twelve years of age. This hindered it from being conſummated, becauſe Edward died before that time. Shortly after, Henry II. ſent a noble embaſſy into England, of which the marſhal de Montmorency was head, with the Order of St. Michael to the king.

Edw. Jour.
Hayward.
Burnet.

The earl of Warwick is made duke of Northumberland.

Other creations. October 12.
Edw. Jour.
Hayward.
Burnet.

Foreign affairs being finiſhed, the earl of Warwick applied himſelf to domeſtick, or rather to his own. He cauſed Henry Grey marqueſs of Northampton to be created duke of Suffolk, and himſelf duke of Northumberland [n]. William Paulet earl of Wiltſhire and lord-treaſurer, was made marquiſs of Wincheſter [o], and ſir William Herbert, earl of Pembroke [p]. They who were on this occaſion dignified with new honours, were the intimate friends of the earl of Warwick, now duke of Northumberland, who ſought to eſtabliſh himſelf in the poſt he poſſeſſed of chief manager of the publick affairs, though without any patent to give him that authority.

The ruin of the duke of Somerſet is determined.
Hayward.
Burnet.

This lord could not however enjoy a perfect tranquillity, ſo long as he ſtill ſaw ſuch a rival as the duke of Somerſet, who might one day be reſtored to favour, and who was really endeavouring to regain the poſt he had formerly poſſeſſed. Edward was near the time of his majority, and daily increaſed in the knowledge of affairs. The duke of Northumberland had therefore to fear, that when the king ſhould compare his adminiſtration with the duke of Somerſet's, he would perceive, the laſt had been wrongfully deprived of his dignity. Beſides, Edward ſtill expreſſed great eſteem for his uncle, and gave him frequent and publick marks of it. All this made the duke of Northumberland very uneaſy, who plainly ſaw, it would be almoſt impoſſible to execute his projects whilſt he had ſuch an inſpector as the duke of Somerſet. He determined therefore to be rid of this troubleſome rival at any rate, and to that end made uſe of two ways. The firſt was to ruin him in the king's favour, by means of certain emiſſaries, who beſet him continually [q]. The ſecond was, to cauſe his

Means made uſe of to that end.

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[n] Henry Percy, the laſt earl of Northumberland, dying without iſſue, his next heirs were the ſons of Thomas Percy, who was attainted in the laſt reign for the Yorkſhire rebellion.

[o] Rapin by miſtake ſays Wiltſhire.

[p] Sir Thomas Darcy, vice-chamberlain of the king's houſhold, captain of the guard, and one of the four knights of the king's privy-chamber, was ſome time before, namely, on April 5, created baron Darcy of Chich. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 392. Edw. Journ. p. 24.—And William Cecil, made on September 6, 1550, one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, was now knighted, (Edw. Journ.) as was alſo John Cheek, the king's preceptor.

[q] Some reported, that he had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king in divers counties. Hayward, p. 320.

The duke of Somerſet gives his enemies an advantage.

Reports ſpread againſt him. Edw. Jour.

The king is prepoſſeſſed againſt his uncle.

Edw. Jour.

The duke is ſent to the Tower. Edw. Jour. Hayward. Burnet.

enemy ſuch mortifications as ſhould throw him upon actions that would give an advantage againſt him. Theſe two ways ſucceeded to his wiſh. The king by degrees took a diſguſt at his uncle, and was thereby diſpoſed to receive any ill impreſſions againſt him. On the other hand, the duke of Somerſet could not, without extreme impatience, ſee himſelf daily expoſed to affronts, the more provoking as they were done with deſign to incenſe him. Few have the prudence or moderation to avoid falling into ſuch ſnares. 'Tis pretended, that ſeeing himſelf thus puſhed, he reſolved to kill the duke of Northumberland at a viſit he was to make him. Others ſay, he intended to have invited him to dinner at the lord Paget's, and there he was either to kill or poiſon him. At leaſt the hiſtorians thus ſpeak of it, becauſe the report was ſpread both before and after his diſgrace, and even imbibed by the king. And yet, his impeachment had no ſuch thing in it, but ran only, that he intended to ſecure the duke of Northumberland's perſon. However, it cannot be denied, he had contrived ſome plot to be reſtored to his poſt, and deviſed and perhaps imparted to his confidents, ſeveral expedients which were imputed to him afterwards as ſo many crimes, though he had executed none. One of theſe confidents was the perſon that ruined him, being in all appearance bribed by his enemy. This man, ſir Thomas Palmer by name, having been ſecretly brought to the king, told him all he knew, and probably ſo turned his diſcourſe as to make the king believe that bare projects or thoughts were fixed and ſettled deſigns[r]. However, the king being perſuaded his uncle would have aſſaſſinated the duke of Northumberland, the marquiſs of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, conſented that he ſhould be brought to his trial. So on the 17th of October the duke was apprehended and ſent to the Tower, with many others accuſed of being his accomplices. The next day, the dutcheſs of Somerſet with two of her women were alſo arreſted; and after that, the earl of Arundel and the lord Paget underwent the ſame fate.

Remarks upon the charge brought againſt him. Burnet. Hayward.

As ſoon as the duke of Somerſet was in the Tower, his pretended crimes were every where publiſhed with circumſtances proper to impoſe on the people. Upon theſe extravagant accuſations it is that the hiſtorians, doctor Burnet excepted, have built their accounts of this event. What is moſt probable is, that the duke had projected to get himſelf declared protector in the next parliament, ſince the earl of Rutland affirmed it upon oath. As to the means he intended to uſe for that end, very likely he had deviſed ſeveral, but not yet fixed upon any, except that perhaps of ſecuring the duke of Northumberland's perſon. As the cuſtom of bringing the witneſſes face to face had been ſome time ſince laid aſide, we muſt be contented with knowing what the witneſſes depoſed againſt him, without any poſſibility however of receiving from thence an unqueſtionable proof of the truth of the facts. Every one is ſenſible, what great alterations the confronting of witneſſes is capable of producing in ſeemingly the moſt poſitive depoſitions.

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[r] He afterwards denied all to the duke of Somerſet. See king Edw. Journ. p. 37.

The witneſſes are not confronted.

Palmer depoſed, that ſir Ralph Vane was to have headed two thouſand men to ſupport the duke of Somerſet's deſigns, who with a hundred horſe * was to have fallen upon the guard; that being done, the duke intended to have gone through the city proclaiming, Liberty, Liberty, and in caſe he failed to raiſe the people, to have fled to the iſle of Wight. One Crane affirmed the ſame thing, and added, that the earl of Arundel and the lord Paget were privy to the conſpiracy.

The depoſitions of the witneſſes. Edw. Jour. Burnet. Hayward.

Upon theſe depoſitions, the duke was brought to his trial before the peers on the firſt of December, the crimes laid againſt him being caſt into three articles:

Edw. Jour. Burnet.

1. That he had deſigned to ſeize on the king's perſon, and the adminiſtration of the publick affairs.
2. That he with one hundred others intended to impriſon the duke of Northumberland.
3. And that he had deſigned to raiſe an inſurrection in the city of London.

Articles of accuſation. Burnet.

Theſe three articles, to which the duke of Somerſet's crimes were reduced, plainly ſhow, there was no proof of his having intended to kill or poiſon the three lords abovementioned, though the king had been made to believe it, and the people told the ſame. Of theſe three articles the firſt and third were high-treaſon, and the ſecond concerning the duke of Northumberland was only felony. He poſitively denied the treaſonable articles, and for the other, which was placed the ſecond in the impeachment, he proteſted, he had never determined

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s December 1550, there was appointed a band of horſemen divided amongſt the nobles, an hundred to the duke of Somerſet. There were the horſe, that with the two thouſand men were to ſet upon the Gens d'armes, who were nine hundred in number. See king Edw. Journ. p. 21. in Burnet, vol. ii.

Edw. VI. 1551.

to kill the duke of Northumberland; the marquiſs of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, but had only talked of it without any intention to do it.

It muſt be confeſſed, here is a difficulty which is not eaſy to be reſolved. The duke of Somerſet is not accuſed of intending to kill theſe lords, and yet he juſtifies himſelf on that head. This ſeems to intimate, there was ſome ſuch article in the indictment. And yet, doctor Burnet, an exact hiſtorian, if ever there was any, who affirms that he took the accuſation out of the records of the council, ſets down but three articles, where there is no mention of theſe lords, who even ſat among the peers his judges. On the other hand, it will appear preſently, that the duke was condemned for felony, which was ſtretching the rigour of the law as far as it could go, if he was guilty only of an intention to ſeize the duke of Northumberland; whereas if he had really intended to kill theſe three lords, there was nothing in his ſentence but what was agreeable to an act of parliament. It muſt therefore be ſaid, either the famous hiſtorian abovementioned, has not exactly related the articles of accuſation, or the peers condemned the unfortunate duke for a crime he was not legally charged with. The faithfulneſs and exactneſs doctor Burnet has profeſſed, will not allow him to be accuſed of ſuch a fraud. But the character of the duke of Northumberland, and of moſt of the duke of Somerſet's judges, who for the moſt part were his profeſſed enemies, give but too much occaſion to ſuſpect that the fear of offending the duke of Northumberland, or ſome other motives, prevailed over juſtice [t].

He is acquitted of treaſon, but found guilty of felony. Edw. Jour. Burnet. Hollingſh.

After the peers had heard the depoſitions againſt the duke, and his defences, they unanimouſly acquitted him of treaſon, but found him guilty of felony. They proceeded, in all appearance, upon a ſtatute made in the time of Henry VII. [u], which declared it felony to intend to take away the life of a privy-counſellor. This was ſtretching very far that ſevere law, which perhaps was never executed before, eſpecially upon a duke, peer of the realm, and uncle to the king. Beſides his charge did not run that he had intended to kill

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[t] The marquiſs of Wincheſter ſat as high-ſteward, and his judges, twenty-ſeven in number, were, the dukes of Suffolk, and Northumberland, the marquiſs of Northampton, the earls of Derby, Bedford, Huntington, Rutland, Bath, Suſſex, Worceſter, Pembroke; and the viſcount of Hereford; the lords Abergavenny, Audley, Wharton, Evers, Latimer, Borough, Souch, Stafford, Wentworth, Darcy, Sturton, Windſor, Cromwell, Cobham, and Bray. The lord chancellor was left out of the number, being ſuſpected of favouring the duke of Somerſet. Edw. Journ. p. 41. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 179.

[u] Third of Henry VII. See Statut. c. 14.

Edw. VI.
155[illegible].

Edw. Jour.

theſe three counſellors, but only had deſigned to ſecure the duke of Northumberland's perſon. But what is moſt ſtrange in the trial is, that theſe three lords ſat as judges. Sentence being given, he aſked pardon of the duke of Northumberland, the marquiſs of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, for his ill intentions againſt them. This aſking pardon has made ſeveral believe him guilty. But it is a queſtion, whether by theſe ill intentions we are neceſſarily to underſtand a deſign to aſſaſſinate them. When the people who were preſent at his trial, ſaw he was returned not guilty of treaſon, they ſhouted for joy ſo loud, that they were heard at Charing-croſs. But their joy was turned into ſorrow when they heard he was condemned of felony.

The king is perſuaded that the duke is guilty.
Burnet.

Every one believed the duke would be pardoned, becauſe his execution was deferred almoſt two months. But ſo great care had been taken to prepoſſeſs the king againſt him, that young Edward, who abhorred the crimes he believed him guilty of, was very far from any thoughts of granting him a pardon. It appears in his Journal, that one Bartuile had affirmed upon oath, that the duke of Somerſet had hired him to kill the duke of Northumberland. That the duke himſelf had owned it at his coming to the Tower, though he had denied it at firſt. But it is very ſtrange, this evidence was not produced at his trial. Nothing argues his innocence in this reſpect ſo much as the indictment itſelf, which ran, not that he had intended to aſſaſſinate the duke of Northumberland, but only had deſigned to ſeize and impriſon him. Nevertheleſs, it cannot be denied that the king believed him guilty of the firſt of theſe crimes, ſince we ſee in his letter to Barnaby Fitz-Patrick his favourite, then in France, that the duke had confeſſed it after ſentence, though he had before ſworn the contrary [w]. But the king's belief does by no means prove the fact. It ſerves alſo equally to prove that the young king was abuſed, who even ſhowed afterwards an extreme ſorrow for having conſented to his uncle's death. The duke of Somerſet was in hopes however of undeceiving the king. He had now engaged the lord chancellor Rich to be his friend, who through a miſtake in the ſuperſcription of a note he ſent to the duke, diſcovered his deſign to uſe his endeavours for

Burnet.
Fuller.

The chancellor is Somerſet's friend, and is deprived of his office.
Hayward.
Dec. 21.
Edw. Jour.
Burnet.

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[w] The king's words, as in Burnet, are: "The duke ſeemed to have acknowledged the felony, and after ſentence he had confeſſed it, though he had formerly vehemently ſworn the contrary." So it was not the deſign of killing, (as Rapin ſays by miſtake) but the felony that the king ſaid, he confeſſed. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 181.

him. This occaſioned the great ſeal's being taken from him, and given to the biſhop of Ely [x].

The king ſigns an order for beheading the duke of Somerſet. Act. Pub. xv. p. 295.

As ſoon as the duke had received his ſentence, great care was taken to divert and entertain the king with pleaſing ſights, that he might not reflect upon this ſtrange condemnation. At the ſame time, all his uncle's friends were carefully hindered from coming near him. At laſt, on the 22d of January he ſigned an order for his execution. The duke appeared calm and undiſturbed on the ſcaffold, and made a ſpeech to the people.

The duke's ſpeech on the ſcaffold. January 22. Burnet. Hollingſh. Fox.

He affirmed, "he had never offended the king by "word or deed. He gave God thanks for making him his "inſtrument to promote the reformation, and exhorted the "people to perſiſt therein." When he had gone ſo far, he was forced to ſtop, by reaſon of an extraordinary noiſe among the people, which laſted ſome time. Sir Anthony Brown riding towards the ſcaffold, and crying to the people to give way, made many believe he was bringing a pardon. On the other ſide, a company of ſoldiers who had been ordered to attend at the execution, coming too late, cauſed others to imagine they were come to maſſacre them. This bred a terrible diſorder, and fatal to ſome of the ſpectators who were ſmothered to death. When the noiſe was over, he calmly went on with his ſpeech, and ſaid, "he had always been "moſt diligent about his majeſty, in his affairs both at home "and abroad; and no leſs diligent in ſeeking the common "good of the whole realm." Here again he was interrupted by the people crying out, "It was moſt true." Then "he "prayed for the king, aſked forgiveneſs of all whom at any "time he had offended, forgave all his enemies without ex"ception, and deſired the people to bear him witneſs that he "died in the faith of Jeſus Chriſt." When he had ended his ſpeech he turned to his private devotions; after which he laid his head on the block to receive the fatal blow.

Stow, p. 607. Fox.

The duke of Somerſet's character. Burnet.

Thus fell the duke of Somerſet, concerning whom opinions have been very much divided. Some have repreſented him as a very wicked man, capable of committing the moſt heinous crimes, and others, as a very good Chriſtian. It is eaſy to ſee that religion was the ſole cauſe of this diverſity. Had it not been for the prejudice religion begets in moſt men, his faults would not have been ſo much aggravated, which after all, were ſome of the leaſt men are guilty of. On the other hand, without this ſame prejudice, there would not have been ſo much pains taken to colour his ambition, which doubtleſs was a little too great. They who have made it their buſineſs to vindicate all his actions, have alſo very lightly touched upon the vaſt riches amaſſed by him during his adminiſtration. Of this Somerſet-houſe now ſtanding in London; is an authentick proof. But then, his enemies have made bare accuſations artfully ſpread among the people, and inſtilled into the king, to paſs for evidenced crimes, though it manifeſtly appears by the very articles of his indictment, that he was condemned only for an intention to commit an offence, not againſt the king or ſtate, but againſt ſome private perſons. It may therefore be affirmed, that the faults for which he was pardoned after his firſt condemnation, were much greater than that for which he ſuffered death. The people, who are ſeldom miſtaken in their judgment of great men, were ſo generally perſuaded of his innocence, that many dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, conſidering him as a ſort of martyr. Nay, it happened in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, that a woman ſeeing the duke of Northumberland leading to the Tower, ſhook one of theſe bloody handkerchiefs at him, ſaying, "Behold, the blood which thou didſt "cauſe to be unjuſtly ſhed, does now apparently begin to "revenge itſelf on thee."

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[x] The lord chancellor intending to ſend the duke of Somerſet an advertiſement of ſomewhat deſigned againſt him by the council, and being in haſte, wrote only on the back of the letter, "To the duke," and bid one of his ſervants carry it to the Tower, without giving him particular directions to the duke of Somerſet. His ſervant fancying it was to the duke of Norfolk, carried it to him. He, to make Northumberland his friend, ſent the letter to him. Rich underſtanding the miſtake, prevented the diſcovery, and went immediately to the king, and pretending ſome indiſpoſition, deſired to be diſcharged; and upon that took to his bed. So it ſeemed too barbarous to do any thing further againſt him. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 182.

Burnet.
Hayward.

Execution of his pretended accomplices.

About a month after this execution, ſir Ralph Vane, ſir Miles Partridge, ſir Michael Stanhope, and ſir Thomas Arundel [y], who were ſaid to be the duke of Somerſet's chief complices, were alſo put to death. But they all proteſted they had never intended to form any plot, either againſt the king or any privy-counſellor. Vane added, he did not doubt his blood would make the duke of Northumberland's pillow uneaſy to him. As for Palmer, Crane, and Bartuile, who had ſerved as witneſſes againſt the duke of Somerſet, they were eaſily diſcharged. Nay, it was obſerved, there was a great intimacy afterwards between Palmer and the duke of Northumberland, which gave occaſion to believe Palmer had been

Act. Pub. xv. p. 296.
Hayward.
Edw. Jour.
Burnet.
Strype.
Hollingſh.

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[y] The jury could not agree in their verdict concerning this laſt, ſo that they remained ſhut up without meat or drink from noon, January the 28th, till the next morning, the 29th. Edw. Journ. p. 46. They were executed on Tower-hill, February 26. Fox, p. 99.

corrupted to betray the duke of Somerſet, who had honoured him with his friendſhip.

Affairs of Germany. Sleidan. Burnet.

During the year 1551, the ſtate of the emperor's affairs was changed in Germany, when he leaſt ſuſpected it. Maurice elector of Saxony, having formed the deſign of reſtoring his country to liberty, had ſecretly negotiated a league with France and the proteſtant princes of Germany. But before he declared himſelf openly, he had a mind to know what might be expected from England. To that purpoſe, he ſent ambaſſadors to Edward, to gain him to his intereſt and procure a ſum of four hundred thouſand crowns, by telling him it was for the preſervation of the proteſtant religion. The ambaſſadors were told, the king would moſt willingly enter into a religious league; but did not mean to be engaged under that pretence in a war for other quarrels. That if the elector of Saxony would confer more particularly with the proteſtant princes, and then ſend the king ambaſſadors with fuller, inſtructions and ſufficient powers, he ſhould have a more poſitive anſwer. Hitherto Maurice had but faintly preſſed the ſiege of Magdeburg: but when his private affairs were ſettled, he ſo ordered it by the help of ſome friends in the town that the inhabitants ſurrendered by capitulation. Then he broke up his army, who parting into ſeveral bodies, quartered in the territories of ſome popiſh princes, putting them under heavy contributions. The catholicks complained very much of their being expoſed to theſe oppreſſions. The emperor alone remained in an entire ſecurity, without having the leaſt ſuſpicion of the elector.

and of the council of Trent. Burnet.

The council being removed back to Trent, was opened again in May, 1551. But a quarrel between the pope and the king of France interrupting the ſeſſions, they were renewed in September; and though Henry II. proteſted againſt the council, the legates continued it, and cauſed ſeveral points to be decided which are foreign to our purpoſe [z].

1552. Parliament. An act enjoining the confronting of the witneſſes. Burnet.

The parliament met the 23d of January, 1552. The commons, ſeeing the great abuſe of the pernicious cuſtom of condemning people without confronting the witneſſes, had a mind to put a ſtop to it. To that end, a bill was prepared, condemning under divers penalties, thoſe who ſhould write or ſpeak againſt the king, with a proviſo, that none ſhould be attainted of treaſon on this act, unleſs two witneſſes ſhould come, and to their face aver the fact for which they were to be tried, except ſuch as ſhould confeſs it. The lords were very unwilling to agree to this proviſo [a], as if it concerned them leſs than the commons to be freed from oppreſſion: but at length the act paſſed as drawn by the commons.

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[z] This year, the king founded a college or a collegiate church at Galway in Ireland. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 258. Strype, p. 259. And appointed a council, conſiſting of a preſident, and thirty other perſons for the government of Wales. Ibid.

The marriage of the clergy declared valid.

In this ſeſſion alſo ſome progreſs was made in the reformation [b]. Among other things, the marriage of the clergy was declared good and valid, which had been for ſome time conſidered by the people as only tolerated.

Attempts to blacken the duke of Somerſet's memory. Burnet.

The ſeſſion of parliament being about to end, and not above a hundred and thirty-ſeven members remaining in the lower houſe, a bill was brought into the houſe of lords to repeal the ſettlement of the duke of Somerſet's eſtate, made in favour of his children by his ſecond wife. In this bill was inſerted a clauſe, as the foundation of it, that the duke of Somerſet and his complices were juſtly attainted [c]. But the commons agreeing to the repeal, rejected the clauſe. This ſhows their opinion of the duke's innocence.

Another fruitleſs attempt to get the biſhop of Durham condemned. Burnet. Edw. Jour. Hayward. Strype.

In this ſame ſeſſion, the duke of Northumberland attempted to get Tonſtal biſhop of Durham condemned, who had been accuſed of miſpriſion of treaſon [d]. The lords readily paſſed the bill for attainting him, but the commons would not proceed upon it, becauſe it was intended to condemn the biſhop without confronting the witneſſes. The duke of Northumberland's aim was to have had the dignity of pala-

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[a] This does not appear. The commons rejected the bill itſelf, and then drew a new one, which was paſſed. See Burnet, tom. ii. p. 190.

[b] The new Common-Prayer-Book, according to the alterations agreed upon in the former year, with the form of making biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, were appointed to be received every-where, after the feaſt of All Saints next. Soon after, it was by the king's order tranſlated into French, by Francis Philip, and printed in 1553, for the uſe of the iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey, and the town of Calais. Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. tom. ii. p. 321. Strype, p. 377. And a letter was written, on July 12, 1552, to ſir Peter Mewtas, captain of the Iſle of Jerſey, to command him, that divine ſervice might there be uſed as in England. Edw. Journ. p. 58. By another act, the biſhopric of Weſtminſter was ſuppreſſed, and united to London; but the collegiate church, with its exempted juriſdiction, was ſtill continued.--- About this time, David's pſalms began to be turned into Engliſh rhyme, by Thomas Sternhold, one of the grooms of the king's privy chamber. He tranſlated only thirty-ſeven. The reſt were done by John Hopkins, and others. Heylin, p. 127.

[c] It was read thrice in the houſe of lords, on April 12. Journ. Proceed.

[d] By one Mainvil. He was charged with conſenting to a conſpiracy in 1553, for raiſing a rebellion in the north. This charge was grounded upon a letter of his, found among the duke of Somerſet's papers. See Burnet, tom. iii. p. 205.

The [illegible]liament is diſſolved. Burnet.

tine of Durham, annexed to that ſee, conferred on himſelf. We ſhall ſee hereafter, his project had better ſucceſs. Mean while, finding the commons had not much condeſcenſion for him, becauſe the parliament had been called during the duke of Somerſet's adminiſtration, he reſolved to have another which ſhould be more at his devotion. Accordingly this which had now ſat five years, was diſſolved at the end of the ſeſſion [e]. Then the council came to a reſolution to call a new parliament for the next year only, in order to have time to take the neceſſary meaſures to cauſe repreſentatives to be choſen, who ſhould be more favourable to the court.

Alteration as to the biſhops. Burnet, t. ii. p. 28. and iii. p. 195, &c.

There were this year two conſiderable changes with reſpect to the biſhops. Firſt, Heath and Day biſhops of Worceſter and Chicheſter were deprived, for too openly oppoſing the reformation. The ſecond change was more conſiderable. After the parliament had given the king power of nominating to the vacant ſees, his patents ran, that he appointed ſuch a one, biſhop of ſuch a ſee, during his natural life. But at the time I am ſpeaking of, it was thought proper to change the words into, "ſo long as he ſhall behave himſelf well" [f]. So the biſhops made by theſe patents might be deprived of their ſees by a bare act of the king's will, without being forced to obſerve the uſual formalities in ſuch caſes.

The duke of Northumberland is abſolute.

The duke of Northumberland ſtill directed the affairs of the government, though he had no commiſſion to diſtinguiſh him from the other privy-counſellors. His proceedings againſt the duke of Somerſet putting every one in fear of being expoſed to his vengeance, not a man dared openly to oppoſe him. It has been ſeen that in the late parliament he attempted to render the duke of Somerſet's memory odious, by cauſing his ſentence to be approved by the two houſes. That project

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[e] April 15. Journ. Parl. --- The acts made in this ſeſſion, beſides thoſe already mentioned, were as follows: 1. An act enjoining the keeping of holidays and faſting-days. What days were particularly ſpecified, ſee in the act itſelf. 2. That no one ſhall quarrel in a church or church-yard, upon pain of ſuſpenſion; nor ſtrike, upon pain of excommunication; nor draw a weapon, upon pain of loſing one of his ears. 3. That no perſon ſhall foreſtall any market, or ingroſs any goods, upon pain of forfeiture of the goods, and two months impriſonment for the firſt offence; half a year's impriſonment, and the double value of the things, for the ſecond; and the pillory, and forfeiture of all his goods, beſides impriſonment, for the third offence.

[f] The firſt patents with this clauſe in Rymer's Foedera, are thoſe of John Hooper, Durante vitâ naturali, ſi tamdiu ſe bene geſſerit. Act. Pub. xv. p. 298. May 10. Rapin. --- This year the ſee of Glouceſter, of which Hooper was biſhop, was quite ſuppreſſed, and converted into an exempted archdeaconry; and Hooper was made biſhop of Worceſter. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 203. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 297, &c. 320.

Inquiry of thoſe who were enriched by the chantry-lands. Burnet.

The lord Paget is degraded. Edw. Jour. Burnet. Hayward. Strype. Stow.

not ſucceeding, he took another method. He ordered a ſtrict inquiry to be made of all who had been enriched by the chantry-lands, given to the king during the duke of Somerſet's adminiſtration. Great numbers were found, ſome of whom were condemned in heavy fines, and others found means to purchaſe the duke of Northumberland's favour. But it was not poſſible for the lord Paget to divert the ſtorm which fell upon him, the duke of Northumberland mortally hating him for having been entirely devoted to the duke of Somerſet [g]. He was not only fined in ſix thouſand pounds, but alſo on pretence that he was no gentleman [h], was degraded from the order of the garter, which he had received from Henry VIII, as if that prince when he gave it him knew not his pedigree. Beſides the motive of hatred and revenge by which the duke of Northumberland was ſwayed, he had alſo another, which was to make way for his eldeſt ſon [i] the earl of Warwick, for whom he eaſily procured the vacant garter [k].

The company of the German merchants diſſolved. Burnet. Edw. Journ. Strype.

About this time the corporation of German merchants, who lived in the Steel-yard, was diſſolved, becauſe it was become detrimental to England, by engroſſing the whole woolen trade [l]. It was proved, that the Steel-yard men, in the year 1551, ſhipped forty four thouſand cloths, and all the Engliſh merchants together did not export above eleven hundred. The regent of Flanders and the city of Hamburgh earneſtly

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[g] He had been chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaſter, and was charged with many miſdemeanors in that office: particularly, with ſelling the king's lands and timber without commiſſion; taking large fines for his own uſe; making leaſes in reverſion for above twenty-one years. Edw. Journ. p. 55.

[h] His father was one of the ſerjeants at mace in the city of London. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 390.

[i] Sir Andrew Dudley his brother. See Strype, tom. ii. p. 401.

[k] On February 2, this year, there was a king at arms appointed for Ireland, by the name of Ulſter. Edw. Journ. p. 46.

[l] Henry III. had been much ſupported in his wars by the aſſiſtance he received from the free towns in Germany; in recompence whereof he gave them great privileges in England. They were made a corporation, and lived together in the Steel-yard near the Bridge. They had gone ſometimes, particularly in t[illegible] reign of Edward IV, beyond their charters, which were thereupon judged to be forfeited, but by great preſents they purchaſed new ones. They traded in a body, and ſo ruined others by underſelling them. Trade was now riſen much: courts began to be more magnificent; ſo there was a greater conſumption of cloth than formerly. Antwerp and Hamburgh had then the chief trade in theſe parts of the world, and their factors in the Steel-yard (ſo called from the ſteel imported by them) had all the markets of England in their hands, and ſet ſuch prices both on what they imported or exported as they pleaſed, and broke all other merchants. Whereupon the merchant-adventurers complained of them, and, after ſome hearings, it was adjudged that they had forfeited their charter, and that their company was diſſolved. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 207. Strype, tom. ii p. 295.

ſollicited to have the company reſtored, but it was to no purpoſe. The court alſo ſet on foot a project for the advantage of the trade of England, namely, to open two free mart-towns in England, Hull and Southampton. But it was not executed for want of time.

Project of two mart-towns in England. Edw. Journ.

Cardan in England. Burnet.

This year Cardan the famous Italian philoſopher paſſed through England in his return from Scotland, where he had been to cure the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's of a dropſy. His endeavours were crowned with ſucceſs, but he foretold the archbiſhop he was to be hanged. As he paſſed through England he waited on young king Edward, and was ſo charmed with him, that he every-where ſpoke of him as of a miracle. It is ſaid he caſt his nativity, and foretold to him a long and proſperous life. But for once the rules of his art were not juſt [m].

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Burnet. Edw. Jour.

The affairs of Scotland underwent this year ſome alteration. The queen-dowager had been in France on pretence of ſeeing her daughter, and had obtained of that court the regency of Scotland in the room of the earl of Arran. In November 1551, ſhe returned to Scotland through England, where ſhe was magnificently treated by the king, and her charges borne to the frontiers of the two kingdoms. At her arrival in Scotland, ſhe perſuaded the earl of Arran to reſign the regency to her, according to the deſire of Henry II. and his miniſters, the earl perceiving he could not keep it againſt their will. The archbiſhop of St. Andrew's did not like his brother's reſigning his dignity. He caballed againſt the queen-regent, who had the addreſs to ſupport herſelf by the aſſiſtance of the reformed, promiſing them the free exerciſe of their religion in their own houſes. By this means, ſhe eſtabliſhed herſelf in the government in ſpite of the archbiſhop's attempts.

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[m] After the king's death, when nothing was to be got by flattering, he wrote the following character of him: —— "All the graces were in him: he had many tongues when he was yet but a child: together with the Engliſh, his natural tongue, he had both Latin and French; nor was he ignorant, as I hear, of the Greek, Italian, and Spaniſh, and perhaps ſome more: but for the Engliſh, French, and Latin, he was perfect in them, and was apt to learn every thing: nor was he ignorant of logick, of the principles of natural philoſophy, nor of muſick. The ſweetneſs of his temper was ſuch as became a mortal; his gravity becoming the majeſty of a king, and his diſpoſition was ſuitable to his high degree. In ſhort, that child was ſo bred, had ſuch parts, and was of ſuch expectation, that he looked like a miracle of a man." Afterwards he adds, "He was a marvellous boy; when I was with him, he was in the fifteenth year of his age, in which he ſpoke Latin as politely and readily as I did. He began to love the liberal arts before he knew them, and to know them before he could uſe them; and in him there was ſuch an attempt of nature, that not only England, but the world had reaſon to lament his being ſo early ſnatched away.—— When the gravity of a king was needful, he carried himſelf like an old man; and yet he was always affable and gentle as became his age. He played on the lute; he meddled in affairs of ſtate; and for bounty, he did in that emulate his father; though his father, even when he endeavoured to be good, might appear to have been bad. But there was no ground of ſuſpecting any ſuch thing in the ſon, whoſe mind was cultivated by the ſtudy of philoſophy." See the original in Burnet's Hiſt. Ref. tom. ii. Collect.

Revolutions in Germany. Sleidan. Burnet.

The revolution this year in the affairs of Germany was much more conſiderable. The elector of Saxony at length diſcovered his project, but not till after the king of France had proclaimed war againſt the emperor, and the conſtable de Montmorency taken Metz by ſurprize. Then Maurice, aſſembling his forces, marched directly to Inſpruck, where Charles V. was, and had like to have taken him priſoner. Maurice's declaration obliged the emperor at laſt to give the proteſtants ſome ſatisfaction, by granting them the famous edict of Paſſau, whereby the ſeveral princes and towns were ſecured in the free exerciſe of their religion. That monarch ſoon met with another great mortification. He inveſted Metz: but by the brave reſiſtance of the duke of Guiſe, who defended the place, he was forced to raiſe the ſiege. Let us return now to the affairs of England [n].

1553. Parliament favourable to the duke of Northumberland. Strype, t. ii. p. 394. Somerſet's memory is blackened. Tonſtal is deprived, and his ſee ſuppreſſed.

The new parliament meeting the 1ſt of March, 1553, the houſe of commons conſiſted of repreſentatives who for the moſt part were diſpoſed to follow the directions of the court. They gave the king a very conſiderable ſubſidy, grounded upon the great waſting of his treaſure during the duke of Somerſet's adminiſtration. This ſhowed what power the duke of Northumberland had in the houſe [o]. That lord procured likewiſe an act for ſuppreſſing the biſhoprick of Durham, having firſt cauſed Tonſtal to be deprived [p]. This biſhoprick being ſuppreſſed, the king founded two others, one at Durham with 2000 marks revenue, and another at Newcaſtle with 1000. But the temporality of the biſhoprick being turned into a county palatine, was given to the duke of Northumberland. Probably, Tonſtal was deprived and his ſee ſuppreſſed for that purpoſe.

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[n] This year the king's debts amounted to two hundred and fifty one thouſand, or, according to Strype, two hundred and forty one thouſand, one hundred and ſeventy nine pounds, and a commiſſion was granted to certain perſons, to ſell part of the chantry-lands for the payment of them. Edw. Journ. p. 51. Strype, tom. ii. p. 312.

[o] They gave the king two tenths and two fifteenths, and a ſubſidy, to be paid in two years. At the paſſing the bill, there was a great debate about it in the houſe of commons, which ſeems to have been about the preamble, containing a long accuſation of the duke of Somerſet, for involving the king in wars, waſting his treaſure, engaging him in much debt, embaſing the coin, and having given occaſion to a moſt terrible rebellion. This was inſerted by the duke of Northumberland, to let the king ſee how acceptable he and his party were, and how hateful the duke of Somerſet had been. The clergy did alſo give the king ſix ſhillings in the pound of their benefices. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 215.

[p] He was deprived, Auguſt 14, 1552. Strype, tom. ii. p. 367. The bill for diſſolving his biſhoprick was firſt read, on the 21ſt of March, and, for the ſecond and third times, on the 22d and 29th. Journ. Parl.

The duke of Northumberland is made count-palatine. Strype. Burnet.

The parliament ſat but one month. It was diſſolved the 31ſt of March, after the duke of Northumberland had procured a ſubſidy for the king, and a ſtain for the memory of the late duke of Somerſet [q]. The court had no farther need of a parliament, and the duke of Northumberland's intereſt required there ſhould be none, when he was preparing to execute his deſigns.

The king's illneſs. Burnet. The church plate is called in. Edw. Jour. Hayward. Stow.

The young king had been ſeized ever ſince January with a diſtemper which at length brought him to his grave [r]. This did not hinder his being made to ſign an order for viſiting the churches, and taking thence all the ſuperfluous plate and ornaments. The viſitors were likewiſe to examine very ſtrictly, what embezzlements had been made in that reſpect. All this was done under colour of ſelling the ſuperfluities, and giving the money to the poor, who had however the leaſt ſhare [s].

The council are jealous of the progreſs of France. Burnet. Hayward. Strype.

The progreſs of the French in Germany beginning to make England uneaſy, the council reſolved to take ſome meaſures to ſtop their career. Nay, they ſeemed at firſt to have intended to join in a league with the emperor againſt France. But all this ended at laſt in the offer of the king's mediation, which produced no effect.

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[q] But an act was made for the reſtoring in blood ſir Edward Seymour, knt. who was eldeſt ſon of the duke by his ſecond wiſe.--- There was alſo a remarkable act made for avoiding exceſs of wines. It imported, That no perſon whatever ſhould keep in his houſe above ten gallons of French wine, for ſpending, upon pain of forfeiting 10 l. ſterling: unleſs he could ſpend an hundred marks yearly in lands, tenements, or other profits certain; or was worth a thouſand marks of his own; or elſe was the ſon of a duke, marquis, earl, viſcount, or baron. When it was read in the houſe of lords, the duke of Suffolk, the earls of Arundel, Oxford, Weſtmoreland, Rutland, the biſhop of St. David's, and the lord Darcy of Chich, diſſented from it. Journ. Parl.

[r] April 2, 1552, he fell ſick of the ſmall-pox and meaſles, which probably might turn to a conſumption. Edw. Journ. p. 39.

[s] Viſitors were appointed to examine what church-plate, jewels, and other furniture was in all churches, and to compare their account with the inventories made in former viſitations, and to ſee what was embezzled, and how. They were to leave in every church one or two chalices of ſilver, with linen for the communion-table and for ſurplices; and to bring in all other things of value to the treaſurer of the king's houſhold, and to ſell the reſt of the linen, copes, altar-cloths, and give the money to the poor. Heylin, and ſome others, urge from hence, that the king was ill-principled as to the matters of the church, becauſe he was now in the ſixteenth year of his age. But Burnet obſerves, that when all is done, it was only calling in the ſuperfluous plate that lay in churches, more for pomp than uſe. And that perhaps being ſick, he did not much mind what papers the council brought him to ſign. Tom. ii. p. 217.

The king's illneſs becomes very dangerous. Burnet. Hayward.

He is concerned about religion after his death. Burnet.

His recovery is deſpaired of.

Marriage of the duke of Northumberland's fourth ſon with Jane Grey. Burnet. Hollingſh. Stow. Hayward.

The duke perſuades the king to ſettle the crown on Jane Grey. Burnet. Hollingſh. Hayward. Strype.

Mean while, Edward was ſtill troubled with a defluxion upon his lungs, which waſted him by degrees and daily grew more dangerous. Some plainly affirm, a ſlow poiſon was given him, and throw the ſuſpicion upon the duke of Northumberland. Others only inſinuate ſuch a thing, without ſaying it poſitively. But after all, both ſpeak only by conjecture without giving any proof. The young king ſaw death approaching without any fears as to himſelf, but could not reflect without an extreme concern on the future ſtate of religion, under his ſiſter Mary who was to ſucceed him. Very probably, the duke of Northumberland, who conſtantly attended him in his illneſs, took care to increaſe his fears, on purpoſe to lead him more eaſily to the point he deſired. All hopes however of the king's recovery were not given over till the middle of May, when it is likely, the phyſicians told the duke of Northumberland, his caſe was deſperate. Then it was that he married the lord Guilford Dudley, his fourth ſon, the only one unmarried, to Jane Grey, eldeſt daughter of the new duke of Suffolk by Frances Brandon, who was in Henry VIII's will the next in the ſucceſſion after the princeſs Elizabeth. At the ſame time, Jane's two ſiſters were alſo married, the ſecond, the lady Catherine, to the earl of Pembroke's eldeſt ſon the lord Herbert; the third, the lady Mary, who was crooked to the king's groom-porter, Martin Keys. Theſe marriages were ſolemnized about the end of May [t], when there was no hope of the king's recovery. At laſt, one day, as the young king was expreſſing his great concern at the thoughts, that his ſiſter the princeſs Mary would do her utmoſt to deſtroy the reformation, the duke of Northumberland broke the ice. He repreſented to the king, that there was but one way to prevent the misfortunes England was threatened with, in caſe the princeſs Mary aſcended the throne after him; and that was, to ſettle the crown on the lady Jane Grey his daughter-in law. Indeed it was natural in excluding Mary to transfer the crown to his ſiſter Elizabeth, whom the king tenderly loved, and who was a hearty friend to the reformation. But, probably, the duke told the king, as he could exclude Mary but on the ſpecious pretence of her being illegitimate, the ſame reaſon ſubſiſted

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[t] Hollingſhead ſays, it was about the beginning of the month, p. 1085.

with regard to Elizabeth, ſince the marriages of their mothers were equally annulled. That therefore, either the ſucceſſion was to be left as ſettled by the late king, or the princeſſes were to be both excluded together. Very likely, the young king, who found himſelf dying, and only thought of ſaving the reformation from the impending deſtruction, was prevailed with by this argument to ſacrifice the princeſs Elizabeth. Beſides, he had a great eſteem and affection for Jane Grey, who was an accompliſhed lady both in body and mind.

The judges refuſe to draw the ſettlement. Burnet.

However, the king having taken the reſolution ſuggeſted to him by the duke of Northumberland, three judges of the realm [u] were ſent for, and required to draw an aſſignment of the crown to Jane Grey. The judges deſired a little time to conſider of it. At laſt, they anſwered, they could not preſume to do any ſuch thing without being guilty of high treaſon. Adding, that all the privy-counſellors who conſented to the aſſignment would unavoidably be liable to the pains expreſſed in the act of ſucceſſion. Upon which the duke of Northumberland was in ſuch a fury, that he had like to have beaten the judges; but they ſtood to what they had ſaid. On the 15th of June they were ſent for again, and at length by threats and the expedient of a pardon under the great ſeal were wrought upon to draw the ſettlement of the crown, which was ſigned by all the reſt of the judges, except Hales, who could never be prevailed with. All the privy-counſellors ſet their hands to it likewiſe on the 21ſt of the ſame month. Cranmer was abſent that day on purpoſe to avoid ſigning; but the king importuned him ſo much, that he ſet his hand at laſt as a witneſs, as it is pretended, and not as a privy-counſellor [w].

They are as it were forced to it. Burnet, tom. iii, Col. p. 207. Hollingſh.

The ſettlement is ſigned by all the council.

A woman undertakes to cure the king, but cannot. Suſpicions againſt the duke of Northumberland. Burnet, Hayward. Strype.

Mean while, the king's diſtemper increaſing, without the poſſibility of finding any remedy, the council thought fit to diſmiſs the phyſicians, and put him into the hands of a certain woman, who undertook his cure. It was ſaid, this was done by the duke of Northumberland's advice, and that the woman ſhortened the king's days. But he was now ſo ill,

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[u] They were, Montague chief juſtice of the common-pleas, and Baker and Bromley; and were ſent for on June 11. Goſnald came with them on the 19th. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 222.

[w] Burnet ſays, he does not know whether the archbiſhop uſed this diſtinction, though it ſeems probable that he did ſo, ſeeing that liberty was allowed to Cecil, who, in a relation which he made one write of this tranſaction, for clearing himſelf afterwards, ſays, when he heard Hales declare how much it was againſt law, he refuſed to ſet his hand to it as a counſellor, and that he only ſigned it as a witneſs to the king's ſubſcription, p. 223.

that it was entirely needleſs to haſten his death. It is true, the woman inſtead of curing him, only put him to more pain by the medicines ſhe gave him; and this was ſufficient to inſpire the people with violent ſuſpicions of the duke of Northumberland, who was not beloved, and was thought capable of any thing. At laſt the phyſicians were ſent for again. But it was not in their power to ſtop the violence of his diſtemper, which carried him out of the world on the 6th of July, after his giving ſenſible proofs of a true piety. Some days before his death, the duke of Northumberland got the council to write to the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth, deſiring them to come and keep him company in his ſickneſs. His aim was to have them in his power, that they might not obſtruct the promotion of his daughter-in-law Jane Grey. The two princeſſes not imagining the king ſo near death were upon the road, but hearing he was expiring, turned back, and the duke was diſappointed of his expectation [x].

The king's death.

The duke tries to have Mary and Elizabeth in his power. Burnet. Hayward.

They eſcape the ſnare.

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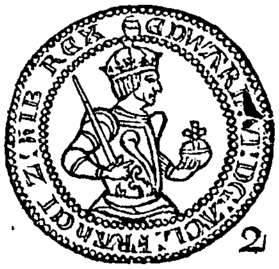
[x] His body was buried on the 8th of Auguſt, in the chapel of St. Peter's church in Weſtminſter, and laid near the body of Henry VII. his grandfather. The charge of his funeral amounting but to 475 l. 2 s. 2 d. Strype, p. 432. He died in ſir Henry Sidney's arms, ſon-in-law to the duke of Northumberland. It is ſaid, king Edward was in body beautiful, of a ſweet aſpect, and eſpecially in his eyes, which ſeemed to have a ſtarry livelineſs and luſtre in them. He kept a book, in which he writ the characters of all the chief men of the nation, all the judges, lord-lieutenants, and juſtices of the peace over England, marking down their way of living, and their zeal for religion. He had ſtudied the buſineſs of the mint, with the exchange and value of money. He alſo underſtood fortification, and deſigned well. He knew all the harbours and ports in his dominions, as alſo in Scotland and France, with the depth of water, and way of coming into them. He had acquired ſo great knowledge in foreign affairs, that the ambaſſadors who were ſent into England, publiſhed very extraordinary things of him in all the courts of Europe. He took notes of almoſt every thing he heard, which he writ firſt in Greek characters, that thoſe about him might not underſtand them, and afterwards copied out fair in the journal or diary that he kept. This journal, written with his own hand, is ſtill preſerved in ſir John Cotton's famous library; from whence the learned biſhop Burnet tranſcribed and publiſhed it, in his ſecond volume of the Hiſtory of the Reformation. In it the moſt conſiderable tranſactions in this reign are perhaps as well regiſtered (ſays biſhop Nicolſon) by the young king himſelf, as by any other hiſtorian. --- June 26, a few days before his death, the king endowed Chriſt's, St. Thomas's, and Bridewell hoſpitals, in London, with the revenues belonging to the Savoy in the ſame city, which amounted then to 600 l. a year; and gave licence for the purchaſing of lands, to the uſe of the ſame hoſpitals, as far as the yearly ſum of 4000 l. marks. Hollingſh. p. 1082. He alſo founded Chriſt's hoſpital in Abington. Heylin, p. 141. --- The expences of his houſehold yearly, during his reign, were as follows. The firſt year, 49,187 l. 18 s. The ſecond, 46,902 l. 7 s. The third, 46,100 l. 3 s. The fourth, 100,578 l. 16 s. The fifth, 62,863 l. 9 s. The ſixth, 65,923 l. 16 s. Strype, tom. ii. p. 454, 455. As for the prices of meat, and other proviſions during this reign, ſee Ibid. p. 151, 223. Reposit. p. 143.

BY indentures of the 1ſt and 2d of Edward VI, a pound weight of gold, of twenty carats fine and four carats allay, was coined into thirty pounds by tale, out of which the king had a great profit; and a pound of ſilver, of four ounces fine and eight ounces allay, was coined into forty-eight ſhillings: after which rate, every pound of fine ſilver made in current money ſeven pounds four ſhillings; and the king's profit on every pound weight was four pounds four ſhillings.—— In the 3d year of this king, a pound weight of gold, of twenty-two carats fine and two carats allay, was to be coined into thirty-four pounds by tale, into ſovereigns at 20s. a piece, half-ſovereigns at 10s. a piece, crowns at 5s. and half-crowns at 2s. 6d. a piece: and a pound weight of ſilver, of ſix ounces fine and ſix ounces allay, was to be coined into ſeventy-two ſhillings, which were to go for 12d. a piece by tale; of which the merchant, for every pound weight of fine ſilver, received three pounds four ſhillings, and the king above four pounds gain.—— In the 4th year of this reign, a pound weight of gold of the old ſtandard, of twenty-three carats, and three grains and a half fine, was coined into twenty-eight pounds ſixteen ſhillings by tale; namely, into ſovereigns at 24s. a piece, half-ſovereigns at 12s., angels at 8s, and half-angels at 4s. a piece. —— In the 5th of this reign, a pound weight of ſilver, of three ounces fine and nine ounces allay, was coined into ſeventy-two ſhillings at 12d. a piece; and the merchant received for every ounce of fine ſilver, which he ſhould bring to the mint, ten ſhillings of ſuch money; by which means twelve ounces of fine ſilver was exorbitantly raiſed to fourteen pounds eighteen ſhillings.—— In the 6th of this reign, a pound weight of gold, of the old ſtandard aforeſaid, was coined into thirty-ſix pounds by tale; namely, twenty-four ſovereigns at 30s. a piece, ſeventy-two angels at 10s. a piece, or one hundred and forty-four half-angels: and a pound weight of crown gold, of twenty-two carats fine and two carats allay, was coined into thirty-three pounds by tale; namely, thirty-three ſovereigns at 20s. a piece, or ſixty-ſix half-ſovereigns at 10s. a piece, or one hundred and thirty-two crowns, or two hundred and ſixty four half-crowns: and a pound weight of ſilver, conſiſting of eleven ounces one penny-weight fine, and nineteen penny-weight allay, was coined into three pounds by tale; namely, twelve crowns, or twenty-four half-crowns, or ſixty ſhillings, or one hundred and twenty ſix-pences, or two hundred and forty three-pences, or ſeven hundred and twenty pence, or one thouſand four hundred and forty half-pence, or two thouſand eight hundred and eighty farthings.

The gold coins of this king are ſovereigns, half-ſovereigns, angels, half-angels, crowns, half-crowns. The ſovereign has on one ſide the king's buſt crowned; reverſe, SCVTVM. FIDEI. PROTEGIT. EVM. the arms in a ſhield crowned, between

Edw. VI.

E. R. Another has the king's titles on the arms ſide; on the reverſe, the king with a youthful countenance, bare-headed, the motto as in the laſt. The other ſort has the king's figure in armour crowned, holding a naked ſword in his right hand, and ball in his left. EDWARD VI. D. G. AGL. FRANCI Z. HIB. REX. Reverſe, the arms crowned between E. R. IHS. AVTEM. TRANSIÆ. PER MEDI. ILLO. IBAT. (Fig. 2.) The crown and half-crown have the ſame impreſſion as the former ſovereign.——— The ſilver monies of this prince, who was the firſt of that name that added the number to it, are contrary to thoſe of his father; the fine money of Henry VIII, having the half face, and his bad the full; whereas king Edward's bad has the half, and his good the full. Of the baſe there are two ſorts of teſtoons, which give him half-faced; the one having this legend, TIMOR DOMINI FONS VITE. M.D.XLIX. (Fig. 1.) and the other, INIMICOS EIVS INDVAM CONFVSIONE. It was on the former of theſe that biſhop Latimer remarked,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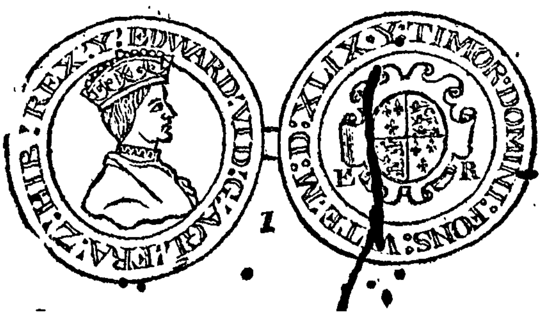
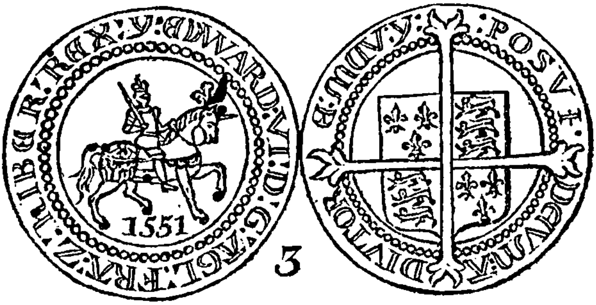

EDWARD·VI·D·G·AGL·FRA·Z·HIB·REX
TIMOR·DOMINI·FONS·VITE·M·D·XLIX
E
R
1

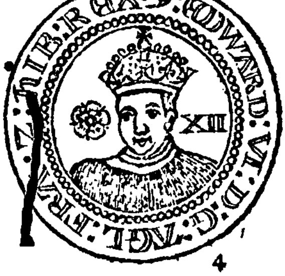
Edw. VI.

remarked, it was ſuch a pretty little ſhilling, that he had like to have put it away for an old groat. The crown, half-crown, ſhilling, and ſix-pence, have all of them the king's titles thus, EDWARD. VI. D. G. AGL. FRA. Z. HIBER. REX. Reverſe, the king's arms with POSVI, &c. only the crown and half-crown give him on horſeback, and underneath the date 1551; another has the feathers on the horſe's head (Fig. 3.) whereas the ſhilling and ſix-pence give him full-faced; of which there are of two different mints: of York with the letter Y; and Throgmorton's mint in the Tower, an O or tun. (See Fig. 4.) Both theſe, as well as the ſix-pence, have a roſe on one ſide the king's head, and XII. or VI. on the other. The three-pence with the roſe and III, has the ſame inſcription as the ſhilling.

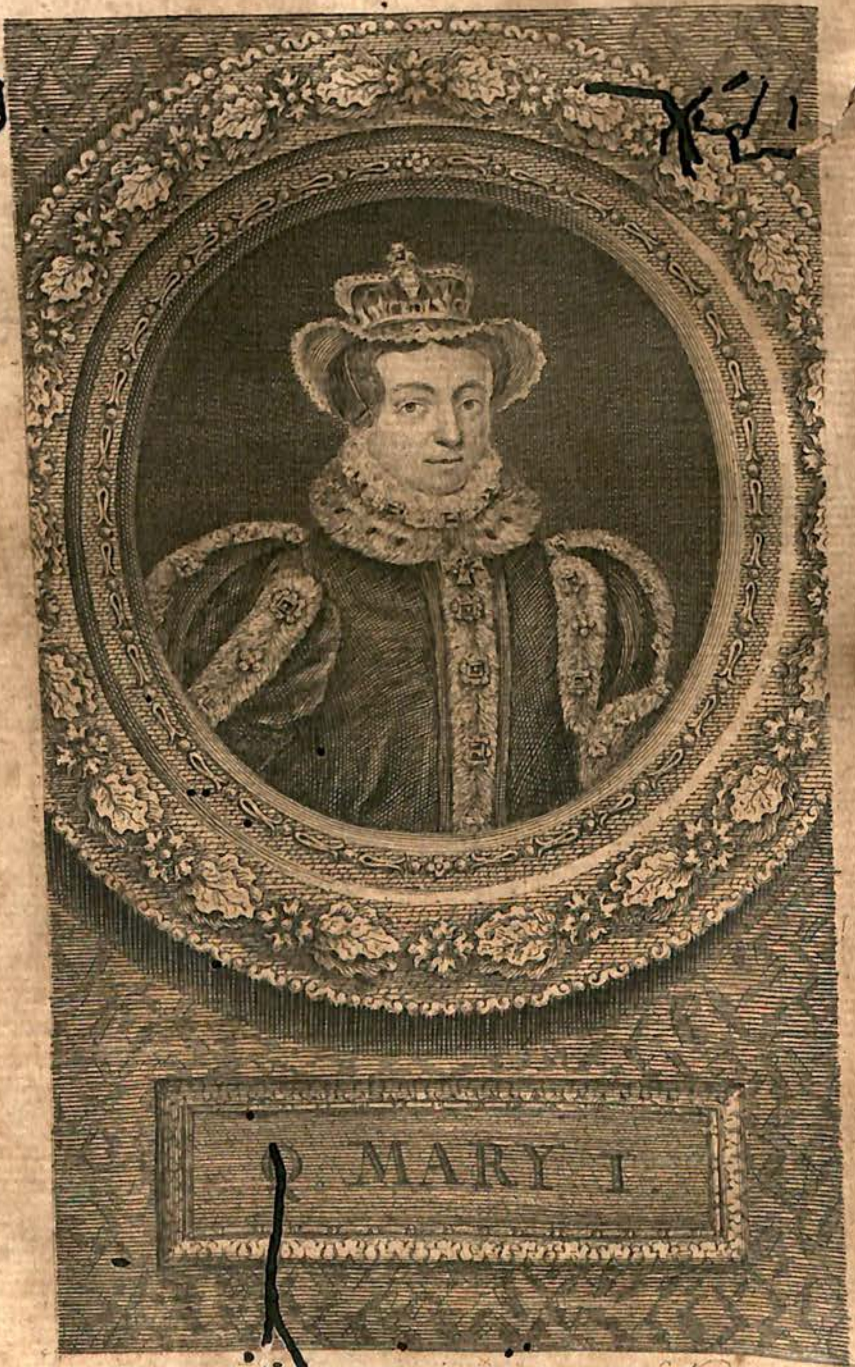
22. MARY.


EDWARD:VI:D:G:AGL:FRA:Z:HIBER:REX:Y
1551
POSVI:DEVM:ADIVTOREM:MEVM:Y

3


EDWARD:VI:D:G:AGL:FRA:Z:HIB:REX:Y
XII

4



Q. MARY I.

G. Vertue Sculp.

22. MARY.

1553.
MARY.

HENRY the Eighth's divorces from Catherine of Arragon and Ann Bullen: the acts of parliament confirming theſe divorces: other ſubſequent acts which ſeemed to repeal what the firſt had ordained: the power given to the king to appoint his ſucceſſors, and to place them in what order he pleaſed: in a word, that prince's laſt will itſelf, had ſo imbroiled the affair of the ſucceſſion, that it appeared full of contradiction and obſcurity. It would not have been poſſible to decide by the antient laws and cuſtoms of the realm, the queries ariſing from ſo many inconſiſtent acts, becauſe the makers of theſe new laws had not in view juſtice and equity, but only the gratifying of a prince to whom it was dangerous to refuſe any thing. Henry VIII. had foreſeen the difficulties and perplexities his two divorces might one day occaſion, and even ſeemed deſirous to prevent them. But he only increaſed them by the new ſtatutes he obtained of the parliament, wherein his aim was not ſo much to procure the welfare of the kingdom, as to follow his humour, and cauſe his will to be a law. To ſet this matter in a clear light, it will be proper to inſert here a brief recapitulation of that monarch's proceedings with reſpect to the ſucceſſion.

It has been ſeen in the hiſtory of his reign, that after living eighteen years with Catherine of Arragon his firſt wife, and having by her ſeveral children, of whom there was but one daughter alive, he had a mind to put her away. He pretended, his marriage was void, and becauſe the court of Rome for reaſons of ſtate would not condeſcend to annul it, he cauſed a ſentence of divorce to be pronounced by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, before he had aboliſhed the papal authority in his kingdom. He thereby afforded a very ſpecious pretence to queſtion the prelate's authority by whom the ſentence was pronounced. What is more, he took a ſecond wife, before he was legally divorced from the firſt, and by this precipitation, gave a freſh occaſion to diſpute the validity of his ſecond marriage. Here are already two contradictions in theſe his two firſt ſteps. He applied to the pope, as to his judge, and before he had ſolemnly renounced his authority, contemns it, and in ſpite of the pope, whoſe juriſdiction was ſtill acknowledged in England, is divorced from queen Catherine.

Mary. 1553.

therine. On the other hand, he owns there was need of a legal ſentence to juſtify his divorce, and yet he prevents the ſentence by running into a ſecond marriage, before it was pronounced.

In the next place, he beheaded his ſecond wife for adultery, and yet, before the execution, pretended ſhe could not be his wife, and was divorced from her on a frivolous pretence. Theſe two divorces were confirmed by an act of parliament paſſed in 1536, wherein was alſo a manifeſt contradiction. The act declared Mary and Elizabeth, born of the two firſt marriages, illegitimate and incapable of ſucceeding to the crown, and yet it gave the king power to place them on the throne, ſince, without any limitation, it inveſted him with all the authority neceſſary to ſettle the ſucceſſion as he pleaſed.

There was likewiſe another contradiction in a ſtatute of the year 1540, wherein it was declared, that a marriage after conſummation ſhould not be annulled by reaſon of a precontract. Nevertheleſs Henry's divorce from Ann Bullen had no other motive. Thereby, the king and parliament owned they had injured Elizabeth in declaring her illegitimate. It will be ſaid perhaps, this act was not to regard what was paſſed. But it is certain, it was made only with deſign to favour Elizabeth. Notwithſtanding, ſhe was not reſtored by this act, but it ſtill lay in the king's breaſt to give her a place in, or exclude her from, the ſucceſſion.

In another act made in 1544, there was a no leſs manifeſt contradiction. By this act, both houſes themſelves put in the line of the ſucceſſion Mary and Elizabeth after their brother Edward. Did not this ſeem to be making them an authentick reparation, and owning them for legitimate? And indeed, hitherto no baſtards had ever been on the throne of England. Nay, it might be queſtioned, whether it was in the parliament's power to place them there. At leaſt there would have been need of a very expreſs and authentick law for that purpoſe. Nevertheleſs by a particular clauſe of this act, the king was allowed the liberty to impoſe conditions on theſe two princeſſes, without which they could have no right to ſucceed; a thing the parliament would not, nay could not, have done, if they had been owned for legitimate. It was not therefore on account of their natural right, but by mere favour, that they were enabled to ſucceed to the crown.

Henry followed the ſame plan in his laſt will. He put Mary and Elizabeth in the line of the ſucceſſion after their brother Edward, but in ſuch a manner that he let them ſee, it was by mere grace, ſince he bound them to certain conditions, without which they were to forfeit their right. The difference he made between them and Edward, ſhowed he owned them not for legitimate, and thereby afforded a pretence to queſtion the right he gave them. But what conduced ſtill more to embroil the affair of the ſucceſſion was, that this will paſſing over in ſilence the iſſue of Margaret queen of Scotland, Henry's eldeſt ſiſter, placed next to Elizabeth the children of Mary queen-dowager of France and dutcheſs of Suffolk, the younger ſiſter. This was a manifeſt abuſe of the power granted him by the parliament, and conſequently it was furniſhing the queen of Scotland with a plauſible pretence to demand the annulling of a will which ſubverted the moſt ſteddy laws of the kingdom.

Edward VI. compleated this confuſion in the affair of the ſucceſſion, by conveying the crown to Jane Grey, contrary to the rights of Mary and Elizabeth. This was an act of abſolute ſovereignty very unbecoming a king of England, and one that died a minor. But moreover, in this act of conveyance there were contradictions no leſs palpable than thoſe Henry VIII. had been guilty of. Edward owned for good and valid the act declaring Mary and Elizabeth illegitimate. But at the ſame time, he repealed by his own authority that which gave the king his father the power to ſettle the ſucceſſion. On the other hand, he followed his father's will, in giving the preference to the younger ſiſter's children; but withal, annulled the will by excluding Mary and Elizabeth.

Four princeſſes might pretend to the crown.

By this ſhort recapitulation, it may be eaſily perceived what a door to diviſions and civil wars was opened by Henry VIII. and his ſucceſſor. By the abovementioned acts, four princeſſes, namely, Mary, Elizabeth, the queen of Scotland, and Jane Grey, could pretend to the crown after Edward's death, and each could find in theſe very acts, arguments to combat the claims of her adverſaries.

Examination of Mary's right.

Mary reſted upon her father's will. But ſhe received, in her opinion, a much ſtronger ſupport, tho' ſhe durſt not openly alledge it, from her natural right and the want of authority in thoſe who annulled her mother's marriage. On the other hand, it might be objected to her, that having been declared illegitimate by an act of parliament, that act was never repealed, and it was not in the king's power to place baſtards on the throne, in excluſion of the lawful heirs. That beſides it was known to the whole nation, that the parliament was far from being free when ſhe was placed in the ſucceſſion after Edward, but however this act ought to have been preceded

by

Mary. 1553.

by an expreſs repeal of that whereby ſhe was declared incapable of ſucceeding.

Of Elizabeth's.

The ſame thing could be alledged againſt Elizabeth. But ſhe might anſwer, that her mother's divorce was grounded only upon a clauſe which was afterwards declared inſufficient, and that by the act of the year 1540 ſhe was reſtored to her rights. Conſequently it was to her the crown was devolved, if her ſiſter Mary was incapable of ſucceeding.

Of Mary, queen of Scotland's.

The queen of Scotland could plead the illegitimation of Mary and Elizabeth, and affirm, it was her right to aſcend the throne of England, as grand-daughter to Henry VIII's eldeſt ſiſter. As to the objection of her being born out of the land, it was a groundleſs cavil, ſince the princes of the blood in England are never deemed foreigners, though born out of the kingdom.

Of Jane Grey's.

Jane Grey had for her Edward's aſſignment, approved by all the counſellors and the judges of the realm. But it muſt be confeſt, it was a very ill-grounded right. Herein, 'tis certain, the king, the council, and the judges, had undertaken what exceeded the bounds of their power. Beſides, the duke of Northumberland was known to hold the council in ſubjection; and it would have been eaſy to prove the judges were forced to draw and ſign the inſtrument.

Mary and Jane Grey are the only competitors.

Had this affair been to be decided by the law and impartial judges, many difficulties would doubtleſs have occurred. On the other hand, if each of the four princeſſes who might have pretended to the crown, would have maintained her right; and had been ſtrong enough to ſupport her pretenſions, to what calamities would the kingdom have been expoſed? But the affair took another turn, becauſe Elizabeth and the queen of Scotland endeavoured not to poſſeſs the crown. So Mary and Jane were the only competitors. This was very advantageous to Mary, becauſe her right was thereby put in the balance with only Jane's the weakeſt of all. Undoubtedly this is what induced all the hiſtorians to declare for Mary's right, becauſe they compared it only with that of her rival. But if Elizabeth and the queen of Scotland had been each ſupported with a good army, perhaps all the advantage would not have been ſo readily given to Mary. Having thus ſeen the grounds of the quarrel, let us now proceed to the deciſion.

The duke of Northumberland's error. Burnet.

The duke of Northumberland took great care to conceal Edward's death, becauſe he expected Mary would come and throw herſelf into his hands. It muſt be confeſt, this miniſter, tho' very politick, committed a very groſs error in neglecting to ſecure Mary and Elizabeth, immediately after

Edward had ſigned the conveyance to Jane Grey. He might have eaſily effected it whilſt the king was alive. But inſtead of ſuddenly taking ſo neceſſary a precaution, he expected they would come of their own accord into the ſnare he had laid for them, by cauſing them to be ſent for to keep their brother company in his ſickneſs. Mary had like to have been intrapped. She was within half a day's journey of London [a], when ſhe had notice from the earl of Arundel of the king's death, the aſſignment of the ſucceſſion, and the deſign upon her perſon. This news obliging her to take other meaſures, ſhe immediately turned back, and went to Kenning-hall in Norfolk. From thence ſhe wrote a letter to the council [b], which plainly diſcovered ſhe was informed of what they intended to conceal from her. She told the counſellors, ſhe thought it very ſtrange that the king her brother being three days dead, ſhe had not been advertiſed of it by them, ſince they could not be ignorant of her juſt right to the crown. That their neglect on this occaſion was a plain intimation of ſome ill deſign againſt her; but that ſhe was ready to take all in good part, and to pardon thoſe who would have recourſe to her clemency. That, in the mean while, ſhe required them to proclaim her queen. After writing this letter ſhe departed from Kenning-hall, and repaired to the caſtle of Framlingham in Suffolk. Two reaſons induced her to retire to this place. The firſt, that the duke of Northumberland was much hated in thoſe parts, ever ſince the great ſlaughter he had made of the rebels who had taken up arms under Ket. The ſecond, that the caſtle of Framlingham being near the ſea, ſhe might, if the ill ſucceſs of her affairs ſhould oblige her to it, have an opportunity to fly with more eaſe into Flanders. Upon her arrival at this place, ſhe took the title of queen, and being proclaimed at Norwich, ſent a circular letter to all the nobility, requiring them to come and aid her in maintaining her right. Let us now ſee what paſſed at London.

Mary retires into Norfolk; Godwin. Burnet. Hollingſh. p. 1081. Heylin. Speed.

and from thence to Suffolk. Burnet.

She takes the title of queen, and calls the nobles to her aid.

It has been obſerved in the foregoing reign, that the duke of Northumberland was become ſo abſolute in the council, that not one of the counſellors dared to oppoſe his will. Edward's death ſeemed likely to free them from this ſervitude. But as probably the duke would have more authority under his daughter-in-law Jane than under Edward, every one dreaded to make him an enemy. It is not therefore to the council ſo much as to the duke of Northumberland, by whom the board

The duke of Northumberland is abſolute in the council.

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[a] At Hunſdon in Hertfordſhire. Hollingſh. p. 1084.

[b] On the 9th of July. Ibid.

He gives Jane notice of her being queen. Burnet.

Jane's character. Godwin. Burnet.

She accepts the crown with reluctance. Godwin. Burnet.

was directed in all their reſolutions, that whatever was done in favour of Jane after Edward's death is to be aſcribed. This miniſter ſoon found it impoſſible to conceal long the king's death. Two days after, the news of it was publick in London. Beſides, Mary's retreat plainly ſhowed how fruitleſs were the pains that were taken on that account. So the duke, thinking it no longer proper to hide his deſigns, cauſed himſelf to be ſent with the duke of Suffolk to give Jane notice of her deſtination to the throne[c], by virtue of Edward's letters-patents. Jane was then but in her ſixteenth year. But at that age, wherein the judgment hardly begins to be formed, her's had acquired ſuch a degree of perfection, as is rarely found in one ſo very young. All the hiſtorians agree, the ſolidity of her mind, joined to a continual application to ſtudy, rendered her the wonder of her age. She underſtood perfectly French, Latin and Greek, and made uſe of theſe languages as helps to attain to the higheſt knowledge in the ſciences[d]. Herein ſhe was very like her couſin king Edward, who had a tender friendſhip for her, as on her part ſhe had a great eſteem for him. She appeared much moved at his death, which however ſhe muſt have expected, ſince his recovery had been now ſome time deſpaired of. But as ſhe knew not that his death was to procure her the crown, ſhe was extremely ſurprized at the news which her father and the duke of Northumberland told her. Inſtead of receiving it with joy, as they doubtleſs expected, ſhe told them, ſhe did not mean to enrich herſelf by the ſpoils of others: that the crown belonged to the princeſs Mary, and after her to the princeſs Elizabeth, and that being acquainted as ſhe was with king Henry's will, ſhe was unwilling to aſpire to the throne before her turn. Againſt theſe reaſons were urged king Edward's and the council's authority, with the approbation of the judges, and it was endeavoured to convince her, that this unanimity was a clear evidence there was nothing in it contrary to the laws of the land. She found herſelf moved by theſe arguments, and the importunities of Guilford Dudley her huſband prevailed with her at length to receive the offered crown. It was however in ſuch a manner, as convinced the two dukes that ſhe did it not ſo much from a perſuaſion of the juſtice of her title, as out of complaiſance and for want of reſolution. Accordingly the duke of Northumberland declared in his report to the council, that ſo far was Jane from aſpiring to the crown, ſhe was rather by enticement and force made to accept it.

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[c] She was then at Durham-houſe, which was the place of her reſidence. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 234.

[d] Roger Aſcham, tutor to the lady Elizabeth, coming once to wait upon her at her father's houſe in Leiceſterſhire, found her reading Plato's works in Greek, when all the reſt of the family were hunting in the park. He aſked her, How ſhe could be abſent from ſuch pleaſant diverſion? She anſwered, The paſtimes in the park were but a ſhadow to the delight ſhe had in reading Plato's Phaedon, which then lay open before her. Ibid. What a noble pattern is here for the education of young ladies of quality, and how different from the modern way of bringing them up!

She withdraws to the Tower with the council.

She is proclaimed at London. Burnet. Strype. Stow.

The council's anſwer to Mary. Hollingſh. p. 1085. Burnet. Heylin.

As ſoon as the duke of Northumberland had obtained Jane's conſent, it was reſolved that the council ſhould withdraw to the Tower with her [e], and ſhe be proclaimed. This reſolution being taken, the lord-mayor of London was ſent for, and being informed of the king's death, and of the ſettlement in favour of queen Jane, the ceremony of the proclaiming was fixed to the next day, the 10th of July, and the 5th after Edward's death. Mean while the council writ an anſwer to Mary's letter, ſigned by twenty-one counſellors [f] to this effect, “That Mary could not pretend to the crown, “ſince ſhe was born of an unlawful marriage, diſſolved by “a legal ſentence, confirmed by more than one parliament: “that ſhe ought to give over her pretenſions, and acknow-“ledge queen Jane for her ſovereign, who was now on the “throne by virtue of the late king's letters-patents: that if “ſhe ſhowed herſelf obedient, ſhe ſhould find the counſellors “all ready to do her any ſervice, conſiſtent with their duty to “queen Jane.”

The people expreſs no joy at Jane's proclaiming. Godwin. Burnet. Strype.

Jane was proclaimed in London with the uſual formalities. But there were none of the acclamations cuſtomary on ſuch occaſions; ſo aſtoniſhed were the people to ſee a queen proclaimed they had never thought of. Beſides, as the duke of Northumberland was very much hated, and as Jane was his daughter-in-law, when ſhe was heard to be proclaimed queen, the duke was imagined to be proclaimed chief governor, which was by no means pleaſing to the people. Nay, an accident happened on this occaſion, which was very ominous, and confirmed the Londoners in their prejudice againſt the duke of Northumberland. A vintner's boy [g] having ſome way expreſſed his ſcorn at the proclamation, was immediately ordered to be ſet in the pillory, with his ears cut

A vintner's boy puniſhed for making a jeſt of it. Burnet. Strype. Stow.

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[e] Of which Edward lord Clinton, high-admiral, was appointed conſtable, in the room of ſir James Croft. Strype's Eccl. Mem. tom. iii. p. 2.

[f] The archbiſhop of Canterbury; the lord chancellor; the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland; the marquiſſes of Wincheſter and Northampton; the earls of Arundel, Shrewſbury, Huntington, Bedford, and Pembroke; the lords Cobham and Darcy; ſir Thomas Cheney, ſir Robert Cotton, ſir William Petre, ſir William Cecil, ſir John Cheek, ſir John Maſon, ſir Edward North, and ſir Robert Bowes. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 235.

[g] One Gilbert Pot. Stow, p. 610.

off, and nailed to it; which was accordingly done. This proceeding, the odium whereof was caſt upon the duke, made it judged what was to be expected from his government, ſince this new reign began with an act of ſeverity.

Reaſons why the duke of Northumberland kept the council in the Tower.

The duke of Northumberland took care not to omit the cuſtom long ſince introduced, that the new ſovereigns ſhould withdraw to the Tower with the council, in the beginning of their reign. He could not doubt, Mary would pretend to the crown, and uſe all poſſible endeavours to take poſſeſſion, neither was he ignorant how the nobles and people ſtood affected with regard to the ſituation the ſtate was then in. For this reaſon, he was very glad to have the counſellors in the Tower, in order to be maſter, and cauſe them to come to reſolutions agreeable to his intereſts. As the change which ſhortly after happened proceeded from the diſpoſition of the ſeveral members of the ſtate, it will be abſolutely neceſſary to have a diſtinct notion how they ſtood inclined, in order to underſtand the cauſes of the revolution.

Diſpoſition of the ſeveral members of the ſtate.

Of the council.

The council conſiſted of one and twenty counſellors, among whom there were few real friends of the duke of Northumberland; but every one feared him. Some, as the earl of Arundel, ſtill adhered to the Romiſh religion, though outwardly they complied with the new laws. Others, as the archbiſhop of Canterbury, were truly proteſtants. But the major part, without being really addicted to any religion, blindly followed that which was uppermoſt. As they had readily embraced that of Henry VIII. they had with the ſame eaſe followed that eſtabliſhed by Edward, being ready to reſume the Romiſh religion if it ſuited beſt with their temporal intereſt. This was particularly the duke of Northumberland's character. So, though he profeſſed the reformed religion, the proteſtants themſelves had a very ill opinion of him. They were perſuaded, his pretended zeal for the advancement of the reformation was all grimace, and the pure effect of his policy. This diſpoſition of the counſellors manifeſtly ſhows, that a religious zeal alone was not capable of keeping them in Jane's intereſts. There was need of a much ſtronger motive to that end. But inſtead thereof, there was a reaſon which entirely diſengaged them from her party, namely, the ſlaviſh ſubjection they were held in by the duke of Northumberland. That lord, whoſe pride was intolerable, could not bear contradiction. The council ſeemed to have nothing to do, but to follow his directions without examination. Then, he was one of thoſe unreaſonable perſons, with whom if you fail on a ſingle occaſion, all paſt ſervices are cancelled. This the earl of Arundel in particular had ſadly experienced. Tho' he had been very ſerviceable to the duke in ruining Somerſet, yet afterwards, becauſe he did not find him ſubmiſſive enough, he cauſed him to be condemned in a heavy fine, under colour of his having waſted the king's treaſure. This uſage was ſtill remembred by the earl, who only waited an opportunity to be revenged. The reſt of the counſellors were no leſs deſirous to free themſelves from the duke's yoke. But they were as priſoners in the Tower, where they apprehended, the leaſt falſe ſtep would coſt them their life, before the quarrel between Jane and Mary was decided. And therefore, they approved of whatever the duke pleaſed to order, and the reſolutions tending to eſtabliſh Jane on the throne, were made in the council's name, though the duke alone was the author.

Of the nobility.

The reſt of the nobility, who had no ſhare in the government, were in much the ſame ſentiments with the counſellors. Whilſt the duke of Somerſet was protector, he was hated by the nobility, as appeared in the former reign. And therefore, they aſſiſted to the utmoſt the earl of Warwick to ruin him. But when that was done, they ſoon perceived they were no gainers by the change, ſince it gave them a much prouder, and more formidable maſter than the perſon they were freed from. The new miniſter treated them afterwards with ſo much haughtineſs, that they had reaſon to regret the duke of Somerſet. Conſequently they earneſtly deſired to ſee him ruined, which they could not expect whilſt his daughter-in-law ſhould be on the throne. This made them incline to Mary, tho' that princeſs was little beloved in the kingdom.

Of the people.

The duke of Northumberland had been the principal author of Somerſet's fall, who was the people's idol. This was ſufficient to render him odious. Beſides, he was counted a hard and cruel man, whoſe counſels always leaned to the ſide of ſeverity. After he had diſperſed the Norfolk rebels in the late reign, he cauſed ſo many to be executed, that he drew upon him the hatred of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. This hatred afterwards ſpread itſelf over the kingdom, when he came to be at the head of affairs. Wherefore, all the people in general wiſhed to be freed from this odious miniſter, and that could be only by the ruin of Jane's party. The Londoners in particular hated him mortally, becauſe they believed him guilty of king Edward's death.

Of the Roman catholicks.

Let us now conſider the Engliſh nation in reſpect to the two religions. Jane openly profeſſed the proteſtant religion, and ſhowed, ſhe was entirely convinced of the truth of its doctrines.

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doctrines. Mary, on the contrary, was extremely addicted to the Romiſh church, and though during Edward's reign ſhe had pretended to adhere to the religion eſtabliſhed by Henry VIII. it was known to be only with deſign to ſilence thoſe who governed during her brother's minority. She was not only thought devoted to the pope, but alſo a favourer of the moſt abſurd doctrines of the Romiſh religion. It may eaſily be gueſſed, that all who were ſtill for the old religion in their hearts, paſſionately wiſhed that this princeſs might aſcend the throne. This was the only way they could hope to ſee their religion reſtored, whereas if Jane reigned, they could expect only the continuance of the meaſures taken to aboliſh it. The duke of Northumberland, who probably was to be Jane's prime miniſter, had even appeared zealous for the reformation. So, to judge of him by his paſt conduct, the friends of the old religion could hope for no advantage from him. Some who knew him better than the reſt were however ſenſible, he was far from being a good proteſtant. But they knew alſo, though he might have favourable thoughts of their religion, they could expect nothing from him but what was agreeable to his temporal intereſt, and that this intereſt would naturally hold him attached to the proteſtant party. So, the Roman catholicks were all for Mary, and ready to lend their aſſiſtance to place her on the throne.

Of the reformed.

The better to underſtand the diſpoſition of the reformed at this time, it muſt be obſerved, that to conſider England in general, it may be ſaid, ſhe was wholly proteſtant. Hardly was there a man but what had ſubmitted, at leaſt outwardly, to the laws made for that purpoſe in the reign of Edward. But among the great numbers which were looked upon as proteſtants, there were many who were ſo only in name. Some ſtill halted between the two religions. Others were papiſts in their hearts; and very many, regarding only temporal advantages, had embraced the reformation to make their fortunes. The ſmalleſt number was of thoſe, who truly convinced of the tenets of the new religion, were ready to ſacrifice their all for its ſake. None but theſe therefore were real friends to Jane. As for the others, there were many who wiſhed indeed the reformation might prevail, and conſidered Mary's acceſſion to the throne as a misfortune, but were unwilling to hazard their lives and fortunes to prevent it. However, there was one thing wherein all the reformed, as well the zealous as the lukewarm and timorous were agreed, namely, in their hatred of the duke of Northumberland, and their dread of falling again under his tyrannical government.

These two paſſions cauſed them to look upon Jane's reign as a misfortune to them and the kingdom. They were the more confirmed in this opinion, as, not foreſeeing what was to happen in Mary's reign, they flattered themſelves, that content with the private exerciſe of her own religion, ſhe would leave the proteſtant in the ſame ſtate ſhe found it, or at moſt would be ſatisfied with giving her party liberty of conſcience; and this was what her friends every where, and on all occaſions, took great care to inſinuate. So Jane's cauſe was like to be but ill ſupported, eſpecially as Mary having no other rival, the Engliſh did not believe they ought, through a principle of religion, to depart from the rules of juſtice and equity, by depriving her of the crown, who had the beſt title. If their poſterity have not continued in the ſame opinion, it is to be wholly aſcribed to the cruelties exerciſed upon the proteſtants, where-ever the Romiſh religion prevails.

The publick hatred of the duke of Northumberland is advantageous to Mary. Burnet.

It is certain, though Mary had for her all the well-wiſhers to the old religion, that party would not have been able to place her on the throne, if the people's hatred of the duke of Northumberland had not determined the proteſtants themſelves to declare for her. Moſt of the Engliſh hiſtorians take great pains to prove the juſtice of Mary's title, to infer from thence that the proteſtants preferred right to their own intereſt. I won't deny that ſeveral acted from that principle. But very probably the dread of falling again under the government of the duke of Northumberland, helped Mary to more friends than the juſtice of her title, eſpecially as this title was not ſo clear but that it was liable to many objections. However, Mary being proclaimed at Norwich, the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk declared for her, and furniſhed her with troops. The men of Suffolk, through ſtrongly attached to the reformation, ſignalized themſelves on this occaſion. It is true, they deſired to know of her, whether ſhe would leave religion in the ſame ſtate ſhe found it; which ſhe poſitively promiſed, reſerving to herſelf however the liberty of profeſſing her own religion. Upon theſe aſſurances, they reſolved to hazard their lives and eſtates in her quarrel. Many lords and gentlemen came alſo to Framlingham to offer their ſervice; and the earls of Bath and Suſſex, the ſons of the lord Wharton and Mordant[h], with many more[i], raiſed forces for her.

Norfolk and Suffolk declare for her. Godwin. Burnet. Stow.

She promiſes to make no change in religion. Burnet. Strype. Stow. Heylin.

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[h] Rapin ſays, the lord Mordant, which is a miſtake; it was ſir John Mordant his ſon.

[i] Sir William Drury, ſir John Shelton, ſir Henry Bedingfield, Henry Jerningham, John Sulierd, Richard Freſton, ſerjeant Morgan, Clement Higham, &c. Stow, p. 610. Godwin, p. 330. Compl. Hiſt.

Jane ſends an ambaſſador to the emperor, who refuſes him audience. Burnet. Strype.

Mean time, the council was drawing inſtructions for Richard Shelley, who was to go and inform the emperor of what paſſed in England. It was believed there was moſt danger from that quarter. Shelley went indeed [k], but the emperor would neither give him audience, nor receive Jane's letter to notify her acceſſion to the crown, and to deſire his friendſhip.

The council raiſes an army, the command whereof is deſigned for the duke of Suffolk. Godwin. Burnet. Stow.

The earl of Arundel takes meaſures againſt the duke of Northumberland.

He manages it ſo, that the duke of Northumberland goes and heads the army.

Mean while, the council received advices from all ſides, that Mary's party gathered ſtrength, that ſhe had been proclaimed in ſeveral places, and had an army already which daily increaſed. Theſe advices, which flowed in very faſt, obliged the miniſters to raiſe forces to ſend againſt Mary's. Immediate orders were given to thoſe that were ready to meet at Newmarket, with whom were joined ſome regiments levied in haſte at London. At the ſame time they ſent ſir Edward Haſtings, the earl of Huntington's brother, to raiſe Buckinghamſhire, and the earl of Northampton undertook alſo to raiſe Herefordſhire. The duke of Suffolk was appointed to command the army, becauſe the duke of Northumberland was unwilling to go away, for fear his abſence ſhould produce ill effects. But the earl of Arundel, who wiſhed for an opportunity to act for Mary, ſeeing the duke of Northumberland's preſence was an inſuperable obſtacle to the execution of his deſigns, found means to break his meaſures. He intimated to Jane, that the duke her father would be expoſed to great danger; that it would be more proper for the duke of Northumberland to head the army, and for the duke her father to ſtay with her. On the other hand, he inſinuated, or cauſed it to be inſinuated to the duke of Northumberland, that it would be very dangerous to put the army under the duke of Suffolk's command, who had never been very fortunate in his expeditions: that on ſuch an important occaſion, he ought inſtantly to head the troops himſelf, and that his name alone was capable of ſtriking terror into thoſe aſſembled by Mary, in a country where he had given ſingular proofs of his conduct and valour. Jane's tender affection for the duke her father cauſed her ſo ardently to embrace this advice, that all the duke of Northumberland's endeavours to make her alter her mind were ineffectual.

Godwin. Burnet. Stow. Hollingſh.

At ſo critical a juncture, the duke of Northumberland was much diſtracted in his mind. Indeed, he knew he was much fitter than the duke of Suffolk to command the army againſt Mary, and was very ſenſible, all depended upon it. But then he was afraid to leave the young queen in the hands of the council, of whom he was not well aſſured, and who complied with him purely out of fear: and the more, as the duke of Suffolk, the queen's father, was reckoned but a weak man. However, as it was not entirely in his choice to accept or refuſe the command, and beſides all depended upon the ſucceſs againſt Mary's army, he reſolved to march. He left London on the 14th of July, without being wiſhed ſucceſs (as is uſual on ſuch occaſions) by the great crowds looking on as he paſſed; and went and headed ſix thouſand men aſſembled at Newmarket[l].

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[k] He was diſpatched July 11. Strype, p. 4.

Diſpoſition of the counſellors.

Though moſt of the counſellors had no great inclination to favour the duke of Northumberland's deſigns, they were obliged however to uſe great caution. They ſaw themſelves as priſoners in the Tower, under the direction of the duke of Suffolk, who was concerned to prevent all proceedings againſt his daughter. It was neceſſary therefore to ſeem very zealous for Jane's intereſts till a favourable opportunity offered to declare for Mary. To this end, they appointed Ridley biſhop of London to ſet out queen Jane's title in a ſermon at St. Paul's, and to warn the people of the dangers they would be expoſed to, if Mary ſhould mount the throne. Ridley diſcharged his commiſſion[m] like one that was perſuaded the reformation would very much ſuffer under Mary's government. And therefore, he largely inſiſted upon Mary's attachment to the Romiſh religion, and informed the audience of ſome things which had paſſed between him and her, and which were plain indications of her averſion to the reformation and the reformed[n]. Mary never forgave him this ſermon, which at that juncture was capable of doing her great injury. For, it was at a time when her friends were uſing their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the people, ſhe was not ſo zealous for the Romiſh religion as ſhe was repreſented, and that ſhe would make no change in that which was eſtabliſhed by law. Sands, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, afterwards archbiſhop of York[o] in the reign of queen Elizabeth, having received the ſame orders from the duke of Northumberland, chancellor of that

Ridley's ſermon in favour of Jane.
Godwin.
Burnet.
Stow.

Another of Sands at Cambridge.
Burnet.

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[l] He marched out of London at the head of two thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand foot. But as he rode through Biſhopſgate-ſtreet and Shoreditch, though there were great crowds of ſpectators, none cried out to wiſh him ſucceſs, which gave a ſad indication how ill they were affected to him. Burn. tom. ii. p. 238.

[m] On July 16. Hollingſh. p. 1087.

[n] Namely, when he went to wait on her, and offered to preach in her houſe, which ſhe refuſed. See Fox, at the end of tom. ii.

[o] Rapin ſays of Canterbury, which is a miſtake.

univerſity, managed it more artfully, and by keeping to more general terms gave no offence to either party.

Deſertion in Northumberland's army.

Haſtings declares for queen Mary with 4000 men; Godwin. Burnet. Stow. as do ſix men of war. The duke ſends for ſuccours. Godwin. Burnet.

Mean while, the duke of Northumberland was extremely embarraſſed. He had marched to Cambridge with ſix thouſand men[p], and from thence was advanced to St. Edmunds-bury. But inſtead of ſeeing his army increaſe by the way as he expected, it daily diminiſhed by deſertions. On the other hand, he heard of Mary's progreſs in Norfolk and Suffolk, and to complete his misfortunes, news was brought him that ſir Edward Haſtings[q], who was to have joined him with four thouſand men he had raiſed, had declared for Mary, and proclaimed her at Buckingham. In ſhort, he was informed likewiſe, that the ſix men of war ſent to cruize on the coaſt of Suffolk to prevent Mary's eſcape, had followed the example of Haſtings. All theſe things made him reſolve to return to Cambridge, from whence he writ to the council for a ſpeedy ſupply. But the counſellors were then otherwiſe employed.

Some of the counſellors reſolve to act for Mary. Godwin. Burnet.

They find means to go out of the Tower. Godwin. Burnet. Stow.

The news they received from all parts of the proſperous ſtate of Mary's affairs, had now determined ſome of them to provide for their ſafety by changing ſides, whilſt their change might be of ſervice to them. In all appearance, the earl of Arundel had already laboured to take off ſome of his collegues from Jane's party. The marquiſs of Wincheſter, who always went with the ſtream, was eaſily prevailed with. The earl of Pembroke had been one of the moſt zealous for Jane, becauſe his ſon had eſpouſed the new queen's younger ſiſter. But finding her affairs in an ill way, he reſolved either of himſelf, or by the ſollicitations of the earl of Arundel, to ſcreen himſelf from the impending ſtorm, in doing Mary ſome ſignal ſervice[r]. Theſe three lords gained other counſellors, and they all reſolved to declare for Mary as ſoon as it was poſſible. The difficulty was to get out of the Tower, without giving ſuſpicion to the duke of Suffolk. Had the duke of Northumberland been preſent, they would have found it very hard to ſucceed; but the duke of Suffolk was far from having his penetration. The letter lately received from the duke of Northumberland furniſhed them with the wanted pretence. They repreſented to the duke of Suffolk, that the readieſt way to find the deſired ſupply was to apply to the mayor of London, and to that end, it was proper the council ſhould meet ſome-where in the city, the more eaſily to confer with the mayor, concerning the means of ſpeedily raiſing a body of troops: that the earl of Pembroke's houſe was convenient for that purpoſe, and there the affair would be forwarded more in two hours than in ſix in the Tower. But as it might be objected, that the mayor and aldermen could be eaſily ſent for to the Tower, they added, that at the ſame time audience might be given to the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, who ſcrupled to receive it in the Tower. Whether the duke of Suffolk did not ſuſpect them of any ill deſign, or at ſuch a juncture durſt not diſcover his ſuſpicions, he ſuffered the council to meet at the earl of Pembroke's [s], whom he did not miſtruſt, on the 19th of July.

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[p] He had eight thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, when he arrived at Cambridge. Godwin, p. 331.

[q] The earl of Huntington's brother. Ib.

[r] Sir Thomas Cheney, warden of the Cinque-ports, declared alſo for her. Ibid.

They declare for Mary. Godwin. Burnet.

As ſoon as they were met, the earl of Arundel made a ſpeech, repreſenting to them, That now or never was the time to ſhake off the tyranny of the duke of Northumberland: That they had ſufficiently experienced his inſolence, injuſtice, cruelty, treachery to his friends, and if they were ſo unwiſe as to ſupport Jane on the throne, they would but render more heavy the yoke which the duke had already laid on their necks: That the only way was to declare for Mary, and when the people ſhould ſee the council take that courſe, the duke of Northumberland would be forſaken by all. The council's ſudden reſolution to follow the earl's advice, ſhows that the affair had been already determined among the principal members. After a ſhort debate, they ſent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and declaring their reſolution, they went together and proclaimed Mary in ſeveral parts of the city. Then they repaired to St. Paul's, where Te Deum was ſung. The ready compliance of the magiſtrates of London can be aſcribed only to their hatred of the duke of Northumberland. Let it be affirmed ever ſo much, that theſe magiſtrates longed for the re-eſtabliſhment of the old religion, and therefore gladly embraced the opportunity to ſet Mary on the throne, it is not likely, that men placed in their offices in Edward's reign ſhould be ſo well inclined to the old religion, as to come to ſo ſudden a reſolution with that view, if there had not been ſome other motive. However, as ſoon as they came from St. Paul's, the council ſent an order to the duke of Suffolk, to require him to deliver up the Tower, and that Jane ſhould lay down the title of queen and give over her pretenſions. The duke immediately obeyed, ſeeing no poſſibility of keeping the Tower at ſuch a juncture.

and proclaim her at London. Godwin. Burnet. Strype. Stow.

The duke of Suffolk delivers up the Tower. Godwin. Burnet.

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[s] At Baynard's caſtle. Godwin, p. 331.

As

Jane lays down her dignity.

The duke of Northumberland is ordered to diſmiſs his army.

As for Jane, ſhe ſaw herſelf ſtript of her dignity (held but nine days) with more joy than ſhe had ſeen herſelf cloathed with it. Then the council diſpatched orders to the duke of Northumberland to diſband his army, and behave himſelf as became an obedient ſubject to queen Mary. At the ſame time the earl of Arundel and the lord Paget were ſent to inform Mary of theſe tranſactions.

He tries to eſcape. Godwin. Burnet.

He proclaims the queen at Cambridge. Godwin. Burnet. Strype. Stow. Hollingſh.

He is apprehended with his ſons and ſeveral others. Godwin. Burnet. Strype. Stow.

The duke of Northumberland heard what paſſed at London, before he received the council's orders to diſmiſs his troops, and plainly perceiving it would not be poſſible to keep his army together, prevented the orders and obeyed beforehand. His firſt thoughts were to fly out of the kingdom: but, it is ſaid, he was hindered by the band of gentlemen penſioners, who plainly told him, they had need of his teſtimony to juſtify their conduct. After that, he thought only of gaining Mary's favour by expreſſing a zeal for her ſervice, as if it had been poſſible to deceive her by ſome external actions. To that purpoſe, he went to the market-place in Cambridge, and proclaimed the queen, flinging up his own hat for joy and crying, God ſave queen Mary. But all this ſignified nothing. The next day [t], the earl of Arundel arreſted him by the queen's order. Then was that proud and haughty man ſeen to cringe as much as he had been exalted in his proſperity. He fell at the earl of Arundel's feet to beg his favour, and ſhowed many other ſigns of fear, abjectedneſs, and puſillanimity. This is the common character of men whom fortune raiſes above their birth and merit. Three of his ſons, namely, the earl of Warwick his eldeſt, Ambroſe and Henry, ſir Andrew Dudley his brother, John and Henry Gates, ſir Thomas Palmer, and doctor Sands, were apprehended with him, and ſent to the Tower the 25th of July. Upon this occaſion, a woman ſeeing the duke of Northumberland paſs to the Tower, ſhook at him a handkerchief dipt in the duke of Somerſet's blood, upbraiding him with having cauſed it to be unjuſtly ſhed.

The whole kingdom declares for Mary. Burnet.

Godwin. Strype. Stow. Hollingſh.

When the duke of Northumberland was in the Tower, Mary met with no more oppoſition. All Jane's adherents ſtrove to atone for their fault by a ready ſubmiſſion and ſupplication of the new queen's mercy. She received very graciouſly thoſe who came to pay their duty to her, though ſhe was determined to ſacrifice to her ſafety or vengeance ſome of thoſe whom ſhe looked upon as her principal enemies. Of this number were Jane Grey, the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Northampton, Ridley biſhop of London, Cheek, who had been Edward's preceptor, Robert Dudley the duke of Northumberland's ſon, Guilford Dudley Jane's huſband, Cholmley and Montague judges. All theſe were ſent to [u], or detained in the Tower by the queen's expreſs order. But three days after, ſhe releaſed the duke of Suffolk, having pitched upon him for an inſtance of her clemency, becauſe ſhe thought him uncapable of creating her any diſturbance [w].

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[t] July 21, Strype, tom. iii, p. 13.

She pardons the duke of Suffolk.

She makes her entry into London, and ſets the priſoners in the Tower at liberty. Godwin. Burnet. Strype. Stow.

On the 3d of Auguſt ſhe came to London with her ſiſter Elizabeth, who had met her on the way with a thouſand horſe [x] ſhe had raiſed for her ſervice. When ſhe entered the Tower, ſhe releaſed the duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, Bonner, the dutcheſs of Somerſet, and the lord Courtney, eldeſt ſon of the marquis of Exeter, whom ſhe ſhortly after created earl of Devonſhire. Thus, without any effuſion of blood, ſhe was peaceably ſettled in the throne, notwithſtanding the attempts to deprive her of it. She owed this good ſucceſs to the univerſal hatred of the duke of Northumberland; for, it may be truly affirmed, that as Jane Grey without that lord would never have borne the title of queen, ſo without him ſhe would doubtleſs have preſerved it. Very probably, the reſtoring of religion to the ſtate it was in before the alterations introduced by the two laſt kings, and perhaps the being revenged of her enemies, were the principal things intended by Mary when ſhe aſcended the throne. At leaſt, we ſhall ſee no other project in the courſe of her reign.

Council about religion. Burnet.

Gardiner's opinion.

As the new queen had nothing in her thoughts but the eſtabliſhing of her religion, her firſt care was to conſult her truſty friends how to effect it. She was herſelf diſpoſed to keep no meaſures, but to force the kingdom to return immediately to what ſhe called, the Union of the catholick church. To that end, ſhe had now determined to ſend for cardinal Pool as legate, to reconcile England to the pope. But Gardiner, who was conſidered as a man of great experience, was of another opinion. He knew the reformation muſt be pulled down the ſame way it was ſet up, that is, by degrees, and therefore it was ſufficient at firſt to bring back religion to what it was at king Henry's death. This advice was more prudent, and withal more ſuitable to the intereſts of the perſon who gave it. He was ſenſible the queen had a great eſteem and affection for Pool, and was afraid the cardinal being in England would diſpoſſeſs him of the chief place in the queen's favour, nay, quite ruin him with her, becauſe he was not his friend. Mean while, as this advice was not reliſhed by the queen, it was in danger of being rejected, if Gardiner had not uſed other means to compaſs his ends.

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[u] Cholmley and Montague were committed on July 27, and the duke of Suffolk and ſir John Cheek the 28th. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 240.

[w] July 31, the queen made ſir Henry Jernegan vice-chamberlain, and captain of the guard; and ſir Edward Haſtings maſter of the horſe. Strype, p. 17.

[x] Two thouſand. See Strype, tom. iii. p. 114.

His intrigues with the emperor. Burnet.

He ſent a meſſenger to the emperor to repreſent to him, that what the queen propoſed was too hazardous, and in caſe Pool came ſo ſoon into England, his zeal for the ſee of Rome would undo all, becauſe the Engliſh were not yet prepared to ſubmit to the papal yoke [y]. That, on the contrary, by his method every thing would ſucceed to the queen's ſatiſfaction, and to the advantage of religion, provided the queen would be pleaſed to make him chancellor, and thereby give him the authority neceſſary to conduct ſo nice an affair. Probably, it was now the emperor projected the marriage between his ſon Philip and Mary, either of himſelf or by Gardiner's ſuggeſtion. However, the emperor approving Gardiner's meaſures, writ ſeveral letters to Mary to perſuade her to moderate her zeal, leſt too much haſte ſhould ſpoil her deſigns. As ſhe had a great deference for his counſels, ſhe brought herſelf by degrees to comply with the biſhop's projects, to whom at length ſhe gave the great ſeal [z].

King Edward's funeral. Godwin. Burnet. Strype.

King Edward's funeral was ſolemnized at Weſtminſter the 18th of Auguſt. The new miniſters were for having the old aboliſhed office made uſe of on that occaſion, but Cranmer, ſupported by acts ſtill in force, ſtoutly oppoſed it, and officiated himſelf according to the new liturgy, giving the communion to as many as were deſirous to receive it [a]. But the queen had a ſolemn ſervice in her own chapel performed with all the ceremonies of the church of Rome.

The queen declares that ſhe will not force any man's conſcience. Burnet.

On the 12th, the queen in council declared ſhe would uſe no force upon conſcience in affairs of religion. Great care was taken to diſperſe this declaration, and to magnify it as a great inſtance of the queen's generoſity. But the proteſtants eaſily ſaw the difference betwixt her declarations in council and her promiſes to the Suffolk-men. She had told theſe, that religion ſhould be left in the ſame ſtate as at Edward's death; but in the declaration thought it ſufficient to give a general aſſurance, that proteſtants ſhould not be forced to embrace the Romiſh religion; for this was the moſt natural meaning of her expreſſions. This reſtriction to her firſt promiſe greatly alarmed them.

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[y] He obſerved to the emperor, That the Engliſh were averſe to the papacy upon a double account. The one was, for the church lands, which they had bought, and ſhould be in danger of loſing again. The other was, the fear they had of the papal dominion, which had been for about twenty-five years repreſented to them as a moſt intolerable tyranny. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 242.

[z] Auguſt 23. Godwin, p. 333.

[a] Day, the deprived biſhop of Chicheſter, preached the funeral ſermon; Godwin, p. 334. And very probably performed the reſt of the ſervice; for it does not appear likely, that Cranmer ſhould be ſuffered to officiate, he being now under diſpleaſure, and about this time confined to his houſe. See Burnet, tom. iii. Collect. p. 409; and Hollingſhead, p. 1089.

The Roman catholicks in favour with the queen.

The adherents of the Romiſh church were ſo confident of the queen's intention to reſtore their religion, that they made no difficulty of owning it publickly, and of even inveighing againſt the proteſtant religion, though it had ſtill the countenance and protection of the laws. The day after the queen had made the declaration in her council [b], Bonner went to St. Paul's church to hear a ſermon preached by his chaplain Bourn. The preacher ſpoke ſo honourably of Bonner, that he raiſed the indignation of his audience. Then, aggravating the pretended perſecutions ſuffered by this prelate in the late reign, he ſpoke of king Edward in ſo injurious terms [c], that the hearers loſt all patience. Some reproached, and others threw ſtones at him. One even threw a dagger, which he happily avoided, and which ſtuck faſt in the wood of his pulpit. At laſt the people grew ſo furious, that probably the preacher had been torn in pieces, had not Bradford and Rogers, two eminent proteſtant miniſters, interpoſed, and conveyed him from the danger into a neighbouring houſe. What recompence this ſervice met with will hereafter appear.

Bonner's chaplain preaches at St. Paul's. Godwin. Hollingſh. Burnet. Strype. Stow.

Is in danger of his life, but reſcued by two proteſtant miniſters. Burnet.

The proteſtants ſtill hoped that the queen would keep her word, and even gave the reſtriction, ſhe had added by her declaration in council to her firſt promiſe, a favourable interpretation. But they were not long left in this hope. Shortly

The queen diſcovers her intention by a proclamation. Fox, t. iii. p. 16, 17. Burnet, t. ii. p. 245. Strype.

after

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[b] Auguſt 13. Rapin.

[c] Bourn taking occaſion of the goſpel of that day, to ſpeak ſomewhat largely in juſtifying Bonner, who was preſent, ſaid, "That he, upon the ſame text, in that place, that day four years, had preached before, and was upon the ſame moſt cruelly and unjuſtly caſt into the moſt vile dungeon of the Marſhalſea, and there kept during the time of king Edward." The matter of this ſermon tended ſo much to the derogation and diſpraiſe of king Edward, and his words ſounded ſo evil in the ears of the hearers, that they proceeded to the extremities here related. Fox, tom. iii. p. 17. Ed. 1631. Heylin affirms; That the preacher "inveighed in favour of biſhop Bonner." Eccl. Hiſt. p. 192. And Hollingſhead ſays, That "this matter being ſet forth with great vehemency, ſo much offended the ears of the audience," that they could not help inſulting Bourn, for reflecting on the adminiſtration of king Edward, whoſe memory was ſo juſtly dear to them, p. 1089.

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after [d], the queen publiſhed a proclamation, which was but too capable to remove their miſtake. The terms were ſo artfully managed, that they implied much more than they ſeemed to expreſs. The queen ſaid, ſhe had the ſame belief in which ſhe had been educated from her infancy, and intended to adhere to it during her life. She paſſionately wiſhed all her ſubjects would follow her example, but would uſe no force, 'till publick order ſhould be taken by common aſſent.' This plainly diſcovered her intention to change religion by the parliament, and that then ſhe ſhould think herſelf diſcharged from her promiſe of not compelling conſcience. Then ſhe forbid her ſubjects to give one another the odious names of Papiſt and Heretick. The proteſtants conſidered the prohibition as levelled entirely againſt them, becauſe they clearly underſtood, that a diſobedience to it would be puniſhed in them, but not in their adverſaries. After that, all ſorts of unlawful aſſemblies were forbid, and this article had the ſame conſtruction with the foregoing. By another clauſe of the proclamation, it was forbid to preach without her ſpecial licence. A man muſt have been wilfully blind, not to ſee this was intended to exclude the proteſtants out of all the pulpits. Finally, the queen ſaid, it was her intention no man ſhould be puniſhed for the laſt rebellion, 'without her order.' Hereby, ſhe left all in fears. The proclamation ended with ſaying, the queen was reſolved to puniſh rigorouſly all thoſe who ſhould foment pernicious deſigns; but ſhe hoped to have no cauſe to execute the ſeverity of the law. This clauſe naturally inſpired the proteſtants with terror, for it was eaſy to foreſee, that religion and the laws were going to be changed, and that thoſe who ſubmitted not blindly to the new ſtatutes would be conſidered as rebels.

The duke of Northumberland brought to his trial, with the earl of Warwick, marquis of Northampton, &c.
Godwin.
Burnet.
Strype.
Stow.
Hollingſh.
Act. Pub. xv. p. 337.

The ſame day the proclamation was publiſhed [e], came on the trial of the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Warwick, ſir Andrew Dudley, ſir John and ſir Henry Gates, and ſir Thomas Palmer. Upon the evidence of Palmer and ſir John Gates, king Edward had conſented to the execution of his uncle the duke of Somerſet, and they were become the principal confidents of the duke of Northumberland. The queen made the duke of Norfolk lord high-ſteward at the trial of theſe three lords. He was ſtill under condemnation, ſince the act of attainder againſt him had not been reverſed. But the queen had granted him a pardon, which indeed was not diſpatched till eleven

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[d] Auguſt 18. Rapin.

[e] Auguſt 18. Rapin.

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days after. It was thought without doubt that the queen's promiſe was ſufficient, otherwiſe it is not eaſy to conceive by what ſort of right a man under ſentence of death could preſide in a capital trial, or even give his vote [f].

Burnet. Stow. Hollingſh.

The duke of Northumberland being brought before his peers, deſired information upon two points before he anſwered to the articles exhibited againſt him. The firſt was, Whether a man acting by order of council and the authority of the great ſeal, could be guilty of treaſon? The ſecond was, Whether perſons who had acted with him in the ſame affair and were equally guilty, could ſit as his judges? This doubtleſs related to the marquis of Wincheſter, and the earls of Arundel and Pembroke, who were actually members of the council when Jane was proclaimed, and had given orders for her proclamation. After a ſhort conſultation, it was anſwered, that the great ſeal of an uſurper could give no authority nor indemnity to thoſe that acted by ſuch a warrant. To the ſecond point, he was anſwered, that none of the peers who ſat in judgment upon him, having been either condemned for or even accuſed of the ſame crime, could be deprived of their right upon a bare ſurmiſe or report. It belongs to the lawyers to conſider whether theſe anſwers are very ſolid. It ſeems as to the firſt, that if this maxim was admitted in its utmoſt extent, it would draw after it very dangerous conſequences. Let us, for inſtance, ſuppoſe an uſurper upon the throne of England, it is certain the adherents to the lawful king cannot avoid great danger, which way ſoever they turn. If they obey the uſurper, they will be guilty of treaſon when the lawful king is on the throne; if they refuſe obedience, they will be puniſhed by the uſurper. It ſeems that the maxim, which allows that every ſubject ought to be faithful to the king on the throne who exerciſes the ſovereign power, is liable to fewer inconveniences. As to the ſecond, let the peers inſiſt ever ſo much on their privileges, it is contrary to reaſon and equity, that accomplices of a crime ſhould ſit in judgment on him who committed it with them, when it is notoriouſly certain, they were equally guilty. At leaſt it is unlikely this maxim ſhould be approved by the judges of the realm, if there was the leaſt room to believe the accomplices would vote for the accuſed, which might very eaſily happen.

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[f] It was ſaid, the duke of Norfolk had never been truly attainted, and that the act againſt him was not a true act of parliament, ſo without any pardon or reſtitution in blood he was ſtill duke of Norfolk. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 243.

Condemnation of the three lords. Burnet. Stow.

The duke ſeeing theſe two points determined againſt him, confeſſed himſelf guilty and ſubmitted to the queen's mercy. The other two lords followed his example, and they were all three found guilty of high-treaſon. Of the ſeven condemned, three were deſtined to execution, the duke of Northumberland, ſir John Gates, and ſir Thomas Palmer. The biſhop of Worceſter [g] being ſent to the duke with the meſſage of death, he confeſſed to the biſhop, and declared, he had always been a Roman catholick in his heart. He made the ſame confeſſion on the ſcaffold; but it was ſtill doubted whether this was done in hopes of a pardon [h], or he had really diſſembled during the whole courſe of his life. It is pretended, that to engage him to this publick declaration, he had been flattered with the hopes of his pardon, even though his head were laid on the block. He died unlamented, his paſt conduct having given no perſon whatever any cauſe to love him. His two companions were executed the ſame day, being the 22d of Auguſt.

The duke of Northumberland executed, who declares himſelf a catholick. Burnet. Fox. Strype. Stow.

The deputies from Suffolk ill received at court. Burnet.

The proclamation lately publiſhed by the queen concerning religion, plainly ſhowed in what ſpirit ſhe deſigned to rule. But immediately after, there were more convincing proofs. The inhabitants of Suffolk relying on the queen's promiſe, and having tranſgreſſed the prohibitions contained in the proclamation, the court ſent an order to the magiſtrates of that county to look ſtrictly to the execution of it, and rigorouſly puniſh the diſobedient. Upon this the inhabitants, not believing the queen would break her word after the great ſervice they had done her, ſent deputies to pray her to remember what ſhe had promiſed them with her own mouth. The petition was rejected with great haughtineſs, and thought the more offenſive, as it juſtly reproached the queen with failure of her word. They were anſwered, that ſubjects were not to controul the actions of their ſovereign, and Dobbe [i], one of their number, was ſet in the pillory for ſpeaking more freely than the reſt.

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[g] Nicholas Heath.

[h] Some ſay, That having a promiſe, and being put in hope of pardon, even though his head were upon the block, if he would recant and hear maſs, he conſented thereto, and denied in words that true religion, which he had before profeſſed. Fox, tom. iii. p. 16. He went to maſs in the Tower, and received the ſacrament after the popiſh manner. He begged his life with all poſſible meanneſs, "That he might do penance all "the days of his life, if it were in a "mouſe-hole." Gardiner interceded for him: but the emperor, being afraid he ſhould hinder the intended marriage between Philip and Mary, had him put out of the way. Burnet, tom. iii. p. 222. He was buried in the Tower chapel. Stow, p. 615.

[i] Strype calls him Thomas Cobb. Mem. tom. iii. p. 52.

A few days after, Bradford, one of the two miniſters who had reſcued Bourn, was ſent to priſon, and Rogers his companion confined to his houſe. Afterwards he was alſo thrown into priſon. The great changes meditated by the miniſters, made them afraid of meeting with obſtacles from thoſe who had moſt credit with the people, and therefore they were glad on divers pretences to ſecure them. Theſe proceedings made the proteſtants think they were going to be expoſed to a terrible ſtorm.

Bradford and Rogers committed to priſon. Burnet. Fox.

At the ſame time, all the biſhops deprived in the reign of Edward, were reſtored by commiſſioners appointed by the queen to examine the cauſes of their deprivation. Five Roman catholick biſhops, Bonner, Gardiner, Tonſtal, Day, and Heath, were ſubſtituted in the room of five reformed [k]. Gardiner was made chancellor at the ſame time, and a few days after, a commiſſion was given him by the queen, empowering him ſingly to grant licences to preachers, in conſequence of what ſhe had before injoined by her proclamation. Some eccleſiaſtical proteſtants not thinking proper to ſubmit to the order, were ſent to priſon. Hooper biſhop of Glouceſter, Ferrar biſhop of St. David's, and Coverdale biſhop of Exeter, were of this number. The two firſt were impriſoned, the laſt commanded not to ſtir out of his houſe without leave.

The biſhops depoſed in king Edward's time, reſtored. Burnet. Act. Pub. xv. p. 334. p. 337.

Other biſhops impriſoned. Fox. Godwin. Strype.

After the Roman catholicks plainly ſaw the queen's intentions, they had not patience to wait for the reſtoration of their religion by publick authority, but boldly celebrated divine ſervice in ſeveral places, according to the old rites before the reformation; and though this was againſt law, the court connived at it and ſilently approved it.

The worſhip of the church of Rome performed contrary to the laws. Burnet.

At the ſame time the partiality of the queen and her miniſters appeared evidently in favour of the Roman catholicks againſt the proteſtants. Judge Hales, who had alone refuſed to ſign the inſtrument which transferred the crown to Jane Grey, was thrown into the Marſhalſea for charging the juſtices of Kent to conform to the laws of Edward not yet repealed, or rather for being a proteſtant [l]. For the ſame rea-

Injuſtices done to the proteſtants. Burnet.

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[k] The reformed ejected biſhops were, Ridley of London, Storey of Chicheſter, Coverdale of Exeter, Hooper of Worceſter.

[l] Rapin by miſtake ſays, he was fined a thouſand pounds, which was part of Montague's puniſhment. — Hales was firſt put into the Marſhalſea; thence removed to the Compter, and after that to the Fleet; where he was ſo diſordered at the report of the cruelties which the warden told him were contriving againſt thoſe who would not change their religion, that it turned his brains, and he endeavoured to kill himſelf with a penknife. — He was afterwards ſet at liberty, but never recovered his ſenſes, ſo that at laſt he drowned himſelf. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 248.

ſon, Montague, who had been forced to aſſiſt in drawing the forementioned inſtrument, was turned out of his office, fined in a thouſand pounds, and ſucceeded by Bromley, who had drawn and ſigned it without ſcruple.

Peter Martyr leaves Oxford. Godwin. Burnet.

In fine, ſince the ſhort time the queen had been on the throne, proteſtants were every-where injured and oppreſſed, the magiſtrates not venturing or caring to protect them. Peter Martyr, profeſſor of divinity in Oxford, finding himſelf expoſed to the inſults of the enemies of his religion, was obliged at laſt to leave the place, and retire to the archbiſhop of Canterbury. But Cranmer, whoſe ruin was reſolved, was little able to protect him. Mean time. Bonner launched out into invectives and railleries againſt Mr. Canterbury, as he was pleaſed to call him, and publiſhed every-where, that he was ſo reſigned to the queen, that he had promiſed her a ſolemn abjuration of his errors. Cranmer refuted this calumny in a writing. He called the queen herſelf to witneſs, that he had never made her any ſuch promiſe, and offered to maintain publickly the truth of what he profeſſed, if the queen would grant him leave. The writing being publiſhed, Cranmer was called before the Star-chamber. He owned himſelf the author, though it was publiſhed without his conſent, and, contrary to all men's expectation, was diſmiſſed without any puniſhment. But the queen was not ſatisfied, though ſhe was adviſed to treat Cranmer with the ſame moderation, he himſelf had uſed whilſt he was in authority. The queen herſelf owed her life to him, which was ſaved merely by his ſollicitation, when her father Henry VIII. had deſigned to put her to death [m]. To this it was oppoſed, That if the queen treated with mildneſs the chief of the hereticks, they would all grow obſtinate and inſolent, but the puniſhment of Cranmer would intimidate the champions of hereſy. This advice was very agreeable to the queen, who had conceived a mortal averſion to the archbiſhop, by reaſon of the ſentence of divorce pronounced by him againſt the queen her mother, this injury making a ſtronger impreſſion upon her, than the ſervice received from him afterwards. So, three days after, Cranmer being cited before the council, was ſent to the Tower on an accuſation of treaſon and of publiſhing ſeditious libels. Old Latimer, who had been biſhop of Worceſter in the reign of Henry VIII, had been ſent thither the day before.

Godwin. Burnet.

Cranmer cited into the Star-chamber. Eſcapes without puniſhment. Burnet, t. ii. p. 240, 241, 249. Godwin.

Sent to the Tower, where he finds Latimer, committed the day before. Burnet.

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[m] Her crime was, her reſolute adherence to her mother's intereſt. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 240, 241.

Shortly

Ma[illegible]
15[illegible]3

Shortly after the court came to a reſolution of ſending away all foreigners that were come on the publick faith and encouragement. Peter Martyr, and a Poliſh profeſſor named John a Laſco, were included in the number [n]. This was the only act of mildneſs and equity ſhown in this reign with reference to religion. But this ſufficiently diſcovered what was intended againſt the Engliſh proteſtants. The court's daily proceedings before the repeal of any one law ſo intimidated thoſe who had religion at heart, that great numbers paſſing for Frenchmen, withdrew out of England into foreign countries [o]. Thoſe who made haſte to eſcape the impending ſtorm were wiſeſt and happieſt. For ſoon after, others, who had taken the ſame reſolution, were arreſted by an order ſent to all the ports, to ſuffer no perſon to leave the kingdom as a Frenchman, without a paſſport from the ambaſſador of France.

The reformed, who were ſtrangers, permitted to leave the kingdom. Burnet.

But the Engliſh not permitted. Burnet.

It was time now for the queen to reward thoſe who had done her ſervice. The earl of Arundel was made lord-ſteward, ſir Edward Haſtings a peer of the realm, and ſome others who had early declared for the queen, had employs and dignities conferred on them [p]. But the earl of Suſſex [q], who had been her general, obtained an honour unuſual in England, namely, to be covered in the preſence of the queen, as it is practiſed in Spain. He had his letters patents under the great ſeal the 2d of October.

The queen rewards her friends. Burnet.

As the parliament had been ſummoned to meet the 5th of October, it was neceſſary for the queen to be crowned before. The ceremony of the coronation was performed the 1ſt of that month, with the uſual ſolemnity, by the biſhop of Wincheſter, who forgot not one formality practiſed before the reformation. The ſame day a general pardon was publiſhed,

Is crowned. Godwin. Burnet. Stow. Hollingſh. Strype.

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[n] This laſt was a Pruſſian nobleman, miniſter of the German proteſtant congregation in London. They had a church granted them by king Edward, (which was the church belonging to the late diſſolved monaſtery of the Auguſtin friers, near Broad-ſtreet, London, now called the Dutch church. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. xv. p. 242, &c.) but it was now taken from them, and their corporation diſſolved. Burnet, p. 250.

[o] Above a thouſand. Burnet, p. 251. See the names of the chief of them in Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. tom. ii. p. 340.

[p] Sir John Gage was made lord-chamberlain; ſir John Williams, who had proclaimed the queen in Oxfordſhire, lord Williams of Tame, &c. Burnet, p. 251. Alſo September 27, the order of the garter was reſtored to William lord Paget. Strype, tom. iii. p. 34.

[q] See Heylin Eccl. Hiſt. p. 190. This earl was Henry Ratcliff, of a family long ſince extinct. Courcy, baron of Kingſale in Ireland, enjoys this privilege of ſitting covered in the royal preſence, by a grant made from king John to the famous Courcy, earl of Ulſter, from whom he is deſcended. The preſent baron aſſerted this ancient right of his family in the reigns of the late and preſent king.

but

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but with ſo many exceptions, that few perſons could receive any benefit from it. All thoſe who had been arreſted before September were excepted by name [r].

Remits a ſubſidy granted to king Edward. Act. Pub. xv. p. 335. Burnet. Strype.

Then came out a proclamation [s], by which the queen diſcharged the ſubſidies granted by the laſt parliament to the king her brother for the payment of his debts [t]. This was to gain the good-will of the enſuing parliament, and render it ſubſervient to her deſigns with reſpect to religion. Before the parliament met [u], the archbiſhop of York was ſent to the Tower on a general accuſation of ſeveral capital crimes. Six days before, John Veſey, ſome time biſhop of Exeter, but deprived in the laſt reign, was reſtored by an order of the queen. This was with intent to ſtrengthen the catholick cauſe in the upper houſe.

The archbiſhop of York ſent to the Tower. The deprived biſhop of Exeter reſtored. Act. Pub. xv. p. 340.

The court had reſolved to abrogate all the laws made in favour of the reformation, and to reſtore the ancient religion. This was not to be done without the concurrence of the parliament. But, if elections had been left free, it would have been difficult, not to ſay impoſſible, for the queen to ſucceed in her deſign. The number of the reformed was without compariſon greater than that of the Roman catholicks, and conſequently the elections would not probably be favourable to her. But beſides the ordinary ways made uſe of by kings to have parliaments at their devotion, all ſorts of artifices, frauds, and even violences, were practiſed in this. As care was taken beforehand to change the magiſtrates in the cities and counties; and there was hardly one but who was a catholick, or had promiſed to be ſo, every thing tending to the election of catholick repreſentatives was countenanced. On the contrary, thoſe who were ſuſpected of an inclination to chuſe proteſtants, were diſcouraged by menaces, actions, impriſonments, on the moſt frivolous pretences. In ſeveral places, things were carried with ſuch violence, that proteſtants were not allowed to aſſiſt in the aſſemblies where the elections were to be made. In ſhort, in places where it was not poſſible to uſe theſe direct means, by reaſon of the ſuperiority of the reformed, the ſheriffs, devoted to the court, made falſe returns.

The methods to influence elections, and procure returns favourable to the court. Burnet.

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[r] On September 28, the queen made fifteen knights of the bath; and October 2, ninety knights of the carpet, whoſe names ſee in Strype's Mem. tom. iii. p. 35, 39.

[s] October 4. Rapin.

[t] The laſt parliament of king Edward had granted him two tenths, and two fifteenths; and a ſubſidy of 4 s. to be raiſed of the lands, and 2 s. 8 d. of goods and chattels. This ſubſidy of 4 s. and 2 s. 8 d. was what the queen remitted. See Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 335, 336. and Strype, tom. iii. p. 32.

[u] On October 4. Burnet, tom. iii. p. 222.

As the diſputes ariſing from ſuch elections can only be decided by the houſe of commons, it is eaſy to imagine, that a houſe compoſed of ſuch repreſentatives failed not to approve all the elections that were favourable to the court, and reject all the others that were in the leaſt conteſtable. This is one of the greateſt abuſes belonging to parliaments, and which is but too frequent whenever the kingdom is rent into factions. By theſe methods, the court ſecured a houſe of commons ready to comply with their ſuggeſtions, and whoſe members had an intereſt in the change of religion, or were indifferent to all religious eſtabliſhments.

As to the upper houſe, which cannot be thus modelled to the liking of the court, the queen probably laboured ſo ſucceſsfully to engage it in her intereſts, that ſhe found no oppoſition from the peers. It is very ſtrange, that the lords, who but a few months before were all proteſtants, and had in their whole body but ſeven or eight who oppoſed the laws made in Edward's reign in favour of the reformation, were become almoſt all zealous catholicks in queen Mary's. I pretend not to decide in which reign they diſſembled their ſentiments; but it is too clear that, in the one or the other, they were guilty of a baſe and ſcandalous prevarication. Mean while, to make this houſe ſtill more compliant, the court took care beforehand to make changes amongſt the biſhops in favour of their deſigns. Beſides both the archbiſhops and the biſhops of Glouceſter and Exeter, in actual impriſonment, ſix others had been changed, as has been obſerved. Probably all the reſt, excepting two, were for preferring their ſees to their religion. The two I except, were Taylor biſhop of Lincoln, and Harley of Hereford, who were even thruſt out of the houſe the firſt day for refuſing to kneel at the maſs. Such was queen Mary's firſt parliament, compoſed of a houſe of commons filled with the creatures of the court, and of a houſe of lords, who, through fear, avarice, or ambition, diſſembled their ſentiments, or, a few excepted, thought all religions alike. It is eaſy to foreſee what is to be expected from ſuch a parliament.

Burnet. Fox.

In the firſt ſeſſion, which laſted but eight days, care was taken that nothing ſhould be moved with regard to religion. The only publick act was a declaration of treaſons and felonies, by which nothing was to be judged treaſon, but what was in the ſtatute of the 25th of Edward III, or felony, but what was ſo before the 1ſt of Henry VIII. This act ſeemed unneceſſary, ſince the like had been paſſed ſince Henry's death. But as ſome crimes, not contained in the

The parliament meets. October 5.

An act made relating to high-treaſon. Statutes.

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ſtatute of Edward III. had been ſince declared felony, the intent of this was to aboliſh the late acts. It is true, this might have been attended with another inconvenience, namely, the diſcharge of ſeveral perſons then in priſon, had not an expreſs exception been made of all who were committed before the laſt of September, as they had been excepted out of the queen's general pardon.

A private act to reverſe the attainder of the marchioneſs of Exeter.

By a private act, the attainder of the marchioneſs of Exeter, executed in the reign of Henry VIII. was reverſed, and her ſon the earl of Devonſhire reſtored to all his honours. Then the parliament was prorogued from the 21ſt to the 24th of October.

The divorce between Henry VIII. and Catherine repealed. Statutes. Burnet.

In the ſecond ſeſſion, the deſigns of the court were more open. The divorce of the queen's mother was immediately repealed. This act paſſed in fewer days than Henry had ſpent years in proſecuting the divorce[w]. In the preamble it was ſaid, "That the marriage of Henry with queen Catherine was not contrary to the law of God, and that man "ought not to put aſunder what God hath joined: that king "Henry's ſcruples had been ſuggeſted to him by malicious "perſons, and ſupported by the deciſions of ſome univerſities, which had been previouſly ſecured by corruption and "bribery: that Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury had raſhly pronounced ſentence of divorce, upon the authority of "theſe deciſions and other groundleſs conjectures, and by a "blameable preſumption had thought himſelf more knowing "than all the other doctors." Upon theſe foundations, the parliament repealed the ſentence, and all the acts to confirm it. Gardiner, chief promoter of the act, muſt have been paſt all ſhame, to make the parliament talk thus of Henry's divorce, in which he was principally concerned, even before Cranmer was known to the court, which he had himſelf approved and adviſed, and at which he had aſſiſted as judge. But ſuch was the character of the man.

The queen jealous of her ſiſter Elizabeth. Burnet.

The princeſs Elizabeth, being thus again declared illegitimate by an act which reſtored Mary, found a great change in the behaviour of the queen, who no longer ſhewed her any affection. It is even pretended, that another ſecret cauſe alienated Mary from her, and that was, her love for the earl of Devonſhire, whom ſhe had ſome thoughts of marrying, but that the earl, too indiſcreetly perhaps, continued to pay his reſpects to Elizabeth.

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[w] It was read in the houſe of commons, the 26th, 27th, and 28th of October; on which laſt day it was ſent up to the lords. Journ. Houſ. Com.

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The maſs reſtored.

The 31ſt of October, the lords ſent down to the commons a bill for repealing Edward's laws concerning religion, and ſix days after the commons ſent it back with their approbation. By the act it was ordained, that no other form of publick worſhip ſhould be allowed from the 20th of December, but what had been uſed in the laſt year of Henry VIII. This ſhows Gardiner's influence on the parliament, ſince the act preciſely followed the plan he had propoſed.

An act made in favour of eccleſiaſticks.

Another act paſſed, decreeing the ſevereſt puniſhments againſt all who ſhould moleſt any preacher for his ſermons, or diſturb him in any part of the divine ſervice. The ſame puniſhments were ordained for thoſe who ſhould profane the ſacrament, or pull down croſſes, crucifixes or images.

A bill preferred by the commons, rejected by the lords.

The commons at the ſame time ſent up another bill againſt thoſe who came not to church or the ſacraments, when the whole ſervice ſhould be ſet up. But the lords thought not proper to go ſo far at once.

An act made againſt aſſemblies, to alter the eſtabliſhed religion.

Shortly after, the parliament revived an act of the laſt reign, forbidding any, to the number of twelve or more, to meet with deſign to change the eſtabliſhed religion, and declaring the offenders guilty of felony, that is, worthy of death. This act was directly contrary to that made by this very parliament, to repeal all new treaſons and felonies. But the pretence of religion covered all.

The duke of Norfolk's attainder reverſed.

In this ſeſſion, the act of attainder againſt the duke of Norfolk in Henry's reign was reverſed, on pretence that all the neceſſary formalities were not obſerved [x].

Theſe were the moſt remarkable tranſactions of this firſt parliament, which, in a few days, overturned all that had been done with regard to religion in the reign of Edward VI. [y]. King Henry's laws were not yet to be touched, becauſe they had difficulties concerning which the pope was firſt to be conſulted.

Jane Grey, Cranmer, and others attainted of high treaſon. Burnet. Stow. Hollingſh. Strype.

The 3d of November [z], the parliament ſtill ſitting, Jane Grey, Guilford Dudley her huſband, two other ſons of the duke of Northumberland [a], and Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury, were brought to their trial. They all confeſſed their indictments, and received ſentence of death as traitors [b].

Cran-

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[x] By an act made during this ſeſſion, it was alſo ordained, That no perſon who is a ſheriff, ſhall at the ſame time exerciſe the office of juſtice of peace.

[y] This parliament granted the queen tonnage and poundage for life, upon the ſame foot as it was granted to king Edward VI.

[z] Stow ſays, it was the 13th, p. 617.

[a] Sir Ambroſe, and Henry Dudley. Hollingſh. p. 1093.

[b] Cranmer appealed to the judges, for them to declare, with what reluctancy he ſigned the inſtrument of the queen's excluſion. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 257. If the queen did in earneſt forgive him the

treaſon,

Cranmer's ſentence rendered him incapable of poſſeſſing any benefice, and conſequently his archbiſhoprick was void in law. But two reaſons obliged the queen to diſpenſe with the ordinary forms, and leave Cranmer, tho' condemned, in poſſeſſion of his dignity. The firſt was, that intending to reſtore the clergy to all their privileges, ſhe was reſolved Cranmer ſhould be canonically degraded, but this could not be done till the laws of Henry VIII. were repealed. The ſecond was, that by a refinement of ſelf-love, ſhe was willing to pardon Cranmer his treaſon, to make the world believe, ſhe proceeded againſt him from no motives of private revenge. But at the ſame time ſhe devoted him to death as a heretick, as ſoon as any laws ſhould be made upon that ſubject, as if ſhe only acted out of pure zeal for religion. Therefore at preſent, the archbiſhop's revenues were only ſequeſtred, and himſelf detained in priſon till a proper time for his execution.

Commendone's negotiations in England. Burnet.

Since Mary's acceſſion to the throne, ſhe had appeared to be wholly employed in theſe publick tranſactions. But at the ſame time, ſhe was forming ſecret deſigns which were not known till ripe for execution. The news of king Edward's death was no ſooner ſpread in the world, than the court of Rome conceived hopes of re-uniting England to the Holy See, and even began to project it. Cardinal Dandini, the pope's legate at Bruſſels, as of himſelf, ſent Commendone, afterwards cardinal, to ſound Mary's inclinations. Commendone being unknown in England, eaſily concealed himſelf under a borrowed name, and repairing to London, obtained a private audience of the queen [c]. This was ſoon after her coming to that city, ſince the envoy was preſent at the duke of Northumberland's execution, which was on the 22d. of Auguſt.

Burnet.

The queen demands Pole for legate. Burnet.

At this audience the queen told Commendone, ſhe deſigned the reſtoration of the papal authority in England, and prayed him to intercede with the pope to ſend cardinal Pole as legate. But ſhe intimated to him, that the diſcovery of this ſecret would blaſt the deſign. The pope communicating to the conſiſtory his intentions of ſending *Pole* into England, found

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treaſon, it might be owing to this appeal: that is, if ſhe forgave the treaſon in earneſt, for the taking away his life afterwards, leaves it a very diſputable point, whether this injury, added to the divorce of her mother, or his religion, wrought moſt powerfully on her reſentments.---The attainder of Cranmer, the duke of Northumberland, marquiſs of Northampton, &c. was confirmed afterwards by the parliament; and the bill for it was read in the houſe of commons the 27th and 28th of November, and December 4. See Journ. Comm. and Rymer's Fœd. tom. xv. p. 361.

[c] He came to Newport, where he gave out, he was the nephew of a merchant lately dead in London; and hiring two ſervants unknown to him, came over unſuſpected to London. Burnet, p. 258.

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at firſt great oppoſition. The cardinals feared to expoſe the honour of the Holy See, in ſending a legate without a ſolemn embaſſy from the queen. But the pope telling them, he knew more of the affair than he thought fit to communicate, they complied with his propoſal.

The emperor projects a marriage for his ſon Philip with the queen.

Cauſe of Pole's being detained.

Burnet.

At the ſame time, the emperor was projecting a marriage for his ſon Philip with queen Mary. Gardiner was in the ſecret, whether it aroſe at firſt from him, or was only communicated to him by the emperor. However, this prelate neglected no endeavours to accompliſh it. The news of Pole's nomination to the legateſhip was equally diſagreeable to the emperor and Gardiner. Commendone had doubtleſs divulged at Rome queen Mary's queſtion to him, whether Pole might not have a diſpenſation to marry? This occaſioned a belief, that it was her intention to make him her huſband. The emperor being informed of this, and apprehenſive that Pole's preſence might obſtruct the deſign he was meditating, reſolved to uſe his endeavours to prevent the legation, or at leaſt to retard it as long as poſſible. On the other hand, Gardiner could not without the utmoſt concern think of Pole's arrival, who might intercept his views upon the ſee of Canterbury, and perhaps the ſmiles of the queen herſelf. And indeed there was danger, that if the cardinal, who neither loved nor eſteemed him, ſhould inſinuate himſelf into the queen's favour, (as it was very likely) he would uſe his credit to ruin him. He was therefore to find ſome expedient to keep him at a diſtance, and none was more natural, than an inſinuation to the queen, that the cardinal's zeal for the Holy See would prejudice the affairs of religion in England: that the people were firſt to be managed and perſuaded to own the papal authority, to which they were extremely averſe: that beſides, Pole was not enemy enough to the proteſtants; and religion, in the preſent conjuncture, required to be conducted by other maxims than thoſe of that cardinal. The emperor, on the other ſide, believing it his intereſt to keep Pole where he was, writ the ſame thing to the queen, and repreſented to her, that Pole would ruin her affairs, let her intentions be ever ſo good.

The emperor propoſes it to the queen. Burnet.

In fine, he propoſed her marriage with his ſon, and ſupported his propoſal with all the reaſons moſt apt to perſuade her. Above all, he ſet forth the neceſſity of a foreign power in reſtoring religion in England, or at leaſt of an alliance capable to inſpire terror into thoſe who ſhould oppoſe her deſigns: that an alliance with the emperor and Spain was doubtleſs moſt advantageous, as France being able to form projects in favour of the young queen of Scots, who was to

Mary. 15[illegible] marry the dauphin, was in intereſt concerned to raiſe and foment diſturbances in England. Mary was much pleaſed with the propoſal, which was probably made about the beginning of November. Beſides a zeal for religion, which might induce Gardiner to ſecond the emperor's deſigns, he ſaw a conſiderable advantage for himſelf, namely, the ſecuring his own credit, ſince Philip would be indebted to him for his marriage. Mean while, Pole was to be kept at a diſtance till the queen's marriage was concluded; and this the emperor did firſt by his own authority in detaining him in his dominions[d]; but afterwards got the queen to ſend an expreſs[e] to acquaint him that the intereſts of religion required a ſtop in his journey, becauſe the nation was not yet diſpoſed to own the papal authority.

who accepts it.

Pole detained in Germany. Burnet.

Oppoſite counſels given the queen by Pole and Gardiner.

While the legate was thus detained in Germany or the Low-Countries, he tried ſeveral times to obtain leave to purſue his journey: but it was ſtill in vain. He knew not to whom this uſage was owing, and perhaps was never fully informed. However, he held a conſtant correſpondence by letters with the queen on the affairs of religion, but his counſels were ſecretly oppoſed either by the emperor or Gardiner. It was his opinion, that, laying aſide all ceremony, the kingdom ſhould immediately be reconciled to the Holy See. Gardiner, on the contrary, believed, the marriage ought to be concluded before the reconciliation was mentioned, that the conſideration of ſo powerful an alliance might awe thoſe who were inclined to ſtir. He thought Pole, and would have had others think him, a weak man, a ſhallow politician, and of little uſe in the cabinet. Pole, on the other hand, believed Gardiner a very improper perſon to direct the affairs of religion, becauſe, in his opinion, he relied too much on his intrigues and the arm of fleſh. Their little eſteem of each other ended at laſt in an open enmity.

Burnet, tom. ii. p. 260, 261.

The commons preſent an addreſs to the queen againſt her marriage. Burnet. Strype.

She diſſolves the parliament. Burnet.

The deſign of the queen's marriage was not conducted with ſufficient ſecrecy, to keep it from the commons. They were ſo alarmed, that they ſent their ſpeaker with twenty of their members, to pray the queen not to marry a foreigner. This convinced the queen, ſhe could expect no more ſupplies from the commons, if ſhe refuſed to ſatisfy them in that point. But as ſhe had no ſuch intention, ſhe choſe to diſſolve the parliament[f]. Gardiner improved the juncture, to the obtaining conditions from the emperor, which he could not otherwiſe have expected. He repreſented to him, that the Engliſh were ſo averſe to the marriage, that the worſt was to be feared, unleſs he complied with two things abſolutely neceſſary. The firſt was, his conſent that the treaty of marriage ſhould contain terms ſo advantageous to England, as to ſilence the moſt zealous oppoſers. The ſecond was, his remitting conſiderable ſums to gain thoſe who would be wanted to curb the people, or who could moſt eaſily induce them to rebel. The emperor not doubting of Gardiner's zeal for his intereſts, approved the advice, and left it entirely to him to preſcribe the conditions of the marriage; and moreover, put into his hands twelve hundred thouſand crowns, to be diſpoſed of as he ſaw fit[h]. Theſe particulars were printed in a little book, in form of a petition to the queen, by the Engliſh exiles at Straſburg. The author added farther, that Gardiner denied common juſtice in the court of Chancery to thoſe perſons, who would not engage to ſecond the queen's intentions.

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[d] At Dilling, a town on the Danube. Burnet, p. 259. Thuanus, lib. 131.

[e] By Goldwell, afterwards biſhop of St. Aſaph. Burnet, ibid.

[f] On December 6. Journ. Parl.

The emperor complies with every thing which might forward the marriage. Burnet, t. ii. p. 262.

While the parliament was aſſembled, the convocation held its ſeſſions according to cuſtom. It is not known whether any biſhops, conſecrated in the time of king Edward, appeared in the upper-houſe. If any did, the number could be but ſmall, and of ſuch too, as the lords vouchſafed to receive into their houſe, that is, men who were not likely to oppoſe any meaſures. Care was taken to fill the lower-houſe with perſons entirely devoted to the court; ſo that only ſix members[i] had the inclination or courage to oppoſe the deciſion made in favour of tranſubſtantiation[k]. Theſe ſix members demanded a regular diſputation on the ſubject, which was granted. But three of them declined the diſpute[l], well foreſeeing what would be the reſult. The other three ſtood their

The diſpoſition of the clergy met in convocation. Burnet. Strype.

Tranſubſtantiation eſtabliſhed.

A diſpute upon it between the popiſh and proteſtant clergy. Fox, t. iii. p. 19, &c. Burnet. Hollingſh.

ground,

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[h] This ſum was equal to 400,000 l. Engliſh, the crown being then a noble. The emperor made his ſon bind himſelf to repay him that ſum, when he had once attained the crown of England. Of this the emperor made ſo little a ſecret, that when, a year after, ſome towns in Germany, that had lent a part of this money, deſired to be repaid; he anſwered them, that he had lent his ſon 1200,000 crowns to marry him to the queen of England, and had yet received of him only 300,000 crowns, but he had good ſecurity for the reſt, and the merchants were bound to pay him 100,000 l. Sterling, and therefore he demanded a little more time of them. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 263.

[i] Theſe were Philpot archdeacon of Wincheſter, Philips dean of Rocheſter, Haddon dean of Exeter, Cheney archdeacon of Hereford, Ailmer archdeacon of Stow, and Young chanter of St. David's. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 263.

[k] In the Collection of the Publick Acts, there are about one hundred and ſixty preſentations to livings a little before the parliament met. This diſcovers the changes which were made amongſt the inferior clergy. Rapin.—On the 21ſt of December, the maſs began to be ſung again in Latin, throughout England, as in the former times of popery. Stow, p. 617.

[l] Haddon, Ailmer, and Young. Burnet, ibid.

Mary 1553.

ground, ſo a diſputation was had [m]. But the Roman catholicks, for want of better arguments, received thoſe of their adverſaries with hootings, reproaches, menaces, and continual interruptions, and then publiſhed that they were vanquiſhed. This at leaſt is the account given by the proteſtants [n].

The latter ill treated.

1554. The emperor ſends ambaſſadors to conclude the marriage. Act. Pub. xv. p. 337. Godwin. Burnet. Strype.

In the beginning of the year 1554, a magnificent ambaſſy arrived at London from the emperor, with the count of Egmont [o] at the head of it, to ſettle the articles of the marriage. The queen intruſted Gardiner with the management of the negotiation [p], or rather with the care of drawing the treaty, ſince probably every thing material was agreed before the arrival of the ambaſſadors. That able politician had a double deſign. The firſt was, to have ſuch conditions inſerted in the treaty, as the parliament might approve. The ſecond was, to exclude the Spaniards from having any ſhare in the government. The emperor complied with every thing, in the belief no doubt that his ſon would find ways to evade the obſervation of the articles, which ſhould reſtrain him too much. To be convinced that this was his thought [q], let it only be conſidered, that ſo able a politician as Charles, would never have parted with twelve hundred thouſand crowns to procure for his ſon the empty title of king of England. For indeed the treaty, as will appear, promiſed him no more. In all probability, Gardiner had the ſame thoughts with the emperor. But the buſineſs was to dazzle the parliament with conditions advantageous to the nation, for whoſe intereſts though he affected a great zeal, he was probably but little concerned for what might happen after his death. Mean while, he acquired a high reputation, the publick aſcribing to his capacity and prudence the terms of the marriage, which ſeemed to ſecure England from all Philip's attempts. The principal articles of the treaty, which was ſigned the 12th of January 1554, a few days after the arrival of the ambaſſadors, were theſe:

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[m] On October 18, 20, 23, 25, 27, 30. See Fox.

[n] This year, ſir Thomas White, merchant-taylor, and mayor of London, founded St. John's college in Oxford, upon the ſite of Bernard-college, which he purchaſed from the crown. He alſo erected ſchools at Briſtol and Reading. Hollingſh. p. 1092.

[o] This was the brave count Egmont, of whom the reader will find an account below, towards the cloſe of the year 1567.

[p] The commiſſioners appointed by queen Mary, to treat with the emperor's ambaſſadors, were, Stephen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, Henry earl of Arundel, William lord Paget, ſir Robert Rocheſtre controller of the houſhold, and ſir William Petre ſecretary of ſtate. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 337.

[q] See this explained in Strype's notes on Godwin, p. 339. Comp. Hiſt. vol. ii.

Mary. 155

The chief articles relating to it. Act. Pub. xv. p. 337, 393--403.

That Philip, in virtue of the marriage, ſhould jointly with queen Mary enjoy the title of king of England, while the marriage ſubſiſted, ſaving always the rights, laws, privileges, and cuſtoms of the kingdom of England. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, that the queen ſhould have the ſole diſpoſal of the revenues of the kingdom, the nomination to all employments, offices and benefices, which ſhould be conferred on the natural ſubjects of her majeſty, and no others.

That the queen likewiſe ſhould bear the titles belonging to her huſband.

That her dowry ſhould be ſixty thouſand pounds of Flemiſh money, forty Gros each [r], of which forty thouſand ſhould be aſſigned to her upon Spain, and twenty thouſand upon Brabant, Flanders, Hainault, and Holland. That ſhe ſhould enjoy the dowry in the ſame manner it was enjoyed by Margaret, ſiſter of Edward IV., and wife of Charles duke of Burgundy.

That the children born of this marriage ſhould inherit their mother's eſtate, according to the cuſtom of the reſpective countries.

With relation to the father's eſtate, it was agreed, that the archduke Charles, ſon of Philip, ſhould ſucceed to the kingdoms of Spain, Naples, Sicily, the dutchy of Milan, and all other properties and domains ſituate in Lombardy or Italy; but in default of Charles and his iſſue, the eldeſt ſon of Philip and Mary ſhould ſucceed to the ſame ſovereignties.

That the firſt-born of Philip and Mary ſhould inherit Burgundy and the Low-Countries, from which the archduke Charles ſhould be excluded, as the children of Philip and Mary were excluded from Spain and Italy.

That the younger ſons and daughters of Mary and Philip ſhould have their appennages and portions aſſigned them in England, without prejudice however to what they might expect from Philip their father, or Charles their grandfather, in the Low-Countries, or Burgundy.

That in caſe only daughters proceeded from this marriage, the eldeſt ſhould ſucceed to Burgundy and the Low-Countries, provided, that with the conſent of the Infante Don Charles, her brother, ſhe married a huſband out of theſe countries, or the dominions of the queen her mother. That on her refuſal or neglect to perform this covenant, prince Charles ſhould preſerve his right to the ſaid countries, with obligation however to aſſign a portion to his ſiſter, both out of Spain and the Low-Countries.

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[r] Of Flemiſh money.

Mary. 1554.

That if prince Charles died without iſſue, the eldeſt ſon or daughter of Philip and Mary ſhould ſucceed, as well to Spain and Italy, as the other dominions.

Laſtly, it was expreſly agreed, that in all the forementioned caſes, thoſe children who ſhould ſucceed to either the paternal or maternal eſtates, ſhould leave them poſſeſſed of all laws, rights, privileges, and cuſtoms belonging to the reſpective countries, and ſhould adminiſter the government by the natives of the ſaid countries.

A CLAUSE annexed to the Treaty.

By this clauſe it was expreſly covenanted, that before the conſummation of the marriage, Philip ſhould ſolemnly ſwear to the obſervation of the following articles:

That he would retain no domeſtick, who was not either an Engliſhman or ſubject of the queen, nor bring any foreigner into England to give uneaſineſs to the Engliſh. That if any of his retinue tranſgreſſed this article, he ſhould be puniſhed in ſuch manner as ſhould be thought convenient.

That Philip would make no alteration in the laws, rights, ſtatutes, and cuſtoms of England.

That he would never take the queen out of her own dominions, unleſs at her own particular requeſt; nor carry out of England any of the children born of this marriage, without the conſent of the nobility.

That if the queen ſhould die firſt without children, he would pretend to no right upon England or its dependencies, but leave the ſucceſſion to the rightful heir.

That he would carry out of the kingdom no jewels, or other valuable things: nor alienate any thing belonging to the crown, or ſuffer any perſon whatſoever to ſeize them.

That England ſhould never, by virtue of this marriage, be concerned directly or indirectly in any war depending between France and Spain; but that the alliance between England and France ſhould ſubſiſt and remain in full force.

That he would not give any occaſion of rupture between France and England.

A reflection upon this treaty.

It would be very difficult to diſcover what advantages England could receive from this marriage, if the intereſts of the ſovereign and his miniſters were not commonly confounded with thoſe of the kingdom, though frequently very oppoſite. The court had in view the reſtoration of the Roman catholick religion in England, and therefore believed they wanted the aſſiſtance of Spain. On the other hand, this marriage was advantageous to the chancellor, who ſtrengthened his credit with Philip's protection. But at the ſame time England ran a great riſk of falling under the dominion of Philip, who probably meant not to be bound with chains of parchment.

The marquis of Northampton pardoned.

The day after the treaty was ſigned[s], the queen granted a pardon to the marquiſs of Northampton, who had been condemned with the duke of Northumberland.

Act. Pub. xv. p. 360.

The queen ſuſpends the act againſt the German merchants. Ib. p. 364.

We have before ſeen, that about the end of the reign of Edward VI. the court had taken meaſures to prevent the company of the German merchants, called the Steel-yard, from engroſſing the whole woollen trade, in prejudice to the Engliſh, as till then had been practiſed. For this purpoſe the parliament had laid a heavy duty upon the goods, whether exported or imported by that company; and the act was renewed in Mary's firſt parliament. But the beginning of this year, the queen to gratify the Hanſe-towns, ſuſpended the execution of theſe acts for three years, and diſcharged the company of German merchants from the payment of the extraordinary taxes impoſed upon them, all acts to the contrary notwithſtanding. This was the firſt effect of the queen's alliance with the emperor.

Complaints againſt the queen's marriage. Godwin. Burnet.

After the treaty of the queen's marriage with Philip was made publick, complaints and murmurs were every where heard. The proteſtants in particular believed themſelves loſt, and feared to ſee erected in England a Spaniſh inquiſition. But they were not the only murmurers. Independently of religion, the greateſt part of the nation was not free from the fears of king Philip's introducing the Spaniſh tyranny into England, of which the Indies, the Low-Countries, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the dutchy of Milan, afforded recent inſtances. In a word, few perſons could believe that the emperor had agreed to the articles ſtipulated in the treaty, with any deſign to obſerve them. At laſt, theſe murmurs grew into a conſpiracy againſt the queen, of which the marriage was either the cauſe or pretence.

Wyat's conſpiracy. Godwin. Burnet. Stow. Hollingſh.

The duke of Suffolk, ſir Thomas Wyat[t], ſir Peter Carew, formed the deſign of a general inſurrection. Carew was to act in Cornwall, Wyat in Kent, and the duke of Suffolk in Warwickſhire, which is in the center of the kingdom.

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[s] January 13. Rapin.

[t] This ſir Thomas Wyat had been oft employed in embaſſies, particularly in Spain; where he had made ſuch obſervations on the cruelty and ſubtilty of the Spaniards, that he could not look, without a juſt concern, on the miſeries his country was like to fall under. Burnet, tom. iii. p. 224.

Mary. 1554.

Carew managed ſo ill, that his plot was diſcovered [u], and one of his complices arreſted before he had concerted his affairs. This ſent him into France, and Wyat, upon his Godwin. Burnet. flight, haſtened the execution of his enterprize, tho' it was the deſign of the conſpirators to wait the arrival of Philip for a more plauſible colour to their inſurrection. Wyat therefore reſolving to puſh his point, though he was yet unprepared, went to Maidſtone with a few followers, and gave out, he took up arms to prevent England from being invaded. Afterwards he marched to Rocheſter, from whence he writ to the ſheriff to deſire his aſſiſtance. But the ſheriff, inſtead of eſpouſing his cauſe, required him to lay down his arms, and aſſembled forces to oppoſe him.

Burnet. Stow. This rebellion alarmed the court [w], where nothing was ready to allay it, the queen having diſmiſſed her forces, when ſhe thought herſelf out of danger. Wherefore ſhe ſent a herald to Wyat with a full pardon, if he would lay down his Godwin. Burnet. Stow. arms in twenty-four hours. But he refuſed the offer of pardon. Mean time, the court was ſo unprepared, that the duke of Norfolk was ſent with only ſix hundred of the city trained-bands [x], commanded by an officer named Bret. Whilſt Hollingſh. this was doing, the ſheriff of Kent [y], as he was going to join the duke of Norfolk, met and defeated Knevet, who with ſome troops was marching to join Wyat, and killed ſixty of his men. This ill ſucceſs ſo alarmed Wyat, that he had now reſolved to conſult his own ſafety [z], when an unexpected Godwin. Burnet. Stow. Hollingſh. accident inſpired him with freſh courage. Sir George Harper, one of Wyat's adherents pretending to deſert him, went to the duke of Norfolk, and ſo artfully managed the trained-bands, that they took part with the rebels, and quitting the duke, joined Wyat [a].

Burnet. Hollingſh. With this reinforcement and his other troops, making together a body of four thouſand men, Wyat marched towards London [b]. He met near Deptford two meſſengers from the queen, who in her name aſked what would content him. He demanded the Tower and the queen's perſon to be put into his hands, and the council to be changed as he ſhould think proper. This demand being rejected, the queen repaired [b] to Guildhall, and acquainted the magiſtrates with Wyat's anſwer. She then ſpoke of her marriage, and told them ſhe had done nothing in it but by the advice of her council. And, to give them a proof of the confidence ſhe repoſed in them, ſhe reſolved to ſtay in the city, though many adviſed her to withdraw to the Tower [c].

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[u] It ſeems he was too haſty in raiſing men, and making other preparations. Godwin, p. 340.

[w] The news of it came to London, January 25. Idem. p. 341. Stow, p. 638.

[x] Five hundred, ſays Godwin, together with the queen's guards. Ibid.

[y] Sir Robert Southwell. Hollingſh. p. 1094.

[z] He was ſeen to weep, and called for a coat, which he ſtuffed with money, deſigning to eſcape. Burnet, p. 285.

[a] Thereupon the duke of Norfolk fled, together with the earl of Arundel, and ſir Henry Jernegan captain of the guard. But Wyat coming up that moment with a party of horſe, intercepted the reſt; and ſeized eight braſs guns, and all Norfolk's baggage. Godwin, p. 341.

[b] January 31. Hollingſh. p. 1095.

Godwin. Stow. Hollingſh. p. 1096.

Wyat in the mean time continued his march, and reached the borough of Southwark the 3d of February, expecting to enter the city without any difficulty. But the bridge being ſtrongly barricaded and guarded, he was obliged to march along the Thames to Kingſton [d], ten miles from London. Here he found the bridge broken, and ſpent ſome hours in repairing it. He then paſſed to the other ſide with his army, increaſed now to near ſix thouſand men. After that, he continued his march to London, and, after ſome time loſt in repairing one of his broken carriages, reached Hyde-Park about nine in the morning, the 7th of February. The time unſeaſonably ſpent in repairing the carriage, rendered his undertaking abortive. For in that interval Harper, who had been ſo ſerviceable in bringing over the trained-bands, deſerted, and, poſting to court, diſcovered his intentions to march through Weſtminſter, and enter the city by Ludgate. This advice came ſeaſonably to the earl of Pembroke and lord Clinton, who, at the head of ſome troops, had reſolved to engage him as he entered the city. But, obſerving he was entangling himſelf in the ſtreets where he could not extend his troops, they thought it better to let him paſs, after orders given to ſhut the gate through which he deſigned to enter.

Godwin. Burnet. Stow. Hollingſh.

Stow.

Godwin. Stow.

Wyat ſtill prepoſſeſſed that the citizens would favour his undertaking, left his cannon under a guard at Hyde-Park, and entering Weſtminſter [e], purſued his march through the Strand, in his way to Ludgate. As he advanced, care was taken to cut off his retreat by barricades and men placed at all the avenues. He believed himſelf now at the height of his wiſhes, when he found the gate into the city ſhut a-

Godwin. Stow.

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[b] On February 1. Godwin, p. 341.

[c] She armed five hundred men, moſt of them foreigners, whom ſhe placed in ſeveral parts of the city. Idem, p. 342.

[d] Where he arrived February 6, about four o' clock in the afternoon. Stow, p. 620.

[e] He advanced with five companies towards Ludgate, whilſt Cuthbert Vaughan, with two companies more, marched towards Weſtminſter. At Charing-croſs, ſir John Gage, lord chamberlain, went to oppoſe Wyat, but retired in diſorder. Godwin, p. 342.

gainſt him. He then firſt diſcovered his danger, and, perceiving it was impoſſible to retire, loſt all courage. As he was endeavouring to return, a herald [f] came to him, and exhorting him not to ſacrifice the lives of ſo many followers, he ſurrendered quietly [g], and was ſent to priſon. This unfortunate man, who doubtleſs had but a ſlender capacity, fooliſhly imagined, without having good aſſurances, that the city of London would declare in his favour, and that proved his ruin. If his meaſures had been better taken, the queen and her miniſters would have been greatly embarraſſed, at a time when the government, weak as it was, had already created many enemies. But the ill ſucceſs of this enterprize ſo ſtrengthened the queen's authority, that henceforward ſhe found no more reſiſtance. After the taking of Wyat, his men being diſperſed, were taken at pleaſure, and filled the priſons.

Wyat ſurrenders, and is ſent to priſon.
Stow.
Hollingſh.

Stow.

While Wyat was acting in Kent and London, the duke of Suffolk had made but ſmall progreſs in the county of Warwick. He would not have been ſo much as ſuſpected, had not an expreſs been ſeized, ſent to him by Wyat to inform him of the reaſons which had obliged him to haſten his undertaking, and to pray him to be as expeditious as poſſible. Upon this advice, the earl of Huntington had orders to arreſt him. The duke was informed, and being not yet ſecure of fifty horſe, choſe to conceal himſelf in the houſe of one of his domeſticks [h], who baſely betrayed him to the earl of Huntington, by whom he was conveyed to the Tower the 11th of February. Such was the ſucceſs of this conſpiracy. Had it been managed by abler heads, it might have been attended with great conſequences. But few men of reputation cared to put themſelves under the conduct of ſuch leaders. If it had cauſed only the death of the principal actors, they might have been ſaid to meet the juſt reward of their folly. But it produced two conſiderable effects, one fatal to an illuſtrious and innocent perſon, and the other to all proteſtants. Not that religion had any ſhare in the conſpiracy, Wyat himſelf being a Roman catholick, and the queen in her proclamation not accuſing the proteſtants, though ſince ſome hiſtorians have been pleaſed to brand them. But as the queen's authority was ſtrengthened by the ill ſucceſs of this undertaking, ſhe turned it entirely to the ruin of the reformed and the reformation. The duke of Suffolk being concerned

The duke of Suffolk betrayed and taken.
Godwin.
Burnet.
Stow.
Hollingſh.

Religion not concerned in this conſpiracy.
Burnet.

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[f] Clarenceux king at arms.

[g] To ſir Maurice Berkley.

[h] One Underwood, whom he had made his ranger at Aſtley near Coventry. Godwin, p. 341.

in the conſpiracy, the court eaſily underſtood his deſign was to replace his daughter the lady Jane on the throne; and this determined the queen to ſacrifice her to her own ſafety.

Execution of Jane Grey, her huſband, and father. Godwin. Burnet. Stow. Hollingſh.

Two days after the taking of Wyat, a meſſage was ſent to Jane Grey and her huſband to bid them prepare for death. Jane, as ſhe had long expected it, received the meſſage with great reſolution. Mean while, Dr. Fecknam who brought it, and had orders to exhort her to change her religion, prepoſterouſly imagining ſhe deſired ſome time to be determined, obtained three days reſpite of her execution. But ſhe let him know, it was no ſatisfaction to her. She was well aſſured, the jealouſy of the government would not ſuffer her to live, and therefore ſhe had employed the whole time of her confinement in a preparation for death. Some have believed, that without this laſt attempt of the duke of Suffolk, the queen would have ſpared his daughter. But as afterwards ſuch numbers were put to death for their religion, it is not likely that Jane, ſo firmly attached to the proteſtant religion, would have been more mercifully uſed than the reſt, even though the queen could have prevailed with herſelf to pardon her treaſon. Be this as it will, ſhe was executed the 12th of February, after ſeeing the headleſs body of her huſband paſs by her, as he was brought back from execution to be interred in the chapel of the Tower. She ſhowed to the laſt moment a great conſtancy and piety, and an immoveable adherence to the reformation, owning however herſelf guilty of a great ſin in accepting a crown which belonged not to her. The duke of Suffolk her father was tried the 17th of the ſame month, and executed the 21ſt [i], with great grief for having been the cauſe of his daughter's death.

Godwin. Stow.

Burnet. Fox.

Wyat at his trial accuſes the princeſs Elizabeth and earl of Devonſhire. Godwin. Hollingſh. who are ſent to the Tower. Stow. Strype.

Next, Wyat was brought to his trial, where he offered to make great diſcoveries if his life might be ſaved. He accuſed even the princeſs Elizabeth and the earl of Devonſhire [k] as concerned in the conſpiracy. This did not prevent his ſentence, but only gained him a reſpite of two months, becauſe of the hopes of drawing from him conſiderable diſcoveries. Mean time the earl of Devonſhire was committed to the Tower [l], and the princeſs Elizabeth, though indiſpoſed, was brought to London, and cloſely confined in White-Hall [m],

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[i] The 23d, ſays Stow. His brother, Thomas was beheaded April 27. Stow, p. 624.

[k] Edward Courtney.

[l] February 12, and the lady Elizabeth on the 18th, ſays Godwin, p. 343. Stow, p. 623.

[m] For a fortnight. Strype, tom. iii. p. 84.

without liberty to ſpeak to any perſon. On the 11th of March following ſhe was ſent to the Tower.

Many rebels executed, and ſix hundred pardoned. Godwin. Burnet. Stow.

The 14th and 15th of February, Bret commander of Wyat's forces and fifty-eight more, were hanged. Some days after [n], ſix hundred priſoners with halters about their necks waited on the queen, and received their pardon. But this was not capable to efface the impreſſion made in men's minds by ſo many executions for a conſpiracy in which was no effuſion of blood. The fault was thrown on Gardiner, who was accuſed of leading the queen to an exceſſive jealouſy of her authority, and the moſt extreme rigour. An affair happened at the ſame time, which alſo greatly alarmed and filled the people with fears of the queen's intending to rule with too extenſive a power. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton being accuſed and tried as an accomplice in the conſpiracy, was acquitted by his jury for want of ſufficient proof to condemn him. For this the jury were ſeverely fined. So the juries were deprived of the liberty of judging according to their conſciences, and, inſtead of being governed by proofs, they were to examine how the court ſtood affected to the priſoners, and by that determine their verdict. This rigour exerciſed upon the jury was fatal to ſir John Throgmorton, who was found guilty upon the ſame evidence on which his brother had been acquitted.

Hollingſh. p. 1104, &c. Burnet. Throgmorton acquitted, and his jury fined.

His brother condemned.

Wyat acquits the princeſs and earl of Devonſhire. Godwin, Stow, p. 624. Hollingſh, p. 1101.

The reſpite granted to Wyat had a quite contrary effect to what the court expected. This unhappy man, who had accuſed Elizabeth and the earl of Devonſhire only in hopes of a pardon, finding he muſt die, fully cleared them in his ſecond examination: and for fear his laſt declaration ſhould be ſuppreſſed, he renewed it at the place of execution [o]. As there was no other proof againſt them, and their accuſer himſelf had acquitted them with his laſt breath, no proceſs could be formed againſt them, though Gardiner paſſionately deſired the death of the princeſs. Nay, it is very probable, the queen would have gladly conſented to it, could ſhe have ſupported her rigour with any colour of juſtice [p].

After

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[n] The 20th of February.

[o] He was executed April 11. Godwin, p. 343.

[p] By Gardiner's malice a warrant was procured, ſigned by ſome privy-counſellors for her execution. But the lieutenant by an application to the queen, to know what was her pleaſure, and her denying any knowledge of the warrant, ſaved the life of the princeſs. See Fox, tom. iii. p. 537. Burnet, tom. iii. p. 227. Had the queen immediately diſplaced Gardiner, ſhe might have been thought innocent of ſo barbarous a deſign. But the confidence and truſt in which he continued till his death, gave a ſuſpicion at leaſt that ſhe would not have been diſpleaſed with an obedience

Mary. 1554.

Rigours exerciſed on the princeſs Elizabeth. Fox, tom. iii. p. 527. 943, &c. Godwin. Burnet. Stow. Hollingſh. p. 1157.

After Elizabeth had ſuffered a long and ſevere impriſonment in the Tower, ſhe was removed to Woodſtock. This was not intended as a favour, but to take her out of the hands of the lord Chandois, lieutenant of the Tower, who had treated her with great humanity and diſtinction. She was at Woodſtock committed to the cuſtody of ſir Henry Beningfield [q], who paying her no ſuch reſpect as ſhe had received from the lord Chandois, gave her room to ſuſpect a deſign againſt her life. It is even pretended that certain perſons officiouſly undertook to murder her, in the expectation of pleaſing the queen and her miniſters, but that the ſtrictneſs with which ſhe was kept denied them acceſs.

The queen's orders againſt the married biſhops. Act. Pub. xv. p. 376.

March 4. Fox, tom. iii. p. 37. Burnet, tom. ii. Col. p. 252. Heylin.

The diſturbances occaſioned by Wyat's conſpiracy being entirely appeaſed, the queen reſumed her firſt deſign of an utter deſtruction of the reformation. Though to this the authority of parliament was neceſſary, ſhe failed not to anticipate the deſign by her own authority, in virtue of her ſupremacy which ſhe herſelf deteſted, and yet ſcrupled not to uſe againſt the proteſtants! For that purpoſe, ſhe gave inſtructions to the biſhops to viſit their dioceſes. Their inſtructions drawn by Gardiner contained a bitter narration of all the pretended diſorders introduced into the church in the reign of Edward. She afterwards gave the chancellor a particular order to purge the church of all married biſhops and prieſts.

Four biſhops deprived. Act. Pub. xv. p. 370.

Some days after [r], the queen granted a ſpecial commiſſion to Gardiner and five others [s], to deprive four biſhops who were married, namely, the archbiſhop of York, the biſhops of St. David's, Cheſter, and Briſtol, and all in actual confinement [t]. Two days after, the commiſſioners were ordered

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obedience to the warrant, which ſhe could have denied her knowledge of, as it wanted her hand, and perhaps obtained a belief by a ſacrifice of the counſellors concerned in it. Queen Elizabeth herſelf afterwards took that method in the affair of Mary queen of Scots.

[q] May 16. Rapin. On the 19th, according to Hollingſhead, ſhe was releaſed out of the Tower, and committed to the cuſtody of the lord Williams, who treating her more courteouſly than ſome could have wiſhed, ſhe was put under the cuſtody of ſir Henry Beningfield, p. 1117.--- The earl of Devonſhire was removed to Fotheringay caſtle, May 25. Godwin, p. 343.

[r] The 13th of March.

[s] Biſhop Tonſtal, Bonner, Parſew of St. Aſaph, Day of Chicheſter, and Kitchin of Landaff. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 274. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 340.

[t] Holgate, Farrar, Bird, Buſh. Thoſe deprived two days after were, Taylor, Hooper, and Harley. Story biſhop of Chicheſter renounced his wife, and fled beyond ſea, and Barlow biſhop of Bath and Wells reſigned and fled. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 275. In the room of theſe deprived biſhops were placed, Morgan at St. David's, Cotes at Cheſter, White at Lincoln, Brokes at Glouceſter, Bourn at Bath and Wells. Parſew was tranſlated to Hereford, and Griffyn made biſhop of Rocheſter. Strype, tom. iii. p. 116. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 374---376, 383, &c.

Mary.
1554.

And three more upon other pretences.
Act. Pub. xv. p. 370.
Fox.
Godwin.
Burnet.
Strype.
Act. Pub. xv. p. 376.
Tom. xv. p. 333, 342, &c. 381, 392.
The maſs is reſtored every-where.
Burnet.

dered to deprive the biſhops of Lincoln, Glouceſter and Hereford, for having behaved themſelves ill and preached erroneous doctrines." The pretence to deprive theſe biſhops by a bare order of the queen was taken from the letters-patents of king Edward, in which it was provided that they ſhould hold their biſhopricks ſo long only as they behaved well; and therefore it was no injuſtice to deprive them, ſince their conduct was diſpleaſing. This was the pretence, but the true reaſon was, the court's deſire to fill theſe ſees with their creatures, before the meeting of the parliament. As to the inferior clergy, Dr. Burnet pretends, that of ſixteen thouſand then in England, twelve thouſand were turned out for having wives [u]. And indeed, in the Collection of the Publick Acts, we meet with an infinite number of preſentations to livings, which ſufficiently ſhow the alterations made in the church. Mean time, in conſequence of the act of parliament, the maſs was every-where reſtored, with the liturgy uſed in the end of Henry VIII's reign. Such was the conſtitution of the ſtate and church when the new parliament met the 2d of April, 1554 [w].

The diſpoſition of the commons of the new parliament.

The care of the court to have a parliament at their devotion had not been leſs than in the foregoing year. Nay, it was ſo much more ſucceſsful, as Gardiner had money in his hands to gain the electors and repreſentatives. The court had a double deſign, the firſt to have the queen's marriage approved, the ſecond to reſtore the pope's authority. For the firſt, it was not ſufficient to have repreſentatives well inclined to the intended alterations in religion, it was farther requiſite, they ſhould be little zealous for the good of their country, ſince the queen's marriage put England in evident danger of becoming one day a province to Spain. For the ſecond it was neceſſary, not only that moſt of the commons ſhould be convinced of the Romiſh doctrines, but alſo ſhould be really papiſts, that is, perſuaded that religion could not ſubſiſt without a pope. Now the men of this opinion were not very numerous among the Roman catholicks. There were many more, who believing tranſubſtantiation, invocation of ſaints, adoration of images, &c. were however perſuaded that the papal authority was by no means neceſſary to the church; and were well content with its aboliſhment. To have perſons returned proper for the deſigns of the court, or to gain thoſe who were not ſo compliant, it was that Gardiner uſed all his intereſt with the emperor and queen to promiſe penſions. This was done with ſo little caution and ſecrecy, that with regard to a great number of members, their penſions were known. The parliament when met was ſo obſequious to the queen's will, that ſhe was ſometimes obliged to check the impetuous zeal of the commons.

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[u] This computation ſeems to be exaggerated. See Collier, tom. ii. p. 366.

[w] The queen had at firſt ſummoned this parliament to meet at Oxford, becauſe that place had ſhowed itſelf very obedient and forward in reſtoring the popiſh religion; and London, on the contrary, did not much favour her proceedings about religion, and had given her ſome jealouſy, during Wyat's inſurrection: but ſhe altered her mind. Hollingſh. p. 1102.

An act to confirm the queen's rights. Burnet.

The firſt act paſſed in this ſeſſion gave occaſion to many reflections: but the intent of it was unknown till long after in the reign of queen Elizabeth, when a certain perſon, let into the ſecret, diſcovered it to the earl of Leiceſter. The bill was brought in by the ſpeaker. It imported, "That as " the laws declarative of the royal prerogatives had been " made in favour of kings, it might be pretended that the " queen had no right to them: it was therefore declared, " That theſe prerogatives did belong to the crown, whether " it was in the hands of male or female: and whatſoever " the law did limit or appoint for the king, was of right alſo " due to the queen, who was declared to have as much au" thority as any of her progenitors." This bill occaſioned ſome debates in the houſe of commons. Some feared that the pretence of ſecuring to the queen her juſt rights covered a deſign of enlarging them beyond their juſt bounds; and that the laſt clauſe, 'that ſhe had as much authority as any of her progenitors,' might encourage her to exerciſe the ſame power as William the Conqueror, who ſtripped the Engliſh of their lands to beſtow them on foreigners. The queen's marriage with the prince of Spain ſtill increaſed this ſuſpicion, by the fear of having a deſpotick government, like that of Spain, introduced into England. It was therefore thought proper to alter the words of the act, in ſuch manner as they ſhould ſecure to the queen all her legal rights, without giving her an opportunity to uſurp ſuch as were not ſo. The court found no fault with the correction. Gardiner, who promoted the bill, had no intention to make the queen abſolute, but to prevent Philip from ſeizing the government on pretence of ſex. The example of Henry VII. furniſhed a juſt cauſe of fear. That prince had at firſt no pretenſion to the crown but what flowed from his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. However, when he afterwards found himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong, he reſolved to reign in his own right, as heir to the houſe of Lancaſter. Philip might

The ſecret motive to it. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 277.

might have done the ſame thing, as deſcended from the ſame houſe. So that here Gardiner conſulted at once the intereſt of the nation and his own. It was the nation's intereſt, that Philip ſhould not have any opportunity of ſeizing the government. Gardiner's likewiſe required the ſame, becauſe if Philip ſhould once become maſter of England, the adminiſtration of affairs would probably be put into the hands of Spaniards, and conſequently Gardiner be excluded. In a word, the true occaſion of Gardiner's bill was this: A certain perſon had contrived a model of government, according to which the queen was to declare herſelf a conqueror; or aſſert, that as ſhe came to the crown by common law, ſhe was not bound by the laws which limited the regal power, becauſe theſe reſtrictions were made for kings and not queens. This plan was communicated to the imperial ambaſſador, who put it into the queen's hands, and prayed her to read it with attention. The queen doubtleſs read and then delivered it to her chancellor to examine, and give his opinion upon it. He thereby ſaw what was the aim of the Spaniards, and ſet before the queen the conſequences and peril of following, or even liſtening to ſuch counſels. In a word, he ſo managed her, that ſhe threw the project into the fire. It was not without reaſon that Gardiner began to be alarmed with reſpect to the Spaniards. Beſides, that ſuch projects as this, gave him juſt cauſe to ſuſpect them of ſome deſign upon the liberties of England, there was another thing that confirmed his ſuſpicions. This was, the Spaniards had publiſhed a genealogy of Philip, which derived him from a daughter of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter, and ſon of Edward III. Gardiner therefore thought it high time to break the Spaniſh meaſures; and this he undertook to do by the fore-mentioned act. But he took particular care not to be known for the author, for fear of forfeiting Philip's favour [x].

Occaſions of it. Burnet.

Burnet. Hollingſh. Strype.

The biſhoprick of Durham reſtored to its rights.

In this ſeſſion the biſhoprick of Durham, ſuppreſſed in the end of the late reign, was reſtored to its antient rights, and the act of ſuppreſſion repealed.

The duke of Suffolk's ſentence confirmed, and the treaty of marriage. Burnet.

The ſentence againſt the duke of Suffolk and the fifty eight men executed for the late rebellion was likewiſe confirmed.

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[x] Another reaſon for this act might alſo be, to prevent any diſturbance that might ariſe from an opinion broached by ſome of queen Mary's enemies, That it was unlawful for a woman to govern; to prove which, Knox and others writ books ſoon after. Strype's notes on Godwin, p. 344.

Laſtly, the parliament approved the treaty of marriage between the queen and Philip. But as Gardiner began to fear the Spaniards, he ſo ordered that the parliament in approving the treaty, explained more clearly and enlarged the articles, by which the government of the kingdom was declared to belong only to the queen.

No more was deſired of the parliament in this ſeſſion [y]. If the zeal of the commons to pleaſe the court had been indulged, many rigorous acts againſt the reformation and the reformed would have been made. But the lords, by the court's direction, threw out the bills ſent by the commons on that ſubject. Without doubt, the miniſters thought it not proper to begin the perſecution before the conſummation of the queen's marriage, leſt ſome unforeſeen accident ſhould retard the prince of Spain's arrival. For that reaſon, the parliament was diſſolved [z] the 25th of May, after the queen's principal deſire, the approbation of her marriage, was obtained.

A diſpute at Oxford between the popiſh and proteſtant clergy.
Fox.
Godwin.
Burnet.
Strype.

At the end of this ſeſſion of parliament, the court thought proper to interrupt the convocation, in order for a new conference to be held at Oxford concerning the euchariſt. The proteſtants complained publickly of the treatment they had met with, in the diſpute held at London. From hence occaſion was taken to lay a new ſnare for them, by appointing another diſputation in the preſence of the univerſity of Oxford, as if more juſtice was intended them. But this was in effect only to give them a freſh mortification. If the court had meant to act with ſincerity, they would never have choſen, as they did, for managers of the diſpute on the proteſtants ſide, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, all priſoners in the Tower, and the two firſt without controverſy the moſt learned and able men of their party. But as it was reſolved to confound them otherwiſe than by reaſons and arguments, the court was glad to expoſe theſe three grave prelates to the inſults of their enemies. They were therefore removed to Oxford [a] to diſpute againſt ſome of the Romiſh clergy, at the head of whom was Weſton prolocutor of the lower houſe of convocation. The diſputation or conference was managed like the former at London [b]. The three proteſtant biſhops

Fox, t. iii. p. 44, &c.

Ibid. p. 90.
Godwin.

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[y] A convocation met at the ſame time with this parliament. And in the writs of ſummons, the queen's title, of ſupreme head of the church, was omitted. See Fox, tom. iii. p. 41.

[z] Rapin by miſtake ſays, the parliament was prorogued.

[a] About April 10. Fox, tom. iii. p. 44.

[b] It was held April 16, 17, 18. See Fox, ibid. &c. Godwin, p. 344.

were

Fox, t. ii. p. 280, &c.

were forced to be ſilent, by reaſon of the continual interruptions and noiſes which hindered them from being heard, whence it was inferred they were vanquiſhed. Thoſe who are curious to ſee the particulars of the diſpute, will find them in the Hiſtory of the Reformation of England. But to mortify theſe biſhops was not thought ſufficient. The diſpute, which laſted three days, being ended, they were ſummoned to abjure their pretended errors, and upon their refuſal excommunicated.[c]

Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer excommunicated.

The prince of Spain's arrival. Godwin. Burnet, t. ii. p. 286. Stow. Fox.

Prince Philip being informed that nothing now retarded the conſummation of his marriage, left the Groyne the 16th of July and arrived the 19th at Southampton[d]. At his landing he drew his ſword and carried it naked ſome time. This myſterious action was variouſly interpreted. Some ſaid it ſignified that he would draw his ſword in defence of the nation. Others believed, that he intimated to the Engliſh by this action, that he intended to govern them by the ſword. The magiſtrates of Southampton preſenting him with the keys of their town, he took and returned them without ſpeaking a word. This gravity diſpleaſed the Engliſh, who uſed to be treated more affably by their ſovereigns. The queen met him at Wincheſter, where Gardiner married them the 25th of July. The ſame day they were proclaimed king and queen of England, France, Naples, Jeruſalem, and by many other titles[e]. The emperor had lately made a preſent to his ſon of the kingdoms of Naples and Jeruſalem. Philip was but twenty-nine years of age, and Mary was thirty-eight. Many cheſts of bullion[f], brought by Philip, were landed, which no doubt were a great part of the one million, two hundred thouſand crowns, promiſed to be ſent into England by the emperor, but which he was not inclined to part with before the conſummation of the marriage. This infuſed freſh zeal for the queen's intereſt into thoſe who had before been gained by Gardiner[g].

Fox.

Godwin. Hollingſh. Stow. Burnet.

Brings with him a great deal of ſilver. Burnet.

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[c] Twentieth of April.

[d] With a fleet of one hundred and ſixty ſail. Godwin, p. 345. John earl of Bedford, the lord Fitz-Walters, and many other noblemen, &c. were ſent into Spain to attend on him. Hollingſh. p. 1118.

[e] Ireland; defenders of the faith; princes of Spain and Sicily; archdukes of Auſtria; dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant; counts of Habſpurg, Flanders, and Tyrol. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xv. p. 404.

[f] Twenty-ſeven cheſts, each a yard and four inches long, and ninety-nine horſe-loads, and two cart-loads of coined gold and ſilver. Burnet, p. 286. Strype computes, that this prince's revenues were yearly worth two millions four hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds ſterling. Tom. iii. p. 128.

[g] Auguſt 12, the king and queen made their entry into London. Stow, p. 625.

Obtains pardon for Elizabeth, and ſome others. Godwin, p. 349. Burnet. Stow.

Philip, deſirous to acquire the affection of the Engliſh, began with acts of clemency, which would have produced that effect, had the reſt of his conduct been anſwerable to them. However, ſome perſons of diſtinction were the better for his generoſity. The princeſs Elizabeth was the chief. Gardiner was for removing her out of the way at any rate. He apprehended, if ſhe ſucceeded Mary, ſhe would be led by her own intereſt to ſubvert whatever ſhould be done in this reign with reſpect to religion. Beſides, it was known, that notwithſtanding all her caution, ſhe was reformed in her heart. Now, as it was reſolved to perſecute the proteſtants, there was ſome room to fear an inſurrection under colour of aſſerting her rights. The queen herſelf was not far from Gardiner's ſentiments; but Philip interceded for Elizabeth, and freed her from this danger [h]. This was doubtleſs at firſt from a motive of generoſity. It has been pretended, that policy had afterwards a great ſhare in the preſervation of this princeſs, and two ſeveral reaſons are aſſigned. Firſt, it is ſaid, that when he had no longer hopes of children by queen Mary, he reflected that if Elizabeth died before the queen, the crown of England would devolve to the queen of Scotland, who would bring this rich inheritance to the dauphin of France. It is indeed true, that by Henry VIII's will, the queen of Scots could not claim the Engliſh crown, till after the poſterity of the dutcheſs of Suffolk. But it was not likely the dauphin would regard the will; and he might happen to join the crowns of England and Ireland to thoſe of France and Scotland, which could not but be prejudicial to the houſe of Auſtria. The ſecond reaſon which induced Philip to ſave Elizabeth was, as 'tis pretended, his hopes to marry her, if Mary died firſt. Beſides the princeſs Elizabeth, ſome other perſons obtained their pardon by Philip's interceſſion, namely, nine knights, and the archbiſhop of York [i]. It is preſumed, that prelate was not firm to his religion, becauſe all the reſt who were releaſed were men who ſuited their religion to the times. Probably they had been engaged in

His reaſons in interceding for Elizabeth. Burnet.

Godwin. Stow. Burnet.

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[h] She was releaſed about the latter end of April. Godwin, p. 349.

[i] Robert Holgate. The knights were, ſir Edward Rogers, ſir James Crofts, ſir Nicholas Throgmorton, ſir Nicholas Arnold, ſir Edward Warner, ſir George Harper, ſir William Saintlow, ſir Gawin Carew, and ſir Andrew Dudley; as alſo, William Gibs, Cuthbert Vaughan, Harington, Tremain, &c. They were releaſed January 18. Stow, p. 626.—— Edward Courtney earl of Devonſhire likewiſe reaped the benefit of this generoſity, who, to give no more jealouſy, retired into Italy, and the year after died, ſome ſay of poiſon, being buried at Padua, and put an end to that illuſtrious family, of which he was the eleventh earl. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 287. Hollingſh. p. 1129.

Wyat's or the lady Jane's cauſe. Beſides, the archbiſhop of York was ſuffered to live in quiet during the reſidue of this reign.

Diſpleaſes the Engliſh. Burnet.

Philip's grave manner and reſerved air gave great diſguſt to the Engliſh. None were ſuffered to come either into his or the queen's preſence, without a formal demand of an audience, as is practiſed by ambaſſadors. This rendered the court entirely unfrequented, the Engliſh nobility not enduring to conform to cuſtoms ſo oppoſite to their own.

The duke of Norfolk dies.

The old duke of Norfolk died in September, about a year after obtaining his liberty [k].

The parliament meets. Burnet, t. iii. p. 234.

The court ſends to fetch over Pole in quality of legate. Godwin.

The act of his condemnation reverſed. Godwin. Hollingſh. Burnet.

Mary's third parliament met the 11th of November [l], diſpoſed as the court could wiſh [m]. The money come from Spain produced ſuch effects, that moſt of the repreſentatives only wanted occaſions to ſignalize their zeal for the queen. The court was ſo ſenſible of this, that without any law yet made to reſtore the papal authority, two noblemen were ſent to receive cardinal Pole as legate, and bring him over into England. One of theſe was the lord Paget, who having been a principal friend and confident of the duke of Somerſet, and one of that protector's inſtruments to eſtabliſh the reformation in the reign of Edward, was nominated in this of Mary, to meet the pope's legate [n]. Such change had a new reign produced amongſt the nobility. Whilſt the legate in Flanders was preparing for his voyage, an act paſſed in parliament to repeal his attainder in the reign of Henry VIII. This coſt but three days [o], in order to avoid the inconvenience of ſeeing a legate arrive in the kingdom, ſtill liable to a ſentence of death.

His ſpeech to the parliament. Godwin. Fox, t. iii. p. 108. Hollingſh. Stow.

Pole arrived the 24th of November [p], and after communicating his inſtructions to the king and queen, he laid before them and both houſes of parliament ſent for on purpoſe, the occaſion of his legation. This, he ſaid, was to bring back to the fold of Chriſt the ſheep that were gone aſtray: that the pope, who held on earth the place of ſovereign paſtor, was ready to receive them; and therefore he exhorted the Engliſh to embrace an opportunity at once ſo favourable and happy. The queen, who paſſionately deſired to ſee the pope's authority reſtored in England, was ſo moved on this occaſion, that ſhe fancied ſhe felt a child ſtir in her womb. This news was immediately publiſhed in all places, and even by an order of council [q] Te Deum was ſung at St. Paul's. Some flatterers ſpared not to ſay, that as John Baptiſt leaped in his mother's womb at the ſalutation of the virgin, ſo here, a happy omen followed on the ſalutation from Chriſt's vicar ſpeaking by the mouth of his legate. The queen's women, who ſaw her ſo fond of her imaginary conception, humoured her in this belief, till the middle of the next year, when to her great mortification, ſhe diſcovered her miſtake.

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[k] He died at Framlingham in Suffolk, where he was buried October 2. Stow, p. 625. Strype, tom. iii. p. 200.

[l] In the writs of ſummons, it was remarkable that the queen omitted her title of ſupreme head of the church, as ſhe had done a little before in the writs of ſummons to the laſt convocation. Rapin by miſtake makes this to be a ſeſſion of the former parliament.

[m] The king and queen rode together in their robes to this parliament, having two ſwords, and two caps of maintenance, carried before them. Hollingſh. p. 1122.

[n] The other was ſir Edward Haſtings. Fox, p. 105. Strype, p. 156.

[o] It was thrice read in the houſe of lords, on November 17; and the third time on the 19th, when it was ſent down to the commons; who read it twice on November 19, and the third time on the 20th, and ſent it up the 21ſt. The king and queen paſſed it on the 22d. Journ. Parl.

[p] He landed at Dover the 21ſt, and came to London the 24th. Fox, p. 108.

The queen fancies herſelf with child. Godwin. Burnet. Fox.

Is miſtaken.

The 29th of November the two houſes preſented a petition to the king and queen, praying their interceſſion with the legate for a reconciliation of the kingdom with the church, from which a horrible ſchiſm had long diſunited it. They promiſed in the ſame petition to repeal all the acts againſt the pope's authority. Upon this the legate came to the parliament, and in a long ſpeech enlarged upon the pope's affection and tenderneſs for the kingdom of England, and the extraordinary favours which in every age that nation had received from the holy ſee. Then he enjoined for penance the repeal of all the laws againſt the papal authority, and granting a full abſolution, which was received by both houſes on their knees, abſolved alſo the kingdom from all cenſures.

The two houſes petition for a reconciliation with the pope. Fox, t. iii. p. 108. Godwin. Hollingſh. Stow. Burnet.

Are abſolved by the legate. Godwin. Hollingſh. p. 1123.

The repeal promiſed by both houſes could not be ready before the beginning of January. By this act the pope's authority was reſtored to the ſame ſtate as before the twentieth year of the reign of Henry VIII. But the five following articles inſerted in it were ſo many reſtrictions upon the papal power.

An act reſtoring the pope's authority. Statut. Burnet.

I. That biſhopricks, cathedrals, and colleges, ſhould remain in their preſent condition.

With ſome reſtrictions.

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[q] Dated November 27. In the ſame order, all prieſts and other eccleſiaſtical miniſters were enjoined, in their maſſes and other ſervices, continually to pray Almighty God that he would continue and bring to good effect what he had ſo graciouſly begun. Forms of prayer were compoſed on this occaſion by doctor Weſton dean of Weſtminſter, and printed copies of them diſperſed through the kingdom. In one of them, they prayed God to "give the queen a male "infant, in faſhion and body comely "and beautiful, and in pregnant wit "notable and excellent." See the order and forms in Hollingſh. p. 1123--1126. and Fox, tom. iii. p. 115, &c.

II. That

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II. That marriages contracted within the degrees forbidden only by the canons, and not the law of God, ſhould be deemed good and valid.

III. That inſtitutions into benefices made during the ſchiſm ſhould be confirmed.

IV. That all judicial proceſſes ſhould alſo be confirmed.

V. That the alienations of the lands of the church ſhould be authorized, and the poſſeſſors ſubject to no cenſures or proſecutions on that account.

Ratified by the legate.

The legate ratified all theſe articles, but with a denunciation of the judgments of God on all thoſe who poſſeſſed the church-lands. As this article was the moſt important and obſtructive to a re-union, the court of Rome had not been a little embaraſſed to ſettle it. The nobility and gentry, enriched with the plunder of the church in the two laſt reigns, were not to be alarmed. On the other hand, the canons make the lands of the church ſo ſacred, that the pope himſelf, however extenſive his power be in other reſpects, cannot alienate them. Conſequently, Julius III. could not conſent to the alienation made in England without violating the canons: nay, his conſent would have been of no force, ſince he would have exceeded the bounds of his power. Mean while, had he inſiſted upon the neceſſity of reſtitution, and told the Engliſh, that without it he could not poſſibly abſolve them, the affair of the re-union of England, the concluſion whereof was ſo paſſionately deſired by the pope, would have been in danger of miſcarrying. This was one of thoſe nice affairs, which called for ſome of thoſe expedients, the court of Rome ſeldom wants. The expedient now uſed was to deceive the Engliſh. The pope firſt gave Pole a general power [r], which was not thought ſufficient however to remove the uneaſineſſes of the perſons concerned. Afterwards he ſent him another [s], authorizing him, "to tranſact with the poſſeſſors "of church-lands for the rents they had unlawfully received, "and for the moveables they had conſumed; in reſtoring "firſt, if the legate thought proper, the lands they unjuſtly "poſſeſſed [t]." This clauſe "in reſtoring firſt, if the legate "thought proper," had a very equivocal meaning. It might ſignify,

Artifices of the court of Rome touching church-lands.

Burnet, tom. ii. p. 231.

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[r] Dated March 8, 1554. Burnet, tom. iii. p. 230.

[s] It is part of the firſt. See Burnet, ibid.

[t] Ac cum poſſeſſoribus bonorum eccleſiaſticorum (reſtitutis prius ſi tibi expedire videretur, immobilibus per eos indebite detentis) ſuper fructibus male perceptis, ac iſtis mobilibus conſumptis, concordandi, & tranſigendi, ac eos deſuper liberandi & quietandi, &c. Burnet, tom. iii. Collect. p. 217.

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ſignify, that the legate had the liberty to oblige the poſſeſſors to reſtitution, or to diſpenſe with it; or elſe that he had power to tranſact with them for the received rents before or after the reſtitution of the lands. In all appearance, the pope underſtood the clauſe in this laſt ſenſe, but was willing to give room to believe, that he underſtood it in the firſt. This power appearing inſufficient to the emperor and the court of England, the pope gave a third not leſs equivocal, and which, under a heap of general terms, contained certain reſtrictions, which left him free to act afterwards as he ſhould pleaſe: for his preſent buſineſs was to blind the poſſeſſors and the parliament, in giving them a ſeeming ſatiſfaction. This laſt power ran:

Burnet, tom. ii. p. 232.

“That whereas he had before given power to his legate to tranſact with the poſſeſſors of the church's goods, and to diſcharge them from the rents they had unjuſtly received, or the moveables they had waſted; nevertheleſs, to the end that the entire reduction of England might become ſo much the more eaſy, by the greater hopes which the pope gave of condeſcenſion and compliance on this occaſion, (unwilling as he was to keep back the great work of the ſalvation of ſo many ſouls by any human conſiderations, and deſirous to imitate the good father going out to meet the prodigal ſon) he gave power to his legate, agreeably to the confidence he repoſed in him, to tranſact and agree, by authority of the Holy See, with the poſſeſſors of the goods of the church, for whom the queen ſhould intercede, and to give them a diſpenſation for the future enjoyment of them; with reſervation however of ſuch things, wherein, for the greatneſs and importance of them, he ſhould think fit to conſult the Holy See, for its approbation and confirmation.”

This laſt power, far from correcting what was defective in the former, was ſtill more equivocal and uſeleſs. Firſt, for the word Tranſact, which was in the firſt power, and remained likewiſe in this, it is manifeſt, that the pope did not mean by it a bare acquieſcence of his legate to a poſſeſſion deemed unjuſt, and that on this occaſion, a tranſaction imported at leaſt ſome previous reparation to be made to the church. But for fear the term Tranſact ſhould not be ſignificant enough, the pope added in this laſt power the term Agree, which evidently ſhowed in what ſenſe he would have this tranſaction underſtood. Wherefore the bare acquieſcence of the legate was uſeleſs, ſince he thereby exceeded his power, which was to Tranſact and Agree. Secondly, under theſe terms Future Enjoyment, was an equivocation, ſince the Future

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ture might imply either a perpetual or a temporary enjoyment. Thirdly, the legate could grant a diſpenſation for the enjoyment of theſe lands but to thoſe for whom the queen interceded, ſo that the queen might chuſe whether ſhe would intercede for any perſon: nay, it is very likely, ſhe would have ſcrupled it, ſince, as will appear, ſhe herſelf made reſtitution of all ſuch lands as were in her poſſeſſion. Fourthly, all that the legate could do on this occaſion was inſignificant without the pope's confirmation, who could revoke it, ſo that the legate's power was only proviſional. Laſtly, the obligation to conſult the Holy See in matters of importance, was alſo an uncertain expreſſion, and liable to endleſs cavils.

Pope Julius III. died before he was informed of the ſucceſs of this affair. But if we judge of him by the terms of the power granted to his legate, he acted with no ſincerity, and his ſucceſſor plainly refuſed to confirm the legate's acquieſcence. It was therefore a manifeſt illuſion put upon the poſſeſſors of the church-lands, ſince, according to the canon law, they could thereby acquire no juſt title. On the other hand, they could not poſſeſs them with a ſafe conſcience, ſince the legate, at the ſame time that he gave his conſent to their enjoyment of theſe lands, denounced the judgments of God ready to fall on their heads. It will be aſked, perhaps, how the Engliſh could ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon by ſo palpable an artifice? To this may be anſwered: firſt, that the king and queen being in the ſentiments of the court of Rome, aſſiſted the fraud as much as poſſible, and the parliament, corrupted with Spaniſh gold, ſeemed not to ſee what they ſaw. In the ſecond place, the legate's powers were probably ſhown only to the king and queen, who appeared ſatisfied with them, and the parliament, without examining theſe powers, ſuppoſed the legate ſufficiently authorized. I have a little enlarged on this ſubject, becauſe it is very material at preſent, and poſſibly may be more ſo hereafter. The Engliſh may ſee by this, not only the impoſſibility of the court of Rome's acting with ſincerity in this affair, but that, though a pope ſhould have the beſt intentions towards the poſſeſſors of church-lands, his conſent would be inſignificant. His ſucceſſors might always ſay with ſome foundation, that he had exceeded his power. However, the poſſeſſors were or ſeemed to be ſatisfied, and the rather becauſe the parliament made a law which in ſome manner diſpelled the fears of the perſons concerned. This law imported, That whoever ſhould diſturb the ſubjects, in their poſſeſſion of any lands or goods once belonging to the church, on pretence of any eccleſiaſtical authority, ſhould fall into a præmunire.

An act made to renew the antient ſtatutes againſt hereticks. Statutes. Burnet.

The affair of the reconciliation being ended, and the government become entirely popiſh, the parliament paſſed an act to revive the ſtatutes of Richard II. Henry IV. and Henry V. againſt hereticks[u]. The commons were ſo haſty, that if their zeal had been indulged, they would have finiſhed at once what the court deſired to do only by degrees. They brought in ſeveral bills, which were rejected by the lords, for fear of alarming the proteſtants and driving them to deſpair. But the commons were almoſt indifferent whether their bills were approved or rejected, becauſe, whatever happened, their zeal for the queen was rendered indiſputable. This was the real aim of all their proceedings.

Afterwards an act was made by way of ſupplement to the ſtatute of treaſons and felonies. It was in favour of Philip that this act was renewed, by which, if any perſon aſſerted, that Philip had no right to the title of king of England during his marriage with the queen, he was to be ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment, and to forfeit all his goods. Moreover, that prince having conſented to take upon him the guardianſhip of the children he might have by the queen, and to govern the kingdom for a ſon till he was eighteen, and for a daughter till fifteen; it was alſo enacted, That conſpiring his death during that time ſhould be treaſon. It was likewiſe death by another act for any to pray, "That God would "turn the queen's heart from idolatry, or ſhorten her days[w]."

The court conſults what meaſures were the propereſt to be taken againſt the proteſtants. Burnet.

The ſtatutes againſt hereticks were no ſooner revived, than the court took into conſideration how to reduce them. Their number was great, and without doubt much greater than that of their adverſaries. But theſe had the government for them. In this party were thoſe who were indifferent to all religions, and theſe appeared the moſt zealous, becauſe it was a ſure means to render them acceptable to the court. On the other hand, the proteſtants could not make any advantage of their numbers, becauſe they were without ſupport. Beſides, many of them concealed their ſentiments, for fear of loſing their

Reflections upon the ſtate of the reformed.

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[u] 5 Richard II. 2 Henry IV. 2 Henry V.

[w] The other acts now made were theſe: 1. An act confirming that of 22 of Henry VIII. which enjoined Egyptians (or Gypſies) not to come into the kingdom, upon pain of forfeiting their goods. The preſent act makes it felony in any Egyptian to remain a month in England; and forbids the bringing of them into the realm, under the penalty of forty pounds. 2. That perſons arreſted for manſlaughter, or felony, ſhall not be bailed, but in open ſeſſions, except it be by two juſtices of the peace at leaſt. See Stat. 1 and 2 Phil. Mar. c. 4. 13.

lives and fortunes. Others, by a principle of conſcience, choſe to ſuffer, rather than reſiſt. So thoſe who would have uſed force againſt the attacks of their enemies, would probably have been ill ſupported, and the rather, becauſe the emperor would not have failed to aſſiſt the queen, had it been neceſſary. The proteſtants therefore with the greateſt conſternation ſaw a ſtorm ready to fall on their heads, without any poſſibility to avoid it.

Pole adviſes to moderate counſels. Burnet. Gardiner is for rigorous methods, and prevails. Burnet.

In the council, held at court on this ſubject, Pole was for gentle methods rather than force, thinking this would only inflame inſtead of curing the evil, and at moſt, would but increaſe the number of hypocrites. He added, that the beſt means of converting the proteſtants was the reformation of the clergy, whoſe irregular lives had firſt given birth to hereſy. Gardiner, on the contrary, maintained, that only rigour was capable to have a good effect upon the proteſtants. That in the reign of Henry VIII. it was notorious, all ſubmitted to the ſtatute of the ſix articles through fear of puniſhment. As Gardiner had in many things complied againſt his conſcience, he could not believe that others had more reſolution than himſelf. For that reaſon he thought, the puniſhment of ſome of the moſt obſtinate would be attended with a blind compliance in all the reſt, to whatever was enjoined. Hence it appears, he was little concerned to gain men's hearts, provided the prevailing religion found no more oppoſition. The queen, who was a furious bigot, embraced his opinion. But to ſhow Pole that his counſels were not wholly neglected, ſhe charged him with reforming the clergy, and left to Gardiner the care of extirpating hereſy.

An embaſſy ſent to Rome. Godwin.

Towards the end of the year, the queen ſent viſcount Montague [x], the biſhop of Ely, and ſir Edward Karne to Rome, with the tender of ſubmiſſion to the pope from the king, the queen, and the three ſtates of the realm.

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Gardiner undertakes to extirpate hereticks.

The reſolution being taken to proſecute with the utmoſt rigour the proteſtants, Gardiner, firſt author of that advice, very readily undertook to execute it. He it was who in ſpite of all the difficulties which naturally occurred in the queen's marriage, had at laſt accompliſhed it. He it was alſo, who, by his intrigues, had found a way to diſpoſe parliaments to favour the queen's intentions with regard to religion, and had effected the work of reſtoring the Roman religion and the papal authority. He thought therefore nothing more was wanting to complete his glory, than the forcing the proteſtants into the pale of the church, or at leaſt to an outward ſubmiſſion to the laws newly enacted, which is the utmoſt bounds of man's power. For that purpoſe, he reſolved to begin with Hooper and Rogers. The firſt had been biſhop of Glouceſter, the other was a clergyman of great repute among the proteſtants. It was he who with Bradford had reſcued Bourn from his danger when he preached at St. Paul's. This action, charitable as it was, had received ſo ill a conſtruction, that the court took occaſion from it to arreſt Rogers, in order to remove out of the way a man, who was regarded as one of the chiefs of the proteſtants, from his great credit and influence with the people. It was an artifice frequently uſed in the beginning of this reign by the court, to impriſon, on frivolous pretences, thoſe whom they deſigned to ſacrifice, with intent to detain them till laws were made to condemn them. Hooper and Rogers were of this number, and the firſt martyrs of this reign. They were condemned by commiſſioners appointed by the queen, with the chancellor at their head [y], and delivered over to the ſecular arm. Hooper was burnt at Glouceſter, and Rogers at London [z]. Hooper was three quarters of an hour in torment, the fire not being well kindled, ſo that his legs and thighs were firſt burnt, and one of his hands dropped off before he expired [a]. Theſe executions were followed by thoſe of Saunders and Taylor, two other clergymen of the moſt diſtinguiſhed zeal for their religion [b]. Taylor's puniſhment was remarkable for his being put into a pitch-

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[x] Sir Anthony Brown, created viſcount Montague, or Montacute, on September 2, this year; as was alſo William Howard, baron Howard of Effingham, March 11. Sir John Williams baron of Tame, April 5. Sir Edward North baron of Chartlege, April 7. Sir John Bruges, baron Chandois of Sudley, April 8; and Gerard Fitz-Gerald earl of Kildare, and baron of Ophelly, May 14. Stow, p. 623, 624, 625.

Burnet, tom. iii. Collect. p. 246, &c.

Martyrdom of Hooper and Rogers. Fox, tom. iii.

Of Saunders and Taylor. Ibid. Godwin.

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[y] See the names of the reſt of the commiſſioners in Strype's Mem. tom. iii. p. 180.

[z] John Rogers was brought up in the univerſity of Cambridge, and for ſeveral years officiated as chaplain to the Engliſh merchants adventurers at Antwerp. In king Edward's reign he returned to England, and was made prebend of St. Paul's, and reader of the divinity lecture in the ſame cathedral. On the 28th of January, he was convened before the commiſſioners, excommunicated on the 29th, and burnt February 4. He left a wife and eleven children. At the ſtake he had it in his power to have ſaved his life by a recantation: but neither hopes nor fears could prevail on him to deſert his religion: on the contrary, he ſaid, "He reſigned his life "with joy, in teſtimony of the doc"trine he had preached." Fox, tom. iii. p. 118, 119, &c.

[a] John Hooper, brought up at Oxford, was, on account of his religious opinions, forced to fly into Germany, in Henry VIIIth's time; where he remained a conſiderable time. He had been very diligent in procuring Bonner's deprivation, which undoubtedly was the cauſe of his ruin. He was burnt February 9. Fox, p. 145. Godwin, p. 349.

[b] Laurence Sanders, brought up at Eaton-ſchool, and King's-college in Cambridge; and afterwards miniſter of Church-Langton in Leiceſterſhire, and of Alhallows Bread-ſtreet, London; was burnt at Coventry, February 8. Fox, p. 132, &c.

barrel, and for having before the fire was kindled a faggot from an unknown hand thrown at his head, which made it ſtream with blood. Afterwards, as he was repeating the 51ſt Pſalm in Engliſh, one of the guards ſtruck him over the mouth, and bid him pray in Latin. He was therefore obliged to be ſilent, and continue his ejaculations, till the moment came which was to finiſh all his ſufferings. But while the fire was kindling, one of the guards, either thro' impatience or pity, knockt out his brains with a halbert, and delivered him from more cruel torments [c].

Gardiner transfers his commiſſion to Bonner. Burnet.

Gardiner finding himſelf miſtaken in his conjectures, and that the puniſhment of theſe four clergymen produced not the effect he expected, transferred to Bonner a commiſſion, which could not but draw upon him the publick hatred. This was no favour to the proteſtants, for if Gardiner's zeal was cruel, Bonner's was furious.

The kingdom in an univerſal conſternation. Burnet.

Mean while, theſe few executions cauſed an univerſal conſternation. The bigots only triumphed. The reſt who had any ſenſe of humanity, could not without the laſt concern behold men expoſed to ſuch cruel ſufferings, who were accuſed of no crime, and ſolely for their religious opinions. It could not but be obſerved how differently the proteſtants behaved from the Roman catholicks. In Edward's reign, very few had ſuffered impriſonment for their religion; and in Mary's, no puniſhment was thought too cruel for thoſe proteſtants, who dared to perſevere in their opinions.

The biſhops throw the perſecution upon the court. Burnet.

The biſhops themſelves ſeemed aſhamed, for in a ſolemn ambaſſy they declared, they had no hand in theſe barbarities. So all the hatred fell upon the king and queen, and particularly the king, as he was bred in a country where the inquiſition prevailed. Philip hearing of it, ſaw that the affection of the Engliſh would be entirely loſt, if they were ſuffered to continue in this ſentiment. Beſides, he was reſolved not to be the dupe of the biſhops, who cleared themſelves at his expence.

The king's Spaniſh confeſſor preaches againſt the perſecution. Fox.

He therefore ordered his confeſſor Alphonſo to preach before him, who, before all the court, charged the biſhops with the cruelties complained of by the whole kingdom [d]. He even challenged them to produce in the whole Scriptures one paſſage which allowed chriſtians to burn men for matters of conſcience. It was not without aſtoniſhment that a Spaniard was heard to exclaim againſt burning hereticks, and condemn cruelties ſo common in Spain. The biſhops were ſo amazed, that the fires remained extin-

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[c] Doctor Rowland Taylor, rector of Hadley in Suffolk, was burnt February 9. Fox, p. 166, &c.

[d] He preached on February 10, 1555. Idem. p. 181.

guiſhed

Burnet.

Bonner's fury and cruelties.

guiſhed for ſome weeks; but about the middle of March they were re-kindled, the biſhops chuſing to incur the publick hatred rather than not proſecute the proteſtants. The truth is, the court was no leſs inclined to cruelty than the biſhops. But each had a mind to throw the whole blame of the perſecution on the other. Bonner, biſhop of London, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a fury unbecoming not only a clergyman and a chriſtian, but even a cannibal. From this time the executions of the proteſtants were continued, with a barbarity which clearly ſhowed, that thoſe by whom they were ordered were not at all forced. The biſhops condemned without mercy all who were brought before them, and the civil magiſtrates executed the ſentences, even more rigorouſly than commanded by the laws [e].

Elizabeth taken out of priſon. Godwin. Fox. Burnet. Hollingſh.

About the end of April, the princeſs Elizabeth was conducted from Woodſtock to Hampton-court, where Gardiner, attended by a great number of privy-counſellors, exhorted her ſeriouſly to merit the queen's pardon by an ingenuous confeſſion of her crimes. But ſhe poſitively denied to have ever juſtly offended the queen. At laſt Philip prevailed for an enlargement of her liberty at a ſeat in the country [f], where ſhe was permitted to retire. As ſhe knew all her actions were narrowly obſerved, ſhe avoided concerning herſelf in any affair which might give the leaſt ſuſpicion. During the reſt of this reign, ſhe applied herſelf wholly to her ſtudies, and made a conſiderable progreſs. But ſtill ſhe led an uncomfortable life, as ſhe was forced to diſſemble her religious ſentiments, to hear maſs, and frequently confeſs herſelf, to eſcape the dangers ſhe was continually expoſed to [g]. In this ſhe was a little leſs ſcrupulous than her ſiſter Mary had been in Edward's reign. But it may be ſaid for her, that there was a great difference between the characters of Edward and Mary. The fear of death could not oblige Mary to diſſemble her religion,

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[e] Robert Ferrar, biſhop of St. David's, was burnt at Caermarthen, March 30.-----As was Thomas Tomkins, a weaver, in Smithfield, on March 16. Thomas Cauſton, at Raleigh; and Thomas Higbed, at Horndon on the Hill, in Eſſex, the 26th; John Laurence, at Colcheſter, the 29th; George Marſh, at Cheſter, April 24; John Cardmaker, canon of Wells, and John Warne, upholſterer in London, May 30, in Smithfield; and others, in ſeveral other places. The earl of Oxford, and the lord Rich, were very buſy againſt theſe poor people. See Fox, tom. iii.

[f] Probably at Hatfield. But ſhe was obliged to keep in her family Thomas Pope, one of the privy-council, Gage, and ſome others, who were to be conſtant ſpies upon her actions. Godwin, p. 349.

[g] Her anſwer to the dangerous queſtions concerning Chriſt's real preſence in the ſacrament, has ſomething in it at once artful and ſolid.

Chriſt was the word that ſpake it;
He took the bread and brake it:
And what the word did make it,
That I believe and take it.

ligion, becauſe ſhe was never threatened with it, whereas Elizabeth ſaw death continually before her eyes upon the leaſt advantage againſt her.

The queen reſtores the goods of the church. Burnet.

While the queen was thus expreſſing her zeal for the Romiſh religion, ſhe felt a load upon her conſcience which ſhe could no longer bear. This was the poſſeſſion of the abbey-lands adjudged to Henry VIII. Pope Julius III. pretended to conſent that the poſſeſſors of the church-lands ſhould not be diſturbed. But he plainly ſhowed that nothing was farther from his intentions, for even before the affair of the reconciliation was ended, he publiſhed a bull, excommunicating all who had taken poſſeſſion of any church or abbey-lands, as well as the princes who favoured or aſſiſted them. Gardiner indeed had endeavoured to remove the queen's uneaſineſs, by telling her, the bull concerned Germany alone, and had no authority unleſs received in England. But it was eaſy to ſee, that a defect of formality could not excuſe a practice in England, which was condemned by the pope as a heinous crime in Germany. Be this as it will, the queen, who believed herſelf near the time of her delivery, would not run the riſk of dying excommunicate. She ſent for her miniſters[h], and told them it was her fixed reſolution to part with the church-lands in her poſſeſſion, to be diſpoſed of as the pope ſhould judge proper. At the ſame time ſhe ordered them to acquaint the legate with her intention, and give him a liſt of thoſe lands that ſtill continued in the crown.

Fox. Burnet.

March 28. Fox, tom. iii. p. 221. Burnet. Hollingſh.

Pope Julius dies, and is ſucceeded by Marcellus, who dies ſhortly after, and is ſucceeded by Paul IV.

Pope Julius died the 23d of March, a few days before this reſtitution. Marcellus II. ſucceeded him the 9th of April. The new pope was preparing to make a great reformation in the church, but death ſurprized him whilſt he was meditating this project, the 22d day after his exaltation.

Godwin. Burnet.

The news of Marcellus's death being brought to England, the queen formed the deſign of raiſing Pole to the pontificate. She even made ſome advances towards it, but on the 23d of May the cardinals aſſembled in conclave elected cardinal Caraffa, who aſſumed the name of Paul IV. The ſee had not of a long time been filled with a pope more haughty, or more proud with his power. He was no ſooner raiſed to the papal chair, than he reſolved to carry his authority as high or higher than any of his predeceſſors. The ambaſſadors of England,[i] arrived in Rome the very day of his election, but

Burnet. Strype.

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[h] William Paulet, marquiſs of Wincheſter, and lord-treaſurer, ſir Robert Rocheſter, controller, ſir William Petre, ſecretary of ſtate, and ſir Francis Inglefield, maſter of the wards. Fox, p. 221. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 308.

[i] Anthony Brown, viſcount Montacute, and Thirlby biſhop of Ely, Glyn biſhop of Bangor, ſir Henry Huſſey, &c. Strype, tom. iii. p. 210, 227.

were not admitted to audience till a month after. This delay was owing to Mary's aſſuming the title of queen of Ireland, which the pope would not ſuffer, pretending that the Roman pontiff only had a right to erect kingdoms. As the ambaſſadors had no inſtructions to relax on this article, their audience would have been long deferred, if the pope had not thought of an expedient. He privately erected Ireland into a kingdom[k], and at the ſame time ſent to the ambaſſadors to acquaint them, that otherwiſe he would not ſuffer them to give their queen that title in a publick audience. This difficulty being removed, the ambaſſadors were admitted to audience, and the pope with great ceremony told them, that in token of his eſteem of the king and queen of England, he had erected Ireland into a kingdom, by virtue of his power to create new kingdoms and ſupplant old ones. Afterwards, in private audiences, he warmly preſſed the reſtitution of the church-lands, and told the ambaſſadors, that he expected the whole ſhould be reſtored without any exception. He ſaid alſo, he intended to have the payment of St. Peter's pence continued; for which purpoſe, he would ſhortly ſend a collector into England; and that the Engliſh were not to expect St. Peter would open the gates of heaven to them, ſo long as they uſurped his patrimony on earth. The ambaſſadors, not to exaſperate this haughty pontiff, were contented to anſwer him with ſubmiſſion, but did nothing, as indeed they had no power to meddle with theſe points.

The pope erects Ireland into a kingdom. Burnet.

Demands of the Engliſh ambaſſadors, the reſtitution of the goods of the church, and the payment of Peter-pence. Burnet.

While this paſſed at Rome, the privy-council being informed, that the juſtices of peace, and particularly thoſe of the county of Norfolk, were indulgent to the proteſtants, ſent inſtructions to them to act more agreeably to the intentions of the court. This ſhows the biſhops were not alone guilty of the cruelties exerciſed againſt the proteſtants, but that the court was equally poſſeſſed with this furious zeal. In theſe inſtructions was an article enjoining the juſtices to have ſpies in every pariſh, for giving information of all perſons who were remiſs in their duty in point of religion. This was ſo like an inquiſition, that it was imputed to the counſels of the Spaniards, which rendered them extremely odious, there being nothing more contrary to the Engliſh humour and government. Notwithſtanding theſe inſtructions, and the court's ſevere orders, the violences already committed occaſioned ſuch murmurs, that Bonner himſelf, whether thro' fear or ſome other motive, moderated his fury ſo far, as to ſend away without trial per-

An order from the court to the juſtices againſt the reformed. Burnet, tom. ii. Collect. p. 287. Strype, tom. iii. p. 214, 217.

The blame of it laid on the Spaniards.

Bonner remits of his ſeverity. Burnet.

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[k] On the 7th of June. Burnet, p. 310.

He renews it upon a letter from the king and queen.

Bradford, Ridley, and Latimer ſuffer martyrdom.

Burnet. Fox, tom. iii.

ſons brought before him for hereſy. This conduct drew from the king and queen a ſevere letter to him [l], in which, after expreſſing their ſurprize, they exhorted him not to be remiſs. This was ſufficient to renew the perſecution with more fury than before. Bradford, who had been ſome time under ſentence of death, was burnt in July [m]. Ridley biſhop of London, and the venerable old Latimer [n], who had been biſhop of Worceſtor in the reign of Henry VIII. ſuffered martyrdom in November. I omit many other martyrdoms in ſeveral places of the kingdom, becauſe my deſign is not to write a hiſtory of the church. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that in the courſe of this year, ſixty-ſeven perſons were burnt, amongſt whom were four biſhops and thirteen other eccleſiaſticks [n].

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[l] Dated May 24. The queen particularly required of him "to perform "the office of a good paſtor, and either "to reclaim the hereticks, or proceed "againſt them according to law." Burnet, tom. ii. Coll. p. 285.

[m] John Bradford, born at Mancheſter in Lancaſhire, was fellow of Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, and made by biſhop Ridley, prebend of St. Paul's. He was condemned January 31, and burnt July the *firſt*, with one John Leafe, a tallow-chandler, in Smithfield. Fox.

[n] Theſe two excellent prelates were burnt together at Oxford, October 16. Their behaviour was comparable to any thing left upon record of the primitive martyrs. Ridley was born of a good family in Northumberland, and brought up at Newcaſtle-ſchool, and Pembroke-hall in Cambridge; of which laſt he was maſter. He was chaplain to king Henry VIII. by whom he was promoted to the ſee of Rocheſter, and tranſlated by king Edward VI. to that of London. He was one of the ableſt champions of the reformation. His piety, learning, and ſolidity of judgment, were admired by his friends, and dreaded by his enemies, The night before his execution, he invited the mayor of Oxford and his wife to ſee him die. And when the good woman melted in tears, he ſpoke to her with an aſſurance, which was capable to baniſh her ſorrow, in the thought that ſo much firmneſs on ſo melancholy an occaſion, could be the only gift of heaven, inſpiring and animating him againſt his approaching agony. He comforted Latimer at the ſtake, who was ready to return the kind office. He was ſo little diverted by the terrors before him, that he even gave a ſerious attention to the ſermon preached by a furious bigot; and was ſufficiently calm to have anſwered the exceptionable parts of it, which he offered to do; but he was not allowed to diſplay his eloquence and reaſon, which might have ſhaken his audience, and made more work for his perſecutors. He left the world with an act of juſtice, by a petition ſent to the queen, that either the tenants of the biſhoprick of London might be confirmed in their leaſes, or their fines reſtored out of his goods, ſeized when he was impriſoned. His torment was lingering by the ill-placing of the faggots to burn him: and his legs were almoſt conſumed before the fire reached his vitals.—Latimer was born at Thurcaſton in Leiceſterſhire, and brought up at Cambridge. He was made by king Henry VIII. biſhop of Worceſter, which ſee he reſigned, as has been already related. He had a noble ſimplicity, and in his ſermons arraigned the vices of great ſinners with plainneſs, which, unadorned with human eloquence, found a way to their hearts, and made the Felixes of the age tremble before him. One illuſtrious robber made reſtitution in his hands of money ſtole from the publick, or the treaſury, moved by one of his diſcourſes on reſtitution, which pierced his conſcience, and obliged him to ſacrifice gain to godlineſs. He comforted Ridley at the ſtake (who had done as much for him) and, unſhaken with all the triumphs of reigning popery, propheſied, that "they two ſhould "light ſuch a candle in England, as by "God's grace ſhould never be extinguiſhed." He was ſoon out of his pain, and fell aſleep; and finiſhed a life which, through a courſe of eighty years, and in the corruption of the laſt ages, preſerved the piety, ſimplicity, and integrity of the firſt. Fox, tom. iii.

The queen has a falſe conception. Burnet. Strype. Hollingſh.

When the king and queen writ to Bonner to re-kindle his zeal, the queen believed herſelf upon the point of being delivered. The 29th of May, the courtiers were in a readineſs to convey the news to different parts of the kingdom [o]. In the beginning of June, a rumour was every-where ſpread that ſhe was delivered of a prince. The biſhop of Norwich ſung Te Deum in his cathedral. One prieſt, more officious than the reſt, deſcribed in his ſermon the lineaments of the new-born prince. But this pretended pregnancy ended at laſt in ſome moles caſt forth by the queen at ſeveral times. This was a grievous diſappointment to the queen and the whole court [p]. King Philip was no leſs diſmayed. He had only married in hopes of having children by the queen, and thereby uniting England with the monarchy of Spain. This accident, and perhaps the opinion of the phyſicians, that there was no likelihood of any children, entirely deſtroying theſe hopes, he grew weary of a wife, who had neither youth nor beauty, and reſolved to apply more cloſely to his other affairs. Beſides, he was doubtleſs informed by the emperor his father, of his intention to reſign to him his Spaniſh dominions. He left England therefore the 4th of September [q] to go into Flanders, leaving the queen extremely mortified at his coldneſs, of which ſhe was but too ſenſible.

Philip grows weary of her, and leaves England. Stow.

A forged conſpiracy. Burnet. Stow. Hollingſh.

Before the king's departure, a diſcovery was pretended of a conſpiracy againſt the queen. Several perſons were arreſted, and ſome put to the torture. But as no confeſſion was drawn from them, very likely the conſpiracy was only a falſe ſurmiſe, deſigned to incenſe the queen againſt the perſons accuſed.

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[n] Among the reſt, John Philpot archdeacon of Wincheſter, ſon of ſir Peter Philpot, knt. was burnt in Smithfield, December 18. As were ſeveral others at Canterbury. See Fox.

[o] William Howard, the lord admiral, was appointed to go to the emperor, Ratcliff lord Fitz-Walter to the French king, ſir Henry Sidney to the king of the Romans, and Richard Shelley to the king of Portugal. Strype, tom. iii. p. 219.

[p] Fox relates, that a woman told him, before witneſſes in 1568, that ſhe lived near Alderſgate, and was delivered of a boy on June 11, 1555, and after ſhe had bore it, the lord North and another lord came to her, and deſired to have her child from her, with very advantageous offers, as that the child ſhould be well provided for, &c. But ſhe would in no caſe part with the child. Fox, tom. iii. p. 271. This, as Burnet obſerves, being at a time that the queen ſeemed to be every day looking for her delivery, may give ſome ſuſpicions. Tom. iii. p. 244.

[q] He ſet out from London for Dover, Auguſt 29. Strype, p. 229.

An inquiry made after the robbers of churches and monaſteries. Burnet.

In the courſe of this year, a ſtrict inquiry was made after them who had pillaged the churches and monaſteries, and particularly after thoſe who were employed in the viſitation under Henry VIII. This was a good expedient to draw large ſums from thoſe men, who were forced to open their purſes to eſcape a ſeverer puniſhment.

An act to confirm the reſtitution of the firſt-fruits and tenths.

The parliament met the 21ſt of October, and did nothing conſiderable, beſides the making an act to approve and confirm the queen's reſignation of the firſt fruits and tenths [r]. The lords were deſirous to make a law to confiſcate the eſtates of thoſe whom the fear of perſecution had driven out of the kingdom, but the commons rejected the bill.

The commons reject a bill ſent by the lords.

Moſt of the members began no longer to pay the ſame deference to the court as formerly, whether their penſions were withdrawn after a compliance to almoſt whatever was deſired, or they would not be the inſtruments of reſtoring to the clergy an authority ſo odious to the nation. Beſides, moſt people were grown weary of the cruelties exerciſed againſt innocent men.

The commons out of humour with the court.

However, the queen met with great mortifications in this ſeſſion. When ſhe deſired a ſupply of money, the commons with great freedom replied, it was not juſt to burden the people with expences which ſhe might eaſily have ſupplied, if ſhe had kept the church-lands. So, it was with great difficulty that ſhe obtained a moderate ſubſidy [s].

The parliament diſſolved.

The parliament, ſeeming reſolved not to be directed any more by the court, was diſſolved the 9th of December [t].

Gardiner dies. Godwin. Burnet. Strype. Fox.

It is not ſurprizing that the good intelligence between the queen and the commons began to decreaſe, ſince the miniſter, who had hitherto been employed to manage that houſe, was no longer in the world. I mean Gardiner, who died in the beginning of the ſeſſion, in which he had been but twice preſent [u]. He was ſeized with his ſickneſs the very day he received the news of the death of Ridley and Latimer, which he impatiently waited for. He refuſed to ſit down to dinner till he had received it, and was without that ſatisfaction till four in the afternoon. He then dined with a good appetite, and after dinner was ſeized with a ſuppreſſion of urine, which brought him to his grave in a few days. It is ſaid, that during this indiſpoſition he felt ſome remorſe for his paſt conduct, and ſometimes ſaid, he had erred with St. Peter but not mourned with him. He was a man entirely attached to the world, of great wit, and of equal craft and diſſimulation [w]. He directed his talents ſolely to the ſupporting and augmenting his own authority. Pope Paul IV. promiſed him a cardinal's hat. It is alſo pretended, that to procure the archbiſhoprick of Canterbury, promiſed to Pole, he had ſo ſlandered him to the court of Rome, that the pope had reſolved to recall and even puniſh him as a favourer of hereſy, becauſe he did not approve the violent methods practiſed for the converſion of proteſtants. Gardiner's hope of ſucceeding to the archbiſhoprick was the reaſon that Cranmer was ſuffered to live, becauſe Gardiner waited till Pole was recalled; though, in all appearance, his religion was that of the church of Rome, he had conformed to all Henry VIII's changes. But the hope he had groundleſly conceived, that Henry would at laſt return to his firſt ſentiments in religion, put him upon ſome practices which rendered him ſuſpected, and robbed him of the fruit of his diſſimulation. During the reign of Edward, he diſſembled ſo far as to comply outwardly with the laws concerning religion; but at the ſame time he ſufficiently diſcovered that it was with regret. To this was owing his deprivation, thoſe who then managed the religious affairs, being perſuaded that his diſſimulation did more harm than good. In the reign of Mary, he was no longer forced to conceal his ſentiments. Nay, perhaps he affected a greater

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[r] This bill was read in the houſe of lords, on the 20th, 21ſt, 23d, and 26th of November, the viſcount Hereford and the lord Cobham diſſenting from it. And in the houſe of commons it was read November 24, 26, and December 3. On which laſt day it was carried, upon a diviſion of one hundred ninety-ſix, againſt one hundred twenty-ſix. Journ. Parl.

[s] The laity granted her, from every perſon worth from five pounds to ten pounds, 8 d. in the pound; from ten to twenty pounds, 12 d. in the pound; and from twenty pounds and upwards, 16 d. And all ſtrangers to pay double. The clergy granted 6 s. in the pound, to be paid in three years. Stevens, p. 238, &c. Stow, p. 627.

[t] The acts made in this parliament were as follows: 1. That every man, for every hundred and twenty ſheep he feeds, ſhall keep a milch cow, and rear a calf. 2. That two ſurveyors ſhall be choſen in Eaſter week in every pariſh, who ſhall take care to have the highways mended. 3. That purveyors ſhall not take victuals within five miles of Oxford or Cambridge. 4. An act for the regulation of watermen and bargemen upon the river Thames.

Fox.
Burnet.
Hollingſh.

Godwin.

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[u] He died of a dropſy, November the 12th, or, according to others, the 13th, and was buried in the cathedral of Wincheſter; where his effigies upon his monument is yet to be ſeen, though ſomewhat defaced. Godwin, p. 351. Strype, ibid. Com. Hiſt.

[w] He was a man of ſome learning; for he underſtood the canon and civil law as well as moſt of his time: he wrote Latin with eaſe and purity; and few of his contemporaries excelled him in the Greek language. Burnet, p. 321. —— As to his perſon, his ſucceſſor, biſhop Poinet, gives this deſcription of him: he was of a ſwarthy colour, hanging look, frowning brows, eyes an inch within his head, hooked noſe, wide noſtrils, a ſparrow mouth, great hands, and long talons, rather than nails upon his toes, which made him go uneaſily. Strype's notes on Godwin, p. 351.

zeal than he really had for the Romiſh religion, to recommend himſelf the more to a bigotted queen. By this he acquired her favour, and became her firſt miniſter, having artfully gained the emperor to his intereſt. When he ſaw his credit firmly eſtabliſhed, he turned his revenge upon his enemies into barbarity. They had been contented to detain him in priſon; but he could only be ſatisfied with burning them alive. Ridley and Latimer, amongſt others, felt the terrible effects of his vengeance. He had not ſo long deferred the ſatisfaction of cauſing Cranmer to periſh in the flames, if his own intereſt had not induced him to ſpare his life for ſome time. It is pretended he was natural ſon of Richard Woodvil, brother to queen Elizabeth king Edward IV's wife, and that this was the cauſe of his ſo ſudden advancement to the biſhoprick of Wincheſter in the reign of Henry VIII. Dr. Burnet has clearly proved, in his Hiſtory of the Reformation, that Gardiner was one of the principal authors of Henry's divorce with Catherine. This, one would think, ſhould have rendered him equally odious with Cranmer to queen Mary: but his zeal for the Romiſh religion effaced all. After his death, the chancellorſhip was executed by commiſſion [x], from the 13th of November to the firſt of January following, when Heath archbiſhop of York had the ſeals delivered to them.

Act. Pub. xv. p. 426. Burnet.

The pope ſends a bull, erecting Ireland into a kingdom. Burnet.

The day after diſſolving the parliament, the queen received a bull from Paul IV, erecting Ireland into a kingdom, the pope preſuming that the erection made in the reign of Henry VIII. was null and invalid. Probably, the queen, who was full of ſcruples, was not diſpleaſed to receive this bull without her deſiring it.

The perſecution renewed. Idem.

The king's abſence and Gardiner's death did not hinder the fires from being re-kindled about the end of the year for the burning of proteſtants. This ſhows that Philip and Gardiner were not the only authors of theſe violences, but that the ſource of them lay in the queen's furious bigotry.

Charles V. reſigns his dominions to Philip, and his brother Ferdinand. Strada.

It was likewiſe about this time that Charles V. reſigned all his Spaniſh dominions to Philip at two different times [y]. The following year he reſigned likewiſe the imperial dignity to his brother Ferdinand [z]. Paul IV. long refuſed to own the new emperor, pretending that the reſignation of the empire ought to have been made to him [a].

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[x] The ſeal was delivered to ſir Nicholas Hare, maſter of the rolls. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 426.

[y] October 25. Strada, I. i.

[z] Charles, after his retirement, delighted very much in mechanical curioſities, and particularly had great variety of clocks, which he tried a long time to cauſe to ſtrike exactly together, but could never bring it about. Whereupon he

Cranmer degraded. Godwin. Strype. Burnet.

The 21ſt of March, Cranmer ſuffered the martyrdom to which he had long been deſtined. He had been declared heretick in April, 1554. But this declaration was attended with only a bare excommunication, the power of the judges who had condemned him, reaching no farther. At laſt, in September 1555, he was tried at Oxford before two commiſſioners [b], one delegated from the pope and one from the queen. His accuſation contained, That he had been twice married: That he had kept a wife ſecretly in the reign of Henry VIII, and openly in that of Edward: That he had publiſhed heretical books, forſaken the communion of the Romiſh church, and denied the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament. He owned all theſe facts, and upon his confeſſion was cited to appear before the pope within eighty days; a needleſs citation, ſince he was detained a priſoner. The 14th of February, Bonner and Thirleby were ſent to Oxford to degrade him. Bonner executed his commiſſion with his uſual inſolence, and with ſevere railleries and invectives againſt Cranmer during the ceremony. But Thirleby melted into tears. Cranmer was clothed in pontifical robes made of canvas to render him ridiculous, and then ſtript of that ludicrous attire, piece by piece, according to the ceremonies of degradation practiſed in the church of Rome [c]. But what was ridiculous, was his being condemned for non-appearance at Rome, though he was all the while a cloſe priſoner.

Godwin. Burnet.

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he broke out into this remarkable exclamation: "How vain and fooliſh is "it for princes to endeavour to make "all their ſubjects be of one mind in "religion, when no art is able to make "a few clocks ſtrike together." Burnet, p. 330.

[a] This year, the heralds were incorporated by the queen's letters patents, bearing date July 18. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 425. ---- This year alſo, on March 14, died John Ruſſel, the firſt earl of Bedford, and was buried on the 22d, at Cheyne's in Buckinghamſhire. Stow, p. 626.

[b] James Brooks, biſhop of Glouceſter, was commiſſioner from Pole, and the king and queen delegated two aſſiſtants, which were Dr. Martin and Dr. Godwin, p. 352.

[c] His behaviour in this ceremony was uniform and becoming. He was not ſorry, he ſaid, to be thus cut off, with all this pageantry, from any relation to the church of Rome, but declared it to be great injuſtice to condemn him for not going to Rome when he was ſhut up in priſon; and, denying the pope had any authority over him, appealed from this ſentence to a free general council. Burnet, p. 333. ---- This ſpectacle, as Godwin obſerves, was ſufficient, not only to extort compaſſion from his enemies, but even to melt inanimate things into tears. The primate of England, that lately flouriſhed in the higheſt honour and authority with princes, moſt venerable for his ſanctity of life, for his age, perſon, learning, gravity, and innumerable excellencies of mind, now by the malice of the Romaniſts, dreſſed in a ridiculous old habit, baited with ſcurrility and contemptuous revilings, and dragged to a moſt inhuman and tormenting death, p. 353.

Signs an abjuration. Strype.

The queen ſigns a warrant to have him burnt. Act. Pub. xv. p. 431.

He repents and ſuffers with reſolution. Strype. Burnet.

Death ſhould of courſe have immediately followed the ſentence of the commiſſioners and his degradation. But ſo many ſnares were laid to overcome the conſtancy of this prelate, that by infirmity and the hopes of ſaving his life, he was prevailed with to ſign an abjuration [d]. His enemies, it ſeems, ſhould have been ſatisfied with engaging him in this weakneſs, but his death was what they wanted, and nothing leſs would content them. The queen, who pretended a merit in forgiving him his private offences, and in being moved only by a zeal for religion, ſeeing all her meaſures broke by his abjuration, pulled off the maſk and ſigned a warrant for burning him, notwithſtanding his abjuration. Then it was that Cranmer came to himſelf, and, full of ſhame and confuſion, retracted at the ſtake, and reſolved the hand which had ſigned the fatal abjuration ſhould firſt ſuffer. He held it extended in the fire till it dropped off [e], and then was obſerved to beat his breaſt with the other. Thus he expired, teſtifying a repentance for the fault he had committed. His heart was found entire in the aſhes, after his whole body was conſumed, which occaſioned divers reflections foreign to my purpoſe.

Pole ſucceeds him as archbiſhop. Godwin. Burnet. Act. Pub. xv. p. 432.

Pole cleared from the aſperſions caſt upon him with regard to Cranmer's death.

The enemies of the reformation triumphed in the fall of this prelate, and the proteſtants excuſed him in the beſt manner they could [f]. Pole was conſecrated archbiſhop of Canterbury the day after his death. It ſeems he had his Congé d' elire with his election, and his bulls from Rome diſpatched before that, becauſe the order for the reſtitution of the temporalities bears date the 21ſt of March, the day of Cranmer's death [g]. It is therefore without foundation that Pole is accuſed of haſtening his death, to take poſſeſſion of his archbiſhoprick, becauſe there was almoſt a month between the queen's warrant for burning Cranmer and the execution. Pole had no need of Cranmer's death to be poſſeſſed of the archbiſhoprick, vacant ever ſince his predeceſſor's condemnation. And indeed, he was now archbiſhop of Canterbury before Cranmer died, having been elected in England and approved by the pope, as is expreſſed in the order for reſtoring the temporalities, dated the 21ſt of March.

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[d] He was prevailed upon to ſubſcribe not only one form of recantation, but ſix diſtinct ones, which the reader may ſee in Strype's Mem. tom. iii. p. 233, &c.

[e] While he was burning, he ſometimes cried out, That unworthy hand. Fox.

[f] He died in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, and the twenty-third of his primacy, and left a ſon of his own name, who was reſtored in blood, 5 Eliz. Strype's Mem.

[g] Rapin by miſtake ſays, he was made archbiſhop the day Cranmer died. Though he had been elected and approved by the pope, Pole thought it indecent to be conſecrated as long as Cranmer lived, yet his chooſing the next day for it, brought him under the ſuſpicion of having procured his death; ſo that the words of Elijah to Ahab concerning Naboth, were applied to him, Thou haſt killed and taken poſſeſſion. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 340.

The perſecution continued.
Fox.
Burnet.

All the reſt of the year was a continual and violent perſecution of the proteſtants. The furious Bonner, who had the care of puniſhing hereticks, not content to burn them one by one, ſent them in troops to the flames; ſo that in the year 1556, eighty-five periſhed by his barbarity. The very women were not ſpared, and the fury of the perſecutors fell upon innocent infants. In the iſle of Guernſey, a woman big with child being condemned to be burnt, and the violence of the fire burſting her womb, a boy fell into the flames, which being ſnatched out by one more merciful than the reſt, was after a ſhort conſultation thrown in again by command of the magiſtrates who aſſiſted at the execution.

Horrible barbarity.
Fox.

The queen repairs old monaſteries, and erects new ones.
Burnet.

While by theſe violent proceedings the utter ruin of the proteſtant religion was endeavoured, the queen, on the other hand, laboured to ſupport that of the church of Rome, by repairing old monaſteries and founding new ones [h]. Perhaps ſhe had more advanced her deſign to reſtore the religious houſes, had not the nobility and gentry taken the alarm. It happened, even in the laſt ſeſſion of the parliament, that ſome of the commons, upon hearing a propoſal concerning that affair, laid their hands on their ſwords, and boldly ſaid, They knew how to defend their own properties. The queen ſeeing ſo many obſtacles, and not thinking it proper at that time to puſh the affair, reſolved to wait a more favourable opportunity and proceed gradually. Mean while, ſhe gave a commiſſion to Bonner and ſome others, to raze out of the publick records whatever had been done by Henry VIII. againſt the monks and the pope, and particularly the accounts of the viſitations of monaſteries, and the renunciations of the papal authority by the monks. This has made the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of that time very defective, and yet, notwithſtanding the care of the commiſſioners, many records of this nature eſcaped their diligence and remain to this day.

Razes ſeveral pieces out of the publick records.
Burnet,
t. ii. p. 341.

Affairs between France and Spain.
P. Daniel.
Thuanus.
Burnet.

The war ſtill continuing between France and Spain, without the intervention of the Engliſh, Philip was deſirous of either a peace or a truce, to have leiſure to fix himſelf firmly on the throne, lately reſigned to him by the emperor his fa-

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[h] Laſt year ſhe founded a-new the monaſtery of the Franciſcans at Greenwich: and this year built two houſes for the Dominicans in Smithfield; a nunnery at Sion; a Carthuſian monaſtery at Sheen; and turned Weſtminſter again into a monaſtery. Burnet, p. 340.

Mary,
1556.

ther. His queen had mediated for this peace or truce, and obtained, that the two kings ſhould ſend their ambaſſadors between Calais and Ardres, where they had indeed met the 21ſt of May the laſt year, but without coming to any concluſion [1]. The advancement of Paul IV. to the papal throne rendered the peace ſtill more difficult. He was a pope of the moſt extravagant pride, and though fourſcore years old, was forming vaſt projects. He cannot be better compared than to Julius II. He had two nephews, one a cardinal, and the other governor of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and both mortal enemies of the family of the Colonni, whoſe ruin they had reſolved, and conſequently the king of Spain's, who ſupported it. To effect their deſign, they perſuaded the pope their uncle, that they had diſcovered a conſpiracy formed againſt him by the Spaniards. In conſequence of this pretended diſcovery, they opened the packets of the duke of Alva, viceroy of Naples, and therein pretended to find inconteſtable proofs. They committed cardinal Colonni to priſon, and arreſted the envoys of Philip and the queen of England. Then they ſeized Palliano and Nettuno, two towns belonging to the Colonni.

Pope Paul IV. makes a league with France againſt Spain. Thuanus. Burnet.

But not ſatisfied with this, they ſoon after induced their uncle the pope to declare war with Spain, without having either money or troops to ſupport it. He was therefore obliged to have recourſe to the king of France, who was in actual war with Philip. For that purpoſe, he propoſed to him the conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples, and offered him all his forces to execute the deſign, provided he would aſſiſt him in the war he had undertaken. The propoſal being laid before the council of France, the cardinal of Lorrain ſupported it with all his intereſt. The cardinal had then ſuch influence over the court, that no perſon almoſt durſt contradict him, though it was eaſy to ſee that a league with the pope could bring no advantage to the king. The cardinal's aim was to procure for his brother the duke of Guiſe the command of the army which ſhould be ſent into Italy.

This league, offenſive and defenſive, was therefore begun at Paris and ſigned at Rome, where the cardinals of Lorrain and Tournon had repaired, the beginning of October, 1555. The pope promiſed the inveſtiture of Naples to a ſon of

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[1] The Engliſh ambaſſadors were, cardinal Pole (accompanied by ſir William Cecil, for whom he had a particular eſteem), the chancellor Gardiner, the earl of Arundel, and the lord Paget. They went over to Calais, May 18. Strype, tom. iii. p. 218.

A truce concluded between France and Spain. Thuanus.

France; and the king, on his part, engaged to ſend into that country an army of twelve thouſand foot, five hundred men at arms, and as many light horſe. But ſhortly after, by the mediation of Mary, Henry II. and Philip concluded a five years truce, ſigned the 5th of February, 1556. The pope complained loudly, that the king of France had left him to the vengeance of the Spaniards. Indeed, the duke of Alva had now approached Rome, and taken ſome places, and, amongſt the reſt, Oſtia, which the pope's nephews had neglected to ſtore. In this extremity, the pope and his nephews had no other refuge, than to prevail with the king of France to break the truce with Spain. It was with this view that cardinal Caraffa repaired to Paris, as legate à latere, declaring that he came to effect a peace between the two crowns. At the ſame time, the pope loaded with praiſes the queen of England for mediating a truce, and exhorted her not to leave her work unfiniſhed, but endeavour to change the truce into a firm and laſting peace. Mean time, the legate by his intrigues and magnificent promiſes prevailed at laſt with the king to break the truce, without alledging other reaſon than that the pope was oppreſſed by the Spaniards, though his holineſs had firſt declared war againſt Spain.

The pope prevails with the king of France to break it.

1557.

The bones of Fagius and Bucer burnt at Cambridge. Burnet. Thuanus.

In January 1557, cardinal Pole viſited both the univerſities. Whilſt he was at Cambridge, Bucer and Fagius, two German divines, dead ſome years before, were ridiculouſly cited before the commiſſioners to give an account of their faith, and upon their non-appearance, both were condemned to be burnt. The ſentence was followed by a warrant from the court to execute it, and the two bodies in their coffins were tied to ſtakes and conſumed to aſhes [k]. At Oxford, Peter Martyr's wife was dug out of her grave by order of the legate and buried in a dunghill, becauſe having been a nun ſhe had broke her vow. At firſt a proceſs was intended againſt her as a heretick. But as ſhe had never learned to ſpeak Engliſh, no witneſs could be produced to ſwear he had ever heard her utter any hereſy. If all had been thus dug up who might have been preſumed to die hereticks ſince the reformation, there would have been work enough. In all appearance, the ſuffering Peter Martyr to go out of the kingdom was heartily repented. If the body of his wife was thus

The wife of Peter Martyr dug up.

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[k] February 6. Burnet, p. 345.

treated, what muſt he have expected, had he been ſtill in the hands of his perſecutors [l]?

The magiſtrates grow remiſs in the perſecution. Are incited by the council to redouble their zeal.

The violences hitherto acted upon both the dead and the living, had a quite contrary effect to what the queen had imagined. The eccleſiaſticks only continued their rage; but the magiſtrates began to relax, and ſcrupled to be the inſtruments of theſe barbarities. The council being informed of it, writ circular letters to all the towns, to inflame their zeal in the perſecution of hereticks. But theſe letters produced no great effect.

The queen grants a commiſſion tending to erect an inquiſition in England. Burnet, t. ii. p. 347.

The queen and her miniſters enraged to hear from all parts that the number of the proteſtants increaſed rather than leſſened, reſolved, as ſome have aſſured, to erect an inquiſition in England, like that in Spain. To that end, a commiſſion was granted the laſt year, empowering twenty-one commiſſioners [m] to ſit upon trials of hereſy, with a power ſo unlimited, that no other rules were preſcribed than their diſcretion, nor any perſon whatever exempted from their juriſdiction. This was followed by a perſecution, in which ſeventy-nine proteſtants periſhed.

Fox, t. iii.

The duke of Guiſe marches into Italy.

While theſe things paſſed in England, the duke of Guiſe arrived in Italy, with the army deſigned for the conqueſt of Naples. He ſtayed ſome time at Rome, where he found nothing ready of what the pope had promiſed. Neverthelеſs he entered the kingdom of Naples in April, where he performed no great exploits. Shortly after, he was recalled by the pope to the relief of Rome, cloſely blocked up by the duke of Alva.

Philip endeavours to bring Mary to a rupture with France. Thuanus. Burnet. Stow.

On the other hand, Philip finding the French had broken the truce, reſolved to exert his utmoſt to eſtabliſh his reputation in the beginning of his reign. He raiſed for that purpoſe an army of fifty thouſand men, who were to act in Picardy; and to make himſelf the more formidable, tried all ways to gain the queen to his intereſts, notwithſtanding the agreement in their marriage-articles, and his oath to give no occaſion of rupture between England and France. His creatures about Mary perpetually inſinuated to her, that ſhe was ill treated by the king of France, who not content with receiving the Engliſh fugitives that retired into his dominions, had even given penſions to ſeveral. Theſe inſinuations began to operate on the queen. But to put her quite out of humour with Henry, an artifice was uſed, which ſucceeded according to the deſires of thoſe who contrived it, probably to do Philip ſervice. Dr. Wotton, the Engliſh ambaſſador in France, ſent for one of his nephews to Paris, and gave him proper inſtructions to accompliſh the project. This young man applying himſelf to one of the king's gentlemen, deſired a private audience of the king, ſaying, he had an affair of great conſequence to communicate to his majeſty. The king refuſing to ſee him, ordered him to apply to the conſtable of Montmorenci. Wotton, in his conference with the conſtable, told him, he was ſent by the inhabitants of Calais, who were generally proteſtants, and deſirous to put themſelves into the hands of the French king, provided they might have liberty to profeſs their religion. The conſtable, liſtening to this propoſition, bid him explain how it might be effected, and liking the project, told Wotton to come to him again and talk of the affair. But Wotton [n], inſtead of returning to the conſtable, croſſed the ſeas back into England, and made his report to the queen and her miniſters of what paſſed at Paris. Whereupon the queen thought the king of France was no longer to be regarded, ſince, in the midſt of peace, he was forming projects to ſurpriſe Calais. It appears, that in February ſhe had reſolved upon a rupture with France [o], ſince, by an order of the 19th of the ſame month, commiſſioners were ſent to the ſheriffs and juſtices of peace to levy forces, and have them in a readineſs to march upon the firſt notice. Shortly after, another affair happened, which furniſhed her with the deſired pretence to declare war with France.

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[l] About the beginning of this year, came an embaſſy to England, from Evan Baſilowitz, emperor of Ruſſia, to ſettle a trade between that empire and England. See Stow, p. 629. ---- Three Engliſh ſhips having firſt in the year 1553, ſailed to Ruſſia, under the conduct of ſir Henry Willoughby, in order to ſettle a trade in that country, in the year 1555, queen Mary incorporated the merchant-adventurers to theſe parts into a company, conſiſting of four conſuls, and twenty-four aſſiſtants; and Sebaſtian Cabot, born in Briſtol, of Genoeſe parents, was conſtituted the firſt governor, being the chief encourager of this branch of trade. Hackluyt, vol. i.

[m] Theſe were, Bonner biſhop of London, and Thirleby of Ely; the lords Windſor and North; ſecretary Bourne, ſir John Mordant, ſir Francis Englefield, ſir Edward Walgrave, ſir Nicholas Hare, ſir Thomas Pope, ſir Roger Cholmley, ſir Richard Read, ſir Thomas Stradling, ſir Rowland Hill, ſergeant Raſtall; Dr. Cole, dean of St. Paul's; William Roper, and Randulph Cholmley, eſquires; William Cook, Thomas Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan, doctors of law. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 347.

An artifice made uſe of to effect this. Melvil. Burnet.

The queen is caught by it. Act. Pub. xv. p. 456.

One Stafford [p], having ſecretly obtained aſſiſtance from the court of France, aſſembled ſome Engliſh fugitives, and embarking

Stafford, at the head of ſome men from France, raiſes an inſurrection. Godwin. Burnet.

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[n] That is, doctor Wotton's nephew.

[o] War was proclaimed in England againſt that kingdom, June 7. Stow, p. 641.

[p] Thomas Stafford, ſecond ſon of the lord Stafford, Hollingſhead, p. 1133.

Stow. Hollingſh.

barking them, landed them in Scotland, towards the end of April, and marched directly to Scarborough, where he ſeized the caſtle, and publiſhed a maniſeſto againſt the queen, pretending ſhe had forfeited all her right to the crown by introducing Spaniards into the kingdom. He had even the boldneſs to aſſume the title of protector of England. But the earl of Weſtmoreland aſſembling ſome troops in the north, retook Scarborough, and made Stafford priſoner with three of his accomplices [q].

Is made priſoner.

Philip arrives in England. The queen declares war againſt France. Godwin. Thuanus. Burnet.

King Philip arrived the 20th of March [r] in England, where eight thouſand men were ready to paſs into the Low Countries. Shortly after his arrival, the queen ſent a herald to declare war againſt France. The 17th of June, the eight thouſand Engliſh [s] under the conduct of the earl of Pembroke, left England, and joined the Spaniſh army commanded by the duke of Savoy; after which Philip himſelf departed in July [t], to return to Bruſſels.

St. Quintin beſieged. Thuanus. Godwin. Burnet. Hollingſh.

The duke of Savoy having made a feint for a month to attack ſeveral places in Picardy, fell ſuddenly upon St. Quintin [u], which was in ill condition, and had only a garriſon of three hundred men. All that the conſtable, who commanded the French army, could do, was to detach his nephew admiral Chatillon with three thouſand men, to throw himſelf into the town. The admiral ſucceeded in part, having got in the night through the quarters of the beſiegers. But inſtead of three thouſand, only ſeven hundred followed him, the reſt having loſt their way. With this reinforcement he made a gallant defence, in hopes that the conſtable, though much weaker than the enemy, would uſe all poſſible endeavours to relieve him; and indeed nothing was neglected by the conſtable. He was even ſo ſucceſsful as to throw Andelot, brother of the admiral, into the place with five hundred men. But in his return after his ſucceſs, he was attacked by the duke of Savoy, who routed his army, killed two thouſand five hundred of his men, and took him priſoner. In this battle, called the battle of St. Laurence (becauſe fought on the

The battle of St. Laurence. Thuanus.

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[q] He was executed at London, May 28. Godwin, p. 354.

[r] Stow ſays, it was March 18. p. 630.

[s] Godwin ſays, there was one thouſand horſe, four thouſand foot, and two thouſand pioneers. Godwin, p. 355. So Stow, p. 631. Anthony Browne viſcount Montacute was lieutenant-general, the lord Grey of Wilton lord marſhal, the earl of Rutland general of the horſe, Edward lord Clinton colonel of the foot. The names of the other perſons of diſtinction in this army, ſee in Hollingſh. p. 1133.

[t] July 7. Godwin, p. 355.

[u] With an army of thirty five thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe, beſides the Engliſh troops. Ibid.

10th of Auguſt, the day dedicated to that ſaint) France loſt a great number of princes and noblemen killed or made priſoners [w]. The conſternation was ſo great, that if the duke of Savoy had marched directly to Paris, it was believed nothing could have prevented his entrance. But inſtead of that, he drew back to his lines, and eight days after carried the town by ſtorm [x], and took the admiral priſoner on the breach. All France exclaimed againſt the pope, who had occaſioned the rupture. But the blow was ſtruck. The king of France's laſt reſource was to call the duke of Guiſe out of Italy, where he was making no great progreſs.

Godwin. Burnet.

The pope intends to recall Pole. Godwin. Burnet. Strype.

is diſſuaded from it.

When the pope heard the queen of England had declared war againſt France, he was ſo angry with Pole, as if he could have hindered it, that he recalled all his legates [y]; including Pole in the number; but Karne the Engliſh ambaſſador remonſtrated to him by ſome cardinals, the miſchiefs which from thence might enſue to religion. At laſt, after many ſollicitations and remonſtrances, the pope, without revoking his order, promiſed only it ſhould not be notified to Pole, and told the ambaſſador he was inclined to continue the cardinal in his legation, if the queen ſhould deſire it. This was before the battle of St. Laurence. But when the news of the loſs of that battle, and the recalling of the duke of Guiſe were brought to him, he was again extremely incenſed againſt Pole, and reſolved to ſacrifice him to his revenge. For that purpoſe he ſent for Peyto the queen's confeſſor to Rome, and, creating him cardinal, put into his hands the bull of Pole's revocation, and appointed him for his legate in England. But the queen being informed of it, writ to Peyto, who was on his return, that if he offered to ſet foot in England, ſhe would bring him within the Præmunire. The letter ſtopt his journey [z]. Mean while, though the pope's brief was not delivered to him, Pole abſtained from the functions of his legateſhip, being unwilling to give the haughty pontiff a plauſible pretence of complaint, who had long hated him.

He recalls him, and names Peyto to ſucceed him; who is forbid by the queen to come into England. Godwin. Burnet.

When the duke of Guiſe had quitted Italy, the pope, unable to defend himſelf againſt the duke of Alva, who was near Rome, made a peace with Spain, and left France in the lurch [a]. By a ſecret article of the treaty, Pole was reſtored to his office of legate.

The pope makes a peace with Spain, and reſtores Pole.

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[w] See their names in Thuanus, l. xix.

[x] On Auguſt 27. Hollingſh. p. 1134.

[y] In May. Burnet, p. 352.

[z] It ſeems he was then in England; it was the bulls that were ſtopt at Calais, See Burnet, tom. iii. p. 411. Collect.

[a] The duke of Alva was forced to come to Rome, and on his knees to beg pardon for invading the patrimony of the church; which he condeſcended to do. Burnet, p. 354.

The duke of Guiſe returns to France. Henry ſollicits the queen regent of Scotland to a rupture with England. Buchanan. Burnet. Thuanus.

Mean time, Henry being recovered from his conſternation by Philip's not improving his advantages, the duke of Guiſe had time to come to his aſſiſtance, and was immediately conſtituted his lieutenant-general. On the other hand, Henry ſollicited the queen-regent of Scotland to break the peace with England, and that princeſs was as ready to oblige him. But ſhe had a powerful party againſt her, which was for preſerving the peace. Wherefore, as ſhe could not bring the ſtates to the reſolution ſhe deſired, ſhe took another courſe to accompliſh her deſign. She fortified Aymouth, contrary to an expreſs article of the treaty lately concluded with England; and thereby engaged the Engliſh to oppoſe it with force. This produced indeed a breach between the two nations[b]; and the Scotch army under the conduct of d'Oyſel, even entered the frontiers of England. But the ſtates ſtill hoping to repair the breach made in the peace without their conſent, required d'Oyſel by an expreſs order to return, which he was forced to obey. The regent ſeeing how low her authority was, preſſed the court of France to haſten the marriage of the queen her daughter with the dauphin, to the end that prince being in poſſeſſion of Scotland, might be more maſter of its forces and counſels. Henry improving this advice, immediately ſent ambaſſadors into Scotland to ſettle with the ſtates the marriage-articles[c].

Negotiates a marriage between the queen of Scots and the dauphin. Thuanus.

The queen in great difficulties. Burnet. Strype.

The war which was preparing in Scotland, and that already begun in France, greatly embaraſſed the queen, becauſe ſhe wanted money. She tried to raiſe money by way of loans: but without ſucceſs. She was therefore obliged to call a parliament for the 20th of January, though with regret, becauſe ſhe feared that to obtain a ſupply, ſhe ſhould be forced to remit her ſeverities againſt the proteſtants.

Philip gives her notice to take care of Calais, but to no purpoſe. Godwin. Thuanus. Burnet. Hollingſh.

About the end of the year, Philip gave notice to the queen of a deſign forming by the court of France upon Calais, and made her an offer of his forces to ſtrengthen the garriſon, which he knew to be weak. This advice, being laid before the council, was ſuſpected to be an artifice of Philip, to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of Calais, on pretence of reinforcing the garriſon. This, though a bare ſuſpicion, was not entirely improbable. Mean while, the counſellors, as if it had been a moſt evident truth, could not believe that France had any intention to beſiege the town, though it was not provided with the fourth part of the neceſſary troops and ammunition. It ſeemed, that the ſole reputation of the town was to be its ſecurity. So, the advice was neglected and nothing done for its relief, though the governor William lord Wentworth was not wanting in his ſollicitations[d].

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[b] But queen Mary endeavoured to adjuſt all differences, by appointing Henry Nevil earl of Weſtmoreland, Cuthbert biſhop of Durham, and Dr. Hanmer, and Martin, to treat with the Scottiſh commiſſioners. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. xv. p. 457, 464.

[c] This year, on July 15, died at Chelſea, Ann of Cleves, the fourth wife of Henry VIII. and was buried at Weſtminſter, Auguſt 1. Stow, p. 631.---April 30, Thomas Percy was created baron Percy, and May 1, earl of Northumberland. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xv. p. 461, 462.---This year, there was ſo great a dearth, that wheat was ſold at 2l. 13s. 4d. the quarter; malt 2l. 4s. peaſe 2l. 6s. 8d. But the next harveſt proving plentiful, wheat came to be ſold at 5s. malt 6s. 8d. and rye 3s. 4d. a quarter. Stow, p. 631.

Siege and loſs of Calais.
1558.
Godwin.
Thuanus.
Burnet.
Stow.

Nothing leſs was to be expected from a council compoſed chiefly of eccleſiaſticks, who were only intent upon the ruin of the proteſtants. After ſo ſhameful a neglect of providing for the ſafety of Calais, the queen and her miniſters were in the utmoſt conſternation, upon the news that the town was actually loſt[e]. The duke of Guiſe beſieged it the firſt of January, and carrying the fort called Newnambridge[f], which commanded the avenues from the land, and alſo the Riſbank which commanded the harbour[g], obliged the governor to capitulate the ſeventh day of the ſiege. After he was maſter of the place he ordered all the Engliſh to depart, as Edward III. had expelled the French two hundred and ten years before. Then he ſat down before Guiſnes, commanded by lord Grey[h] with a garriſon of eleven hundred men. But the garriſon was ſo diſcouraged by the loſs of Calais, that on the firſt attack, they quitted the town and retired into the cittadel. Mean while, the Engliſh governor perceiving the French were fallen to plundering, made a ſally and beat them out of the town; but deſpairing to keep it, ſet it on fire, and retired. Soon after, the French cloſely inveſted the cittadel, and in an aſſault the garriſon loſt three hundred men. After that, the governor ſeeing no poſſibility of a longer reſiſtance, ſurrendered

And of Guiſnes and Hames.
Thuanus.
Burnet.
Stow.
Hollingſh.

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[d] The council of England had raiſed numerous forces, to go to the relief of that place; but they were detained at Dover, either for want of tranſport-ſhips, or elſe by a ſtorm, which happened at that time, and was ſo violent, that the like had not been known many years before. Stow, p. 632. Hollingſh. p. 1136.

[e] The Engliſh garriſon conſiſted only of five hundred men, and there were not above two hundred of the townſmen, that could be ſerviceable in a ſiege. The whole number of the inhabitants amounted to about four thouſand two hundred perſons. Stow, p. 632.

[f] He divided his army into two bodies, and with one attacked Newnambridge, and with the other the Riſbank at the ſame time. Godwin, p. 356.

[g] The town being thus ſhut up, the French next drew the water out of its current, by which the ditches about the town and caſtle were drained; and having contrived ways for their ſoldiers to paſs over the mire, without ſinking in, they made the aſſault, after having opened a great breach by their cannon. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 357.

[h] Of Wilton. Stow.

himſelf prisoner of war with his whole garriſon. The caſtle of Hames, ſituated in an almoſt inacceſſible marſh, might have made ſome reſiſtance; but the garriſon fled, and left it to the French. Thus in the middle of winter, and in leſs than fifteen days, the Engliſh loſt all the remains of their antient conqueſts in France by the incapacity of a queen, whoſe thoughts were wholly ingroſſed by one affair, as if the deſtruction of the proteſtants had alone merited her application, and by the negligence, if it deſerves no worſe name, of her council. Such was the fruit England reaped from her alliance with Spain, notwithſtanding all Gardiner's care to prevent a mixture of intereſts between the two crowns. The non-performance of this article ſhows, how the reſt would have been obſerved, if Philip, had he had any children by the queen, could have introduced himſelf, as their guardian, into the government of the kingdom.

The uneaſineſs of the queen upon this loſs, and the murmurings of the people. Burnet.

The loſs of Calais made great noiſe in England. The proteſtants took occaſion to arraign the government, and the creatures of the court were ſo confounded, that they durſt not open their mouths in juſtification of the miniſtry. Some accuſed them of treaſon, others of incapacity, and their moſt zealous adherents could not but own their negligence. The two governors of Calais[i] and Guiſnes were the moſt unhappy. Beſides the loſs of their reputation, the miniſters, to inſinuate to the people that theſe places were loſt by their fault, ſuffered them to remain priſoners, and no care was taken for their releaſe. But no one had a more lively ſenſe of the loſs than the queen[k]. She perfectly knew the value of Calais after it was taken, which rendered England always formidable to France, becauſe the Engliſh could, in twenty-four hours, land great armies in that kingdom. The greatneſs of the loſs has ſince been ſtill more ſenſibly felt. From that time, France, except when diſtracted with civil wars, no more ſhowed for England that regard, ſhe was before forced to pay.

Burnet.

Philip preſſes the queen to make a puſh for the recovery of Calais. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 259. Collect. p. 324.

Immediately after the taking of Calais, Philip ſtrongly preſſed the queen to make a vigorous effort to recover it, before France had time to repair and fortify it. But it was not poſſible for the miniſters to find means to execute ſuch an undertaking. Upon a computation of the neceſſary expence for the fleet and army, it was judged dangerous, conſidering the general diſcontent, to load the people with ſo great a burden, even though the parliament could be brought to a compliance [l]. This was ſent to Philip in a letter of thanks for his advice and offers. But beſides that reaſon, there was another of great weight, namely, the fears of the miniſtry, the council, and the queen herſelf, that the ſiege of Calais would oblige them to interrupt the perſecution. So, in the belief that one year more would ſuffice to deſtroy the reformation and the reformed, they judged it proper to defer the ſiege of Calais till a more convenient ſeaſon.

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[i] The lord Wentworth was tried by his peers, April 2, 1559, on a ſuſpicion of cowardice or treachery, in the ſurrender of this town, and was acquitted. Stow, p. 638.

[k] She was ſo affected with it, that ſhe abandoned herſelf to deſpair; and told thoſe about her, ſhe ſhould die, though they were yet ſtrangers to the cauſe of her death; but if they would know it hereafter, they muſt diſſect her, and they ſhould find Calais at her heart. Godwin, p. 358.

But without ſucceſs. Burnet.

The parliament grants a ſubſidy to the queen.

The parliament [m] which met the 20th of January, did nothing conſiderable beſides granting a ſubſidy to the queen, after the clergy had led the way [n]. The houſe of commons was filled with perpetual complaints, that by the pernicious counſels of the miniſters, the queen had exhauſted her treaſury by the reſtitution of the church-lands, and the new foundations of the monaſteries.

A propoſal in the houſe of commons cauſes great ſuſpicions. Statutes.

This affair being finiſhed, the friends of the court brought in a bill to confirm all the queen's letters patents, without explaining themſelves farther. This was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by one of the members, who urged that a power ſo unlimited would put the kingdom in danger, and the queen in a capacity to diſpoſe of the crown from the right heirs. The commons were offended with theſe inſinuations againſt the queen, and ſent the member to priſon [o]. But tho' the queen ſeemed

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[l] The computation they made was thus: there could not be ſent, to any purpoſe, under twenty thouſand men: the pay of them for ſix months would riſe to 170,000 l. garriſons, and an army againſt the Scots, and ſecuring the coaſt againſt the French, would come to 150,000l. The ſetting out of a fleet, and an army by ſea, would amount to 200,000l. There was alſo great want of ammunition and ordnance. All this would riſe to above 520,000l. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 359.

[m] In this parliament, the abbot of Weſtminſter, lately re-edified into a monaſtery, and the prior of St. John of Jeruſalem, had their writs and ſat in it. Journ. Parl.

[n] The clergy (of the province of Canterbury only) gave eight ſhillings in the pound, to be paid in four years. And the laity granted a ſubſidy and a fifteenth. The ſubſidy was four ſhillings in the pound of lands, (eight ſhillings of ſtrangers,) and two ſhillings and eight pence of goods from every perſon worth five pounds, to be paid before June 24. Journ. Parl.----In this parliament it was enacted, That if any perſon carries away a young woman, under ſixteen years of age, without the conſent of her parents or guardians, he ſhall ſuffer two years impriſonment; and if any one marries a woman under that age, he ſhall ſuffer five years impriſonment.

[o] This member's name was ----- Copley, repreſentative for --- His words, as ſet down in the journals of the houſe of commons, were, "That he feared "the queen might thereby give away "the crown from the right inheritor." For this he was committed to the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, but afterwards releaſed at the deſire of the houſe, who pleaded his youth as an excuſe.

Mary. 1558.

pleaſed with the zeal of the commons for her reputation, ſhe clearly ſaw how far they were from any thoughts to deprive the princeſs Elizabeth of the crown. It is not known what was the intent of ſo general a confirmation: but 'tis likely, the authors had ſome view diſadvantageous to Elizabeth.

Two ſons of the late duke of Northumberland reſtored to their honours. Stow.

In this ſeſſion, Ambroſe and Robert Dudley, ſons of the late duke of Northumberland, were reſtored in blood. Henry their brother loſt his life at the ſiege of St. Quintin. After that, the parliament was prorogued from the 7th of March to the 7th of November.

The dauphin married to the queen of Scots. Buchanan.

In April this year, the dauphin at laſt married Mary the young queen of Scots[p]. After many difficulties the ſtates of Scotland granted the dauphin the title of king of Scotland, upon a ſolemn promiſe from his father, that he ſhould content himſelf with the bare title, and not concern himſelf in the government of the kingdom.

The princeſs Elizabeth in great danger. Burnet.

The princeſs Elizabeth was now in more danger than ever. The queen ſenſibly declined in her health. She had not been well managed during her pretended pregnancy, becauſe having committed herſelf to the care of women who only flattered her, ſhe had neglected to conſult the phyſicians, who might have prevented the conſequences of that accident. From that time ſhe never enjoyed a ſound health. She was naturally melancholy, and this temper was increaſed by her many mortifications in the two former reigns. Afterwards, the diſguſt of the king her huſband, of which ſhe was but too ſenſible, ſtill augmented her melancholy; and the loſs of Calais brought her to ſuch a ſtate, that ſhe could bear the ſight but of very few perſons. The body ſympathized with the mind, and ſhe felt herſelf grow daily weaker. In this condition, ſhe was troubled with the ſame reflexions on her ſiſter Elizabeth's account, that had before diſturbed Edward on her's, namely, that after her death, what ſhe had with ſo much pains eſtabliſhed, would be infallibly overturned. The biſhops were ſtrongly perſuaded of this. They were not ignorant that Elizabeth, whatever pains ſhe took to conceal it, was a proteſtant in her heart, and even induced to be ſo from her temporal intereſt. Hence ſome were perpetually inſinuating to the queen, the neceſſity of putting her out of the way. Gardiner had been of this opinion, and frequently ſaid, it was in vain to lop off the branches while the tree was ſuffered to ſtand. It is aſtoniſhing this advice had never been

Strype.

Hollingſh.

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[p] They were married April 28. this marriage, which was one of the
Buchanan writ an epithalamium upon perfecteſt pieces of Latin poetry.

followed! The queen was a bigot to the laſt degree. It gave her no remorſe to ſpill human blood, when religion was the pretence. So, in all appearance, ſhe would not have ſpared a ſiſter, whom ſhe conſidered as a baſtard, had not God ſuffered the politicks of Philip to prevail over the zeal of the queen his ſpouſe. For at the very time I am ſpeaking of, when the ſpirit of perſecution rendered men deaf to reaſon, juſtice and humanity, to what can be aſcribed, but to the particular protection of heaven, the preſervation of this princeſs, whom ſo many reaſons demanded as a ſacrifice to the Romiſh religion? but God who has ſet bounds to the ſea, reſtrains alſo the fury of perſecutors, and prevents them from maſſacring thoſe whom he has reſerved for the peace of his church. However, Elizabeth was, contrary to all probability, preſerved through Mary's whole reign, and particularly in the latter part of it, when ſhe appeared to be moſt in danger.

The king of Sweden demands the princeſs Elizabeth in marriage. Burnet. Strype. She excuſes herſelf.

Some time after the prorogation of the parliament, the king of Sweden ſent a gentleman to Elizabeth to inform her of his deſign to demand her in marriage, and to deſire her conſent[q]. The meſſenger deſiring a private audience, ſhe would not grant it, without firſt knowing his meſſage. After ſhe was informed, ſhe ſent him a poſitive anſwer, that ſhe would receive no ſuch propoſal, but by the queen's direction. The meſſenger replied, his maſter acted like a lover, who would not eſpouſe a princeſs, without being firſt ſure of her conſent, by which he teſtified his eſteem for her; but when ſhe had once allowed his addreſſes, he would then as a king demand her by his ambaſſador. But this was not capable to make her alter her reſolution, On the contrary, ſhe ſignified to him, that the king of Sweden would oblige her, in thinking no more of her. This anſwer, one would think, ſhould have ſatisfied the Swediſh ambaſſadors, then arrived in London, ſince the king their maſter reſolved not to marry Elizabeth without her conſent, and yet they propoſed the marriage to the queen. This gives occaſion to ſuſpect, that the Swediſh gentleman who deſired a private audience of the princeſs, had not received his commiſſion immediately from the king his maſter, but from the ambaſſadors, and that the queen's miniſters had induced them to ſound the princeſs, in order to draw her into a ſnare. However, preſently after, the queen ordered her to be told[r], that ſhe was pleaſed with her anſwer to the Swediſh gentleman: that the ambaſſadors had in their *king's name demanded her in marriage, in which ſhe deſired to know her mind. Elizabeth anſwered, ſhe was content with her condition, and that if the queen would allow her to purſue her own inclination, ſhe proteſted, a ſingle life was to her preferable to a marriage with the greateſt prince in the world.* Thus the affair proceeded no farther.

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[q] King Philip had once deſigned to marry her to Emanuel Philibert duke of Savoy; but the hopes of having children by the queen vaniſhing, he intended to reſerve her for himſelf. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 361.

The perſecution renewed. Burnet.

The queen's extreme rage againſt the proteſtants. Fox. Heylin. Strype.

Tom. ii. p. 365.

A ſtrange inſtance of barbarity.

Fox.

The loſs of Calais, and the ſeſſion of the parliament, had given ſome reſpite to the proteſtants. But in the end of March, the perſecution was renewed with greater fury than ever. The queen herſelf, exceeding her prerogative, publiſhed a proclamation, "That whoever had any heretical "books, and did not preſently burn them without reading, "ſhould be eſteemed rebels, and executed without delay by "the martial law." On the other hand, ſhe expreſsly forbid to pray for thoſe who were executed, or even to ſay, God help them. This cauſed the author of the Hiſtory of the Reformation judiciouſly to remark, that "it was not ſo "much the converſion as the deſtruction of thoſe they called "hereticks, that the biſhops deſired." A convincing proof of this was ſeen ſhortly after. One Benbridge being tied to the ſtake, through the violence of the flames, cried out, "I "recant." Whereupon, the ſheriff[s] ordered the fire to be extinguiſhed, and the ſufferer ſigned an abjuration dictated to him. But ſoon after he received an order from court to burn the condemned perſon, and come himſelf to London, where he was committed to priſon. The fury of the perſecutors was ſo extreme, that though they were going to loſe the queen, they ceaſed not theſe ſeverities. About a week before her death, five perſons were burnt at Canterbury, and in this laſt year of her reign, thirty-nine proteſtants ſuffered martyrdom in ſeveral places.

Number of proteſtants burnt in this reign. Burnet. Strype. Heylin.

Authors are not agreed concerning the number of thoſe who died in the flames during Mary's reign. Thoſe who ſay the leaſt, reckon two hundred and eighty-four; but others affirm, that in the two firſt years of the perſecution, which began in 1555, eight hundred were put to death[t].

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[r] By ſir Thomas Pope, in April. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 361.

[s] Sir Richard Pexall, ſheriff of Hampſhire. Fox, tom. iii.

[t] According to Fox's account, and biſhop Burnet's calculation, there were two hundred and eighty-four burnt in all. A paper found among the lord Burghley's MSS. makes the number of thoſe that were burnt to be two hundred and ninety. The ſame lord Burghley, in a treatiſe writ in the year 1583, reckoneth up the number of thoſe that died in that reign by impriſonment, torments,

While theſe tragedies were acting in different places of the kingdom, the queen, who was deeply affected with the loſs of Calais, was willing to make one effort to repair it. Philip had adviſed to try to ſeize Breſt. For that purpoſe, ſhe put to ſea a fleet of one hundred and twenty ſhips [u], commanded by the lord Clinton [w], who landed at Conqueſt, and burnt that ſmall town, but the country riſing upon the Engliſh obliged them to retire to their ſhips, with the loſs of ſix hundred of their men [x]. The whole country being in arms to oppoſe a ſecond deſcent, and freſh troops daily arriving in theſe parts, the Engliſh admiral, who had only ſeven thouſand men, thought it not proper to engage in any new action, and returned. Such was the benefit the queen reaped from this expenſive armament. She was now ſenſible, that the continua-

The queen ſends a fleet to ſea without ſucceſs.

Godwin. Burnet. Act. Pub. xv. p. 448. Stow. Thuanus. Strype.

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ments, fire, and famine, to be near four hundred. But the author of the preface, to biſhop Ridley's book, De Caena Domini, who according to Bale, (de Script. p. 684, 731,) was William Wittingham, affirms, that in the two firſt years of the queen's perſecution, there were above eight hundred put to the moſt cruel kinds of death for religion. The reaſon of this diverſity may be, that no exact liſt was kept, at the time, of the perſons committed to the flames, but the accounts of them were afterwards gathered by ſeveral perſons, according to the beſt intelligence they could receive from their friends, throughout the ſeveral parts of the kingdom. However this be, it is generally acknowledged, that there were burnt five biſhops, one and twenty divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, one hundred huſbandmen, ſervants and labourers, twenty-ſix wives, twenty widows, nine virgins, two boys, and two infants. Sixty-four more were perſecuted for their religion: whereof ſeven were whipped, ſixteen periſhed in priſon, and twelve were buried in dunghills. It is obſervable, that the perſecution raged moſt in Bonner's dioceſe, and in Kent. For, as Heylin reckons it, in all the province of York, there was but one brought to the ſtake; and but three in the four Welſh dioceſes. In thoſe of Exeter, Wells, Peterborough, and Lincoln, there is mention but of one a-piece; of two in that of Ely, and of no more than three a-piece at Briſtol and Saliſbury; in thoſe of Oxford, Glouceſter, Worceſter, and Hereford none at all. And now, not to let ſuch helliſh and bloody doings paſs without ſome reflexion, I ſhall obſerve with Mr. Collier, that, "to deſtroy people for points of mere ſpeculation, and which have no ill effect on practice and civil government, ſeems very remote from the ſpirit of Chriſtianity. Suppoſing truth on the perſecuted ſide, yet to burn a man becauſe he will not belie his conſcience, and turn hypocrite; is ſtrangely unaccountable. Men can't believe what they pleaſe; their underſtandings are not all of a ſize. Things don't ſtand in the ſame light, and ſtrike with the ſame force on every body. Beſides, if the Roman catholicks believed the reformed ſuch notorious hereticks, if they believed they would be ſo ill received in the other world, why did they not uſe them gentlier in this? Why did they hurry them to eternal deſtruction before their time?" We may juſtly affirm, that ſuch wiſdom as this, did not proceed from above, but was earthly, ſenſual, and deviliſh. Collier Eccl. Hiſt. tom. ii. p. 397. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 364. Strype's Mem. tom. iii. p. 473, &c. and Catalog. p. 291, &c. Speed, p. 826. Heylin, p. 226.

[u] Goodwin ſays, one hundred and forty; and about the end of July, p. 357.

[w] Edward Fynes, lord Clynton and Saye. Rymer.

[x] Moſtly Flemings, who were too greedy of plunder. Stow, p. 634.

tion of the war would procure her no advantage, and readily conſented to a negotiation then propoſed for a peace between France, England, and Spain. Cambray was the place appointed for the congreſs, which was opened in October [y].

A peace negotiated at Cambray. Burnet. Thuanus.

The parliament meets. The queen demanding a ſupply of money is put off. Burnet.

The parliament meeting the 5th of November, the queen demanded aſſiſtance to continue the war, in caſe the negotiation ſhould miſcarry. The houſe of commons was ſo little inclined to grant her requeſt, that ſhe was obliged to ſend the chancellor and ten other lords to lay the ill ſtate of her affairs before them, and pray them to haſten the neceſſary ſupplies. This ſollicitation producing ſome effect, the commons debated, that and the two following days, upon a ſubſidy. But the queen's death put an end to the conſultations.

Her death. Godwin.

She had been ſome time afflicted with a dropſy, which being much increaſed the beginning of November, carried her off the 17th of the ſame month, in the 43d year of her age, after a reign of five years, four months, and eleven days.

Pole's death and character. Godwin. Burnet.

Cardinal Pole followed her within ſixteen hours. He was a prelate of a ſweet and moderate temper, who would have been glad to bring back, by fair and lawful means, the Engliſh to their ancient belief, but approved not the methods of fire and ſword. This gave his enemies room to repreſent him as a little inclined to the proteſtant religion, or at leaſt, as one of too tender a diſpoſition for that time. Neither the queen, nor Philip, nor the pope, nor Gardiner, nor the biſhops ſubſtituted in the place of the ejected proteſtant biſhops, were perſons to be guided by his moderate maxims. Accordingly, Pole was never conſulted on religion, though in all other affairs the queen placed a great confidence in him. Pope Paul IV. was his ſworn enemy. It was he who by his ſlanders prevented his aſcending the papal throne on the death of Paul III. though he was elected in the conclave. From that time, believing Pole could not forgive him ſuch an injury, he never ceaſed doing him ill offices. And when he was himſelf pope, he often gave him marks of his enmity. It is even pretended, that when he recalled him from his legation, to put Peyto in his room, he intended to puniſh him ſeverely for having been too gentle to the proteſtants. But Philip and Mary took him into their protection [z].

Queen Mary's character.

The exceſſive bigotry of queen Mary is evident from the hiſtory of her reign. To this ſhe joined a temper cruel and vindictive, which ſhe endeavoured to confound with a zeal for

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[y] The Engliſh plenipotentiaries were, the earl of Arundel, the biſhop of Ely, and dean Wotton. Burnet, t. iii. p. 265.

[z] Pole was buried at Canterbury.

Mary, 1558.

religion. But when it was not poſſible to unite them; ſhe plainly ſhowed, ſhe was inclined to cruelty as well by nature as zeal. She had the misfortune to be encouraged in this diſpoſition by all who approached her. King Philip was naturally moroſe. Gardiner was one of the moſt revengeful men living. Bonner was a fury; and the other biſhops were choſen from amongſt the moſt cruel and barbarous of the clergy. This was the quality by which alone a man was thought worthy of the epiſcopal dignity. The perſecution therefore againſt the proteſtants in this reign has nothing which ought to ſeem ſtrange. Dr. Burnet ſays, Mary had a generous diſpoſition of mind. It were to be wiſhed, he had given us ſome paſſages of her life, where this generoſity appeared. For my part, I find but one action to approve in her whole reign. This was her rejecting the Spaniſh ambaſſador's project, to make herſelf abſolute at the expence of the laws and liberties of the nation. She diſcovered no great capacity in the government of her dominions; and the loſs of Calais, though there was not ſomething more odious, would be an everlaſting blot upon her reign [a].

Tom. ii. p. 240.

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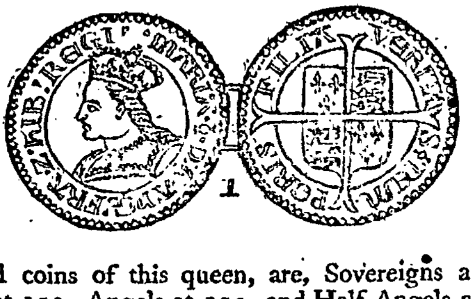
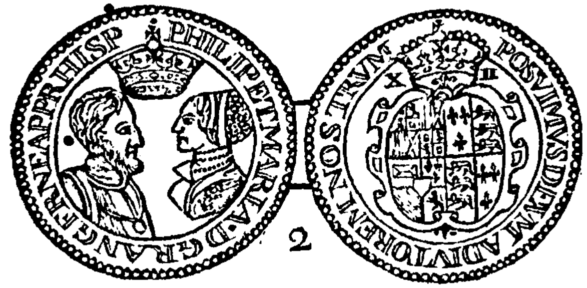
[a] Nath. Bacon concludes her character with ſaying, "The worſt that can "be ſaid of her, is this, that ſhe was "ill-principled: and the beſt, that ſhe "acted according to her principles; and "ſo lived an uncomfortable life, ſhaped "a bloody reign, and had but a dim "concluſion." P. 151.

BY an indenture of the firſt of queen Mary, a pound weight of gold, ~~of the~~ old ſtandard, was coined into thirty-ſix pounds; and a pound weight of ſilver, eleven ounces fine, was coined into three pounds by tale.



The gold coins of this queen, are, Sovereigns at 30 s. Half-Sovereigns at 15 s. Angels at 10 s. and Half-Angels at 5 s. a piece. ----The money before her marriage has her Head half-faced, crowned, MARIA D. G. ANG. FRA. Z. HIB. REGI. Reverſe, the Arms of France and England quartered, VERITAS. TEMPORIS. FILIA. (Fig. 1). Thoſe after her marriage have only her Head as before, but her Huſband's Name in the legend, PHILIP. Z. MARIA. D. G. REX. Z. REGINA. Reverſe POSVIMVS. DEVM. ADIVTO. NOS.—Her Sovereign; (called by Mr. Evelyn, a Ryal, and which, he ſays, was ſcattered at her coronation) has, on one ſide, the Queen in her Robes, with Crown, Scepter, and Ball, ſitting upon her Throne; at her Feet a Portcullice, MARIA. D. G. ANG. FRA Z. HIB. REGINA. MDLIII. Reverſe, a large full blown Roſe, filling up the ſpace, with the Arms of France and England, quartered in the Center, A. DNO. FACTV. EST. ISTVD. Z. EST. MIRA. IN. OCVL. NRIS. The Angel has on the Reverſe, the Queen's Arms in a Ship, with a Croſs for the Maſt, and the Star and Letter M. on each ſide, inſcribed, A. DNO. FACTVM. EST. ISTVD. Camden mentions a Crown of Gold of this Queen whereon was, MVNDI. SALVS. VNICA.—The Silver Moneys of Queen Mary are, Shillings, Six-pences, and Groats; to which biſhop Nicolſon adds, Half-Groats, and Pennies; but Thoreſby ſays, he never ſaw or heard of any of theſe laſt. Upon the Shillings of Philip and Mary are both their Heads facing each other under a Crown, PHILIP. ET. MARIA. D. GR. ANG. FR. NEAP. PR. HISP. 1554. Reverſe, the Arms of Spain and the Queen's, impaled, crowned, and XII. POSVIMVS. &c. There is another ſort of theſe Shillings, wanting the Date. (See Fig. 2.) Another, PHILIP. ET MARIA. D. G. REX. ET. REGINA. ANG. Reverſe, as the former. The emperor Charles V. reſigning Spain to his ſon Philip in 1555, occaſioned an alteration in Philip's ſtyle, his and the queen's title, being now upon the Great Seal, "Rex & Regina, "Ang. Hiſpaniar. Franc. utriuſque Sicilie," &c. The Iriſh Shilling, before the queen's marriage, gave her Head crowned, MARIA. D. G. ANG. FRA. Z. HIB. REGINA. Reverſe, a Harp betwixt M. and R. all crowned, VERITAS. TEMPORIS. FILIA. MDLIII.


PHILIP ET MARIA D GR ANG FR NEAP PR HISP
POSVIMVS DEVM ADIVTOREM NOSTRVM
X
II

2

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XVII.

The Reign of Queen ELIZABETH: *containing the Space of about Forty-four Years, and four Months.*

23. ELIZABETH.

Eliz. 1558.

THE death of Mary, tho' foreſeen, ſtruck the counſellors and miniſters with aſtoniſhment. They were all of the prevailing religion, and had adviſed, or at leaſt approved the perſecution which the proteſtants lately groaned under, and now in all likelihood the proteſtants were going in their turn to govern. Mary's death was therefore concealed for ſome hours, to give time to conſult what was to be done. But as the parliament was ſitting, it was not in their power to decide any thing concerning the ſucceſſion, eſpecially as it was clearly ſettled by the will of Henry VIII. authorized by an act of parliament which had never been repealed. Their conſultation therefore ended only in a meſſage to inform the parliament of the queen's death. This was all that could be done on the occaſion. The news was firſt communicated to the houſe of lords, who immediately conſi-

Queen Mary's death concealed for ſome time. Camden. Burnet.

The parliament informed of it. Camden. Burnet.

The houſe of lords deliberates upon the ſucceſſion.

conſidered the rights of the perſons who might pretend to the crown. If the affair had been left to the deciſion of the civil or common law, there would have been no ſmall difficulty, ſo much had Henry perplexed it by his divorces, and by contradictory acts of parliament. But in England, the parliament, which includes the king, lords, and commons, is the ſupreme legiſlator, and, when force does not interpoſe, the validity of its laws are unqueſtionable. Henry VIII. obtained an act, impowering him to ſettle the line of ſucceſſion as he ſhould think proper. He placed Elizabeth next to her ſiſter Mary, though both had been declared baſtards. This ſufficed to give Elizabeth a right, which the parliament could not conteſt, ſince it was a parliamentary right, as founded in the act to impower Henry to ſettle the ſucceſſion. Beſides, every one knew the diſſolution of that prince's marriage with Ann Boleyn, and the act which, in conſequence of the divorce, declared Elizabeth illegitimate, was the pure effect of the king's caprice, and of the compliance rather than juſtice of the parliament. But though the lords ſhould have thought to exclude Elizabeth from the ſucceſſion; on what other perſon could they have fixed, without expoſing the kingdom to great danger? It will be proper briefly to explain this, as a thing very requiſite to the ſequel of this reign.

Two competitors to queen Elizabeth, and the reaſons both for and againſt them.

Upon Mary's death, three princeſſes could pretend to the crown, namely, Elizabeth ſiſter of the late queen, Mary queen of Scotland grand-daughter to Margaret eldeſt ſiſter of Henry VIII. and Frances dutcheſs of Suffolk daughter of Mary younger ſiſter of the ſame prince. Elizabeth ſupported her right upon the will of the king her father, authorized by act of parliament. Mary could object, that Elizabeth had been declared a baſtard by an act ſtill unrepealed: that no baſtard had ever aſcended the throne of England: that the laws of the country gave baſtards no ſhare in the inheritance of their fathers, and conſequently the ſucceſſion was devolved to the poſterity of Margaret, eldeſt daughter of Henry VII. It could be alledged for the dutcheſs of Suffolk, that Elizabeth being a baſtard, and the queen of Scotland a foreigner, and not even placed in the order of ſucceſſion by the will of Henry VIII. the crown ought to fall to the poſterity of Mary, ſecond daughter of Henry VII. It is not neceſſary to examine theſe ſeveral pretenſions, becauſe probably the parliament which made the deciſion, proceeded not ſo much upon the laws, as upon policy and the intereſts of the kingdom. The queen of Scotland had married the dauphin, heir apparent to the crown of France. In adjudging the crown to her, Eng-

Eliz. 1558.

The houſe of lords declares for Elizabeth. Camden.

land would have been in danger of ſubjection to or dependency on France. This alone was ſufficient to exclude her. The dutcheſs of Suffolk could not have been placed on the throne with any colour of juſtice, ſince ſhe only derived her right from the will of Henry VIII. which was equally favourable to Elizabeth. Beſides, ſuch a choice would have infallibly thrown the kingdom into a civil war. It was probably for theſe reaſons that the houſe of lords declared for Elizabeth. It ſeems, however, that a great difficulty was to occur. All England, and particularly the houſe of lords, made profeſſion of the Romiſh religion, and it was ſcarce to be queſtioned that Elizabeth was a proteſtant in her heart. But two things, doubtleſs, conſpired to remove this obſtacle. The firſt was, that the biſhops and catholick lords were perſuaded, that Elizabeth, ſhould ſhe deſire it, would find it difficult to change the eſtabliſhed religion. They even believed her of a temper ſo complying, that ſhe would rather conform to the rites of the Romiſh religion, as ſhe had done for ſome years, than hazard the cauſing of diſturbances which might be fatal to her. If Camden's teſtimony is to be entirely credited, Elizabeth made no ſcruple to declare herſelf a catholick, during the reign of her ſiſter. "The lady Elizabeth, (ſays this hiſtorian) now guiding herſelf as a ſhip in tempeſtuous weather, both heard divine ſervice after the Romiſh manner, and was frequently confeſſed, and at the preſſing inſtances and menaces of cardinal Pole, through fear of death, profeſſed herſelf a Roman catholick."

Camden. Preface to his Annals.

The ſecond reaſon which probably prevented the lords from inſiſting on her excluſion was, that though they all profeſſed the catholick religion, they were not however all catholicks. Many, and perhaps the greateſt number, had only diſſembled their ſentiments during Mary's reign. But being freed from all danger by her death, they could ſpeak boldly, and oppoſe thoſe who pretended to exclude Elizabeth on account of her religion, this reaſon not being of more force againſt her, than it was againſt Mary after Edward's death.

The commons concur with the lords in owning the right of Elizabeth, who is proclaimed. Stow. Hollingſh.

However, the houſe of lords declaring for Elizabeth, the commons were ſent for, and acquainted by the chancellor with the queen's death and their reſolution, which was readily and unanimouſly embraced. The ſame day Elizabeth was proclaimed queen at the uſual places, with the acclamations of the people. The proteſtants thanked God that he had at laſt delivered them from perſecution, in placing on the throne a princeſs, who very likely would be favourable to them. It is true, that among the papiſts ſome looked on the death of

Eliz. 1558.

Mary, and the advancement of Elizabeth, as a mortal wound to their religion; but others were not ſorry to ſee a ſtop put to thoſe barbarities which diſhonoured it. As for thoſe who made not religion the chief object of their thoughts, they were eaſily comforted for the loſs of a queen, under whom England had not much flouriſhed, and who had loſt the only place which commanded reſpect from France. They believed to have reaſon to expect better things from the new reign.

She comes to London. Stow. Burnet.

Elizabeth being informed of the reſolution of both houſes in her favour, left Hatfield [a] the 19th of November, and came to London with a numerous train of lords and ladies [b], and an infinite croud of people, teſtifying their joy by the loudeſt acclamations. She was twenty-five years old, tolerably handſome, of an air great, noble, and majeſtick. But ſhe was ſtill more agreeable to the people by a certain natural affability, which commanded the eſteem and affection of all who approached her. As ſhe had a large ſhare of ſenſe and judgment, ſhe knew perfectly how neceſſary the love of her people was to her, ſince it was to be the ſtrongeſt ſupport of her throne, as will hereafter appear. Wherefore, inſtead of loſing this affability in being raiſed from a ſubject to a queen, ſhe ſtudiouſly increaſed it to ſuch a degree, that ſome accuſed her of playing the comedian and over-acting her part.

Ambaſſadors ſent to divers courts. Camden. Burnet.

Her firſt care, after receiving the compliments on her acceſſion, was to diſpatch ambaſſadors to the principal courts of Europe, to give notice of the late change in England [c]. Lord Cobham [d] was ſent to Philip, whom ſhe eſteemed her friend, and who was moreover her ally in the war againſt France, the treaty of Cambray not being yet concluded. Sir Thomas Chaloner was ſent to the imperial court. Lord Howard of Effingham was joined in commiſſion with Thirleby, biſhop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton, plenipotentiaries for negotiating a peace. Sir Henry Killigrew went to Germany, to aſſure the proteſtant princes of the queen's affection. Karne, who was ſtill at Rome, where he had been reſident ever ſince the death of Edward VI, had orders to notify to the pope, Mary's death and Elizabeth's acceſſion to the crown [e]. The kings of Sweden and Denmark had the ſame notifications.

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[a] Biſhop's Hatfield, then a royal palace, and exchanged by king James I. with Robert earl of Saliſbury, for Theobald's.

[b] All the biſhops went and met her at Highgate. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 374.

[c] And at the ſame time ſhe took care of ſecuring all the ports, and the Tower of London; ordered a new commiſſion to be ſent to Thomas Ratcliff, earl of Suſſex, lord lieutenant of Ireland, who had kept that mutinous country quiet, only with three hundred and twenty horſe, and eight hundred and ſixty foot; and alſo, that the judges patents ſhould be renewed; new juſtices and ſheriffs appointed in every county; no bills of exchange be ſent beyond ſea; and that preachers ſhould not meddle with controverted points. Camden, p. 369. Compl. Hiſt.

[d] William Brooke.

Burnet.

She forms a council with ſome proteſtants in it; with whom ſhe conſults how to reſtore the reformation.

These envoys being diſpatched, the queen formed a council, in which ſhe left thirteen of Mary's counſellors, all zealous Roman catholicks, to whom ſhe added eight new ones, equally attached to the proteſtant religion [f]. With ſome of theſe ſhe ſecretly conſulted about the means to reſtore the reformation in England. But before I ſpeak of the reſult of the conſultations, a new project of the king of Spain muſt briefly be mentioned.

Philip deſires to marry Elizabeth, but is rejected. Camden. Burnet.

When this prince received the news of the death of his queen, whether on account of Elizabeth's inclination to the proteſtant religion, or by her marrying ſome prince of that religion against which he had himſelf openly declared, he looked upon England as loſt to him. He was not even without fear, that the king of France aſſerting the queen of Scotland's claim upon England, would ſeize that kingdom, and unite it as well as Scotland and Ireland to the French monarchy. Wherefore, to free himſelf from theſe fears, and preſerve the advantages of his alliance with England, he ſent inſtructions to the Condé de Feria (lately arrived at London, to pay his compliments to the deceaſed queen) to congratulate Elizabeth on her acceſſion, and propoſe his deſign of uniting himſelf with her in marriage. Elizabeth received the offer with marks of a particular eſteem for the king of Spain, but objected their affinity as an impediment to their marriage. This objection was foreſeen, and immediately replied to by the ambaſſador, That his maſter would undertake to procure the pope's diſpenſation. The queen not caring to expreſs her little regard of ſuch a diſpenſation, civilly diſmiſſed the ambaſſador to have time ſeriouſly to conſider of the propoſal.

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[e] The haughty pope told Karne, That England was held in fee of the apoſtolick ſee, and Elizabeth could not ſucceed, being illegitimate, That it was great boldneſs in her to aſſume the crown without his conſent; for which reaſon ſhe deſerved no favour at his hands: but if ſhe would renounce her pretenſions, and refer herſelf wholly to him, he would ſhew a fatherly affection to her. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 374.

[f] The Roman catholick counſellors, continued in the new council, were, Heath archbiſhop of York, William Paulet marquis of Wincheſter, lord high treaſurer, Henry Fitz Alan earl of Arundel, Francis Talbot earl of Shrewſbury, Edward Stanley earl of Derby, William Herbert earl of Pembroke, Edward Fynes baron of Clinton, lord high admiral, William lord Howard of Effingham, lord chamberlain, ſir Thomas Cheney, ſir William Petre, ſir John Maſon, ſir Richard Sackvil, Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury. Moſt of theſe had complied with all the changes that had been made in religion, backward and forward, ſince the latter end of king Henry's reign, and were ſo dextrous at it, that they were ſtill employed in every new revolution. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 375.--- To theſe were added, all proteſtants, William Parr marquis of Northampton, Francis Ruſſel earl of Bedford, ſir Thomas Parry, ſir Edward Rogers, ſir Ambroſe Cave, ſir Francis Knolles, ſir William Cecil, and a little after, ſir Nicholas Bacon, made keeper of the great ſeal. Camden.

Her reaſons for the refuſal of the offer.

Three principal reaſons hindered her from accepting Philip's offer. Firſt, her perſuaſion that ſuch marriages were contrary to the law of God, and her father's example in a parallel caſe reminded her of her duty. Secondly, nothing was more contrary to her intention of openly profeſſing and reſtoring the proteſtant religion in England, as eſtabliſhed in the reign of Edward VI. Laſtly, to make uſe of a diſpenſation to marry a brother-in-law, would have been an acknowledgment of the invalidity of her father's divorce with Catherine of Arragon, and of her own illegitimacy. If Paul IV. could grant ſuch a diſpenſation, Julius II. might have granted the ſame to Henry VIII. to marry Catherine of Arragon; from whence it neceſſarily followed, that Henry's ſecond marriage with Ann Boleyn was null.

Her reaſons to keep in terms of friendſhip with Philip. Camden.

But, on the other hand, Elizabeth had ſtrong reaſons to preſerve the king of Spain's friendſhip. To him ſhe owed her life, or at leaſt her not being excluded by her ſiſter from the ſucceſſion. Mary would never have left Elizabeth in a condition of one day mounting the throne, if the intereſt and ſollicitations of the king her huſband had not ſtrongly reſiſted her zeal for her religion. In the ſecond place, Elizabeth was informed that the king of France was uſing all his credit at Rome to have her declared illegitimate, in order to procure the crown of England for his daughter-in-law the queen of Scotland. Laſtly, England was in a very ill ſtate. The loſs of Calais, Guiſnes, and Hames, the crown-debts contracted by Henry VIII. and increaſed by the guardians of Edward VI. and an exhauſted treaſury, gave Elizabeth juſt cauſe to fear ſhe ſhould be unable to oppoſe a vigorous attack. To this may be added, ſhe was engaged in a war with France and Scotland, unſupported by any other alliance than that of Spain, ſo unmindful had Mary been of every thing where religion was not concerned. Her buſineſs therefore was to end theſe two wars with honour; but this was not to be done without Philip's aſſiſtance, and conſequently it was not proper to give him any juſt cauſe of complaint, for fear of his deſerting England in the negotiation of peace. Theſe reflections threw the queen into great perplexity. She was fully reſolved to refuſe the king of Spain's propoſal, but was uneaſy about the manner. Though ſhe alledged ſcruples of conſcience, it did not free her from the importunities of the Condé de Feria, who perſiſted that a diſpenſation from the pope was more than ſufficient to remove them. He told her likewiſe, that as his maſter had made this overture purely from his extraordinary eſteem for her, he would be the more diſpleaſed if it was rejected. At laſt, the queen being thus preſſed, found no ſurer or readier way to extricate herſelf out of the difficulty, than by haſtening the execution of her deſign to make a change in religion, not doubting that this once effected, the king of Spain would ceaſe his importunities.

She determines to reſtore the reformation. Camden.

This reſolution being taken, ſhe cauſed to be examined before her cabinet council, the proper methods to execute it, the inconveniencies it might be attended with, and the means to prevent them. The greateſt obſtacles to the affair were to ariſe either at home or abroad. At home, from the great number of catholicks and the oppoſition of the biſhops and inferior clergy. Abroad, from the pope, who in all likelihood would thunder his cenſures againſt the queen, and expoſe the kingdom a prey to the firſt invader. Hence it was to be feared, that the kings of France and Spain would uſe that pretence to make war upon the Engliſh as excommunicated hereticks, and to ſtir up Scotland, which was entirely directed by the king of France. Upon the inconveniencies at home, it was conſidered that though the kingdom appeared wholly catholick, it was far from being really ſo. That the fear of puniſhment ceaſing, the greateſt part of the people were manifeſtly inclined to return to the religion which they had been forced to forſake in the laſt reign; but, however, it would not be very difficult to have a parliament favourable to the queen's intentions, by employing means which rarely fail of ſucceſs, when uſed with diſcretion. That for this purpoſe, the magiſtrates of the counties and towns were to be removed, and proteſtants put in their places, who would cauſe their credit and authority to have ſuch repreſentatives returned, as were proper for the execution of the intended deſign. Laſtly, That it was abſolutely neceſſary not to leave any zealous catholick in the council, or in any other office which influenced the ſubject: That when the reformation ſhould be once eſtabliſhed by publick authority, it would be eaſy to ſubdue the clergy, by depriving the biſhops and moſt obſtinate eccleſiaſticks, and by removing in the univerſities the maſters and profeſſors who were moſt averſe to the new eſtabliſhment.

A conſultation to reſtore the reformed religion. Camden.

Burnet, t. ii. p. 377. Collect. p. 327.

As for the obſtacles from abroad, it was conſidered, that the pope was not formidable in himſelf, and his thunders were thrown away upon thoſe who deſpiſed them: That a contempt of him was the ready way to conquer, provided the kingdom was put in a poſture of defence: That indeed it was to be feared the king of France would aſſert the claim of the queen of Scotland, but that the king of Spain was too wiſe to ſuffer ſo great an acceſſion to the monarchy of France, as England and Ireland: That from whatever quarter the miſchief came, whether from France or Spain, Henry and Philip would always be jealous of each other, and the aſſiſtance of one of them might be ſafely relied on: That if the king of France offered peace, it ought to be embraced on any terms, as Scotland would be included in the league; but if he was for continuing the war, all the danger would be, his powerfully aſſiſting the Scots to invade England: That therefore, the northern frontiers were to be ſecured, after which a good fleet would ſo endanger any ſuccours ſent to France, that without doubt that kingdom would ſoon grow weary of ſo burthenſome a war: That beſides, it was unlikely that Philip, in the negotiation of peace, would abandon England to the king of France's ambition: That a peace thus concluded with France and Scotland would afford time at leaſt to provide againſt their attacks [g].

The queen ſummons a parliament. Camden.

Such was the reſult of this council, after which the queen ſummoned a parliament to meet the 23d of January, according to the reſolution taken therein. At the ſame time, doctor Parker was intruſted with the care of reviſing the liturgy of Edward VI, and was ordered to communicate his labours only to ſome choſen perſons [h]. Mean time, the proteſtants growing impatient, and preaching publickly in ſeveral places, the queen took occaſion to publiſh a proclamation, which

Puts out a proclamation relating to religion. Camden. Burnet.

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[g] Beal, clerk of the council, gave this advice, to ſir William Cecil, whilſt the conſultation was held about reforming religion: That the parliaments under queen Mary ſhould be declared void, as the firſt was under a force; and the title of ſupreme head was left out in the ſummons to the next, before it was taken away by law; from whence he inferred, that theſe had been no true parliaments, and conſequently the laws of Edward were ſtill in force; but this propoſal was rejected. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 376.

[h] The perſons employed in this reviſal were, according to Camden, Dr. Matthew Parker, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr. Richard Cox, afterwards biſhop of Ely, Dr. May, Dr. Bill, Dr. James Pilkington, afterwards biſhop of Durham, ſir Thomas Smith, Mr. David Whitehead, Mr. Edmund Grindal, afterwards biſhop of London, and then archbiſhop of Canterbury. The management of this affair, and the care to have it done, was left to William Parr marquis of Northampton, Francis Ruſſel earl of Bedford, John Grey of Pyrgo, and ſir William Cecil. Camden, p. 341.

clearly ſhowed her intentions.[1] She allowed the goſpels and epiſtles, with the Lord's prayer, creed, litany, and ten commandments, to be read in Engliſh, but forbid all preaching on controverſial ſubjects, or any change in the Romiſh rites, till it ſhould be otherwiſe appointed by the parliament. In this ſhe followed the ſteps of the deceaſed queen.

Queen Mary buried. Camden.

Queen Mary's funeral, which was ſolemnized with great pomp, finiſhed this year[i]. But before we proceed to the events of the next, it is neceſſary to deſcribe the affairs of the neighbouring ſtates.

Affairs of France and Spain. Mezerai. Thuanus. Burnet.

The war between France and Spain was manifeſtly drawing to a concluſion. The two kings, equally weary of a war from which neither could expect any advantage, had kept their armies all the campaign in a ſtate of inaction, for fear of obſtructing a peace. At laſt the conſtable of Montmorency, who had been priſoner in the Low Countries ever ſince the battle of St. Quintin, having made ſome overtures of peace to Philip, the principal articles were ſettled; after which, the two kings ſent their plenipotentiaries to Cercamp, and then to Cambray. The principal obſtacle to a peace was the king of France's reſolution to keep Calais, and Philip and Mary's inſiſting upon its being reſtored. But Mary dying, Philip no longer ſupported the intereſts of England with the ſame ardour as before, at leaſt when he deſpaired of marrying Elizabeth. It was that expectation which cauſed him to ſtand out ſome time, and delay the concluſion of the peace till the following year.

Death of Charles V. Strada.

The 14th of March, Ferdinand I. was declared emperor by the voluntary reſignation of Charles V. his brother, who enjoyed but two years the repoſe he had choſen in relinquiſhing the care of his worldly concerns. He died the 17th of September[k].

Affairs of Scotland.

As Scotland is to afford materials for great part of Elizabeth's hiſtory, a very particular account muſt be given of the affairs of that kingdom. Without an accurate knowledge of what paſſed in Scotland, Elizabeth's conduct and policy cannot be underſtood.

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[i] She was buried on December 13, in Henry VII's chapel, on the north ſide of that king's monument. Stow, p. 635.---- White biſhop of Wincheſter preached the funeral ſermon, in which he applauded the late reign, and lamented the preſent ſtate of affairs with ſuch freedom, that it was proper to ſhew ſome reſentment, and accordingly he was confined to his houſe till the meeting of the parliament. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 378.

[k] Rapin by miſtake ſays, he lived but ſix months after his reſignation. He reſigned his Spaniſh dominions, October 25, 1555, and the empire, January 17, 1556, and died September 20, 1558. Strada, l. 1.

Eliz. 1558.

Buchanan.

The queen dowager of Scotland, mother of the queen dauphineſs, obtained the regency of that kingdom by the intereſt of the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorrain her brothers, but was ſupported only by the proteſtants. The earl of Arran, chief of the houſe of Hamilton, had unwillingly reſigned the regency, though his reſignation procured him the dutchy of Chaterault in France [l]; with twelve thouſand livres a year in land. The archbiſhop of St. Andrew's his natural brother inceſſantly blamed his imprudence, and by his cabals amongſt the clergy gave diſturbance to the regent. To break the meaſures of this prelate, ſhe turned to the proteſtants, who were now grown conſiderable. This method ſucceeded, but withal ſhe was obliged to connive at the meetings of the proteſtants, and this indulgence greatly increaſed their number and ſtrength.

Melvil's Memoirs.

Things remained in this ſtate till the breach between France and Spain. As England eſpouſed the cauſe of Philip II, and the regent of Scotland could not poſſibly induce the Scots to declare war with Mary, ſhe adviſed the king of France to haſten the dauphin's marriage with the young queen, and accordingly it was ſolemnized in April 1558. This gave a conſiderable turn to the affairs of Scotland. The clergy, knowing how the court of France ſtood affected to the followers of the new religion, did not queſtion to be ſupported in their attempt to reduce the proteſtants within the pale of the Romiſh church. On the other hand, the regent no longer wanting the proteſtants, began to look more coldly on them. To begin the work, the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's having ſummoned before him an aged prieſt [m], who had diſcontinued the maſs, ordered him to be burnt alive in his archiepiſcopal city; to the great grief and diſcontent of the inhabitants. This eſſay being made, the biſhops cited a miniſter called Paul Meſſan, with deſign to make him ſuffer the ſame puniſhment, but as they ſaw the people began to be moved, the trial was deferred to another opportunity. Some time after, a proceſſion annually made at Edinburgh [n] raiſed a ſort of commotion, which ſhowed that the proteſtants were not afraid to appear. The regent had a farther conviction, when ſhe was told that Meſſan, condemned for non-appearance, was openly protected in the county of Fiſe. Theſe were as preludes to what was to follow. In fine, ſome gentlemen of Fiſe and

Buchanan.

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[l] In Poitou.

[m] His name was Walter Mills, who was cited before the biſhops, abbots, and divines. Buchanan, l. 16.

[n] September 1, St. Giles's day, whom the inhabitants of Edinburgh honour as their patron. Buchan. l. 16.

Eliz. 1558.

Burnet, tom. ii. p. 281-287. Collect. p. 278-288.

Buchanan.

and Angus, diſperſing themſelves through the counties, encouraged the proteſtants to ſtand upon their defence, and not ſuffer their lives to be taken away on pretence of religion, demonſtrating to them that their number was greater in Scotland than that of the catholicks. This occaſioned an aſſociation under the hands and ſeals of the aſſociators, and was the firſt that was formed in Scotland in defence of the new religion. The proteſtants perceiving themſelves ſtronger ſince the aſſociation, which was called the congregation, ſent to the regent a petition, that the worſhip of God might be in the vulgar tongue, and the communion given in both kinds, which was ſtrongly oppoſed by the biſhops. But the regent being told, that an abſolute refuſal might throw all Scotland into a flame, ſhe endeavoured to ſoften the biſhops, by a promiſe of her protection at a more ſeaſonable juncture. Mean time, ſhe permitted the proteſtants to celebrate divine ſervice in their own tongue, provided this was done without tumults or publick aſſemblies in Edinburgh and Leith [o]. But the clergy not liking this politick circumſpection of the regent, met together to conſult upon the affair, and reſolved to proſecute the hereticks with the extremeſt rigour. The proteſtants deputed John Areſkin, afterwards earl of Mar, to the biſhops aſſembled, to demand of them that divine ſervice might be performed in the vulgar tongue; but this was unanimouſly rejected. Such was the ſituation of the affairs in Scotland, when Elizabeth aſcended the throne of England, and till the end of the year 155[illegible].

1559.

Several peers created. Camden. Stow. Act. Pub. xv. p. 495, 496.

In the beginning of the following year, Elizabeth conferred honours on ſome perſons whom ſhe was pleaſed to diſtinguiſh, whether on account of their merit, or becauſe ſhe expected ſome important ſervices from them. William Parr, marquis of Northamption, who had been ſentenced to death in the reign of Mary and afterwards pardoned, was reſtored to his honours. Edward Seymour, eldeſt ſon of the late duke of Somerſet, was created earl of Hertford, notwithſtanding all the precautions of the duke his father, to cauſe his titles to deſcend to the children of his ſecond marriage [p]. Thomas

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[o] Buchanan and Melvil differ in relation to the time when this toleration was granted to the reformed. Rapin.

[p] Rapin here is entirely miſtaken, for this Edward Seymour was his eldeſt ſon by his ſecond wife lady Ann Stanhope, on whoſe iſſue he procured an act to ſettle the titles and eſtate, and not Edward Seymour his eldeſt ſurviving ſon by his firſt wife Catherine Fittol, who was diſinherited to gratify the pride and ambition of his laſt wife, and never enjoyed any title. It is not unworthy notice, that upon the extinction of the youngeſt line of this family by the ſecond marriage in 1750, the eldeſt branch ſeated

Eliz.
1559.

mas Howard, ſecond ſon of the duke of Norfolk, was created viſcount Bindon. Henry Carey, the queen's couſin [q], and Oliver St. John, were raiſed to the dignity of barons. All theſe peers were proteſtants, and conſequently very proper to promote the queen's deſigns in the houſe of lords.

The queen's coronation. Camden. Burnet. Stow. Hollingſh.

Theſe promotions being over, the queen was crowned in Weſtminſter abbey [r], with the uſual ceremonies. The ſee of Canterbury being vacant, this office belonged to the archbiſhop of York, but he, with the other biſhops, refuſed to aſſiſt at the ſolemnity, becauſe Elizabeth by proclamation, and by admitting into her council, men who paſſed not for good catholicks, had ſufficiently declared againſt the church of Rome. Oglethorp of Carliſle was the only biſhop that at laſt was perſuaded to do the office, notwithſtanding the murmurs of his brethren. It ſeems that the biſhops thought the miniſtry of a biſhop ſo eſſential to a coronation, that, in refuſing to perform the ceremony, they could deprive the queen of her dignity.

The parliament meets, and is opened by a ſpeech of Bacon, keeper of the great ſeal. Sir S. D'Ewe's Journ. p. 11.

The parliament meeting the 25th of January [s], ſir Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great ſeal [t], opened it with a ſpeech, in which he diſplayed the merits of the new queen, with ſevere reflections on the late miniſtry for the loſs of Calais. He told them, that the queen deſired an immediate application to the affairs of religion; that a diſunion in that reſpect was one of the evils which called for the moſt ſpeedy redreſs. He exhorted the parliament to proceed between the two extremes of ſuperſtition and irreligion, which might reunite the adherents of both religions in the ſame publick worſhip.

ſeated at Maiden-Bradley, Wilts, deſcended from the laſt mentioned Edward ſo diſinherited, ſucceeded to the dukedom of Somerſet, after having been excluded full two hundred years.

[q] Her couſin-german by Mary Boleyn.

[r] January 14. Stow, p. 635. The 15th, ſays Sandford, p. 509; and the 25th, according to Hollingſh. p. 1180. But it appears from Rymer's Fœd. that it was on the 15th. A patent was granted to Henry Fitz-Alan earl of Arundel, to perform the office of high conſtable on the day before the coronation, and the office of high ſteward on the coronation-day. Rymer, tom. xv. p. 494, 495.

[s] It met the 23d, and was prorogued to the 25th.

[t] He was the firſt that was by patent created lord keeper. Formerly thoſe that were keepers of the ſeal, had no dignity nor authority annexed to their office; they did not hear cauſes, nor preſide in the houſe of lords, but were only to put the ſeals to ſuch writs or patents as went in courſe; and ſo the ſeal was only put in the hands of the keeper, but for ſome ſhort interval. But now Bacon was the firſt lord keeper that had all the dignity and authority of lord chancellor conferred on him. He was father to the great ſir Francis Bacon, viſcount St. Alban's, and was one of the moſt learned, moſt pious, and wiſeſt men of the nation. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 380.

Dr. Burnet has ſo largely deſcribed in his hiſtory the manner of reſtoring the reformation in England by the parliament, that I believe I may be excuſed deſcending to particulars, and the more, as this ſubject chiefly relates to church hiſtory. I ſhall content myſelf therefore with only pointing to the acts made in this ſeſſion, to ſpare the reader the trouble of turning over his hiſtory. I ſhall however obſerve, that this author ſeems to have been miſtaken in placing the acts (moſt of which were made in February and March) after the peace, which was not concluded till April. But this is not very material.

Tenths and firſt-fruits reſtored to the crown. Statut.

At firſt, to try how the parliament was inclined, a motion was made in the lower houſe for reſtoring to the crown the tenths, firſt-fruits, and impropriations, ſurrendered by queen Mary. This motion was immediately approved; and the houſe of lords conſented to it, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the biſhops [u].

The commons addreſs the queen to marry. Her anſwer.

The 4th of February, the houſe of commons addreſſed the queen in a very dutiful manner, and repreſented to her how neceſſary it was for the happineſs of the nation, that ſhe ſhould think of marrying. The queen graciouſly thanked the commons, and told them how much ſhe was pleaſed that they had neither limited time nor place. She added, that by the ceremony of her inauguration, ſhe was married to her people, and her ſubjects were to her inſtead of children: they would not want a ſucceſſo[illegible] when ſhe died; and, for her part, ſhe would be well contente[illegible] the marble ſhould tell poſterity, HERE LIES A QUEEN THAT REIGNED SO LONG, AND LIVED AND DIED A VIRGIN.

An act to recognize the queen's right to the crown. Burnet. t. ii. p. 325. Camden. Ann. p. 372.

Some days after, the lords paſſed a bill to recognize Elizabeth for lawful queen, in virtue of an act of the 35th of Henry VIII. Some thought it ſtrange that the ſentence of her mother's divorce, and the ſubſequent act declaring Elizabeth illegitimate, were not annulled. Camden ſays, this omiſſion was with deſign, and Burnet reports the reaſons which determined the houſe of lords to be ſilent on this point. The firſt was, that the poſſeſſion of the crown purged all defects, according to a received maxim when Henry VII. mounted the throne. But this reaſon had not appeared ſufficient to Mary, who was in the ſame caſe with Elizabeth, and yet had procured a repeal of that act, which declared her illegitimate. The ſecond reaſon was, that this act could not be repealed, without caſting ſome diſhonour on the memory of Henry VIII, and it was the queen's intereſt rather to conceal than publickly expoſe her father's weakneſs. I own this reaſon appears to me very unſatisfactory. For why was the reputation of Henry VIII. to be ſpared, if it could not be done without endangering the ſafety of the reigning queen? Beſides, it was not expoſing faults which till then had been concealed, but faults known to all the world. The third reaſon was, that too ſcrupulous an inquiry on this head, would render the queen's right more uncertain inſtead of making it leſs diſputable. This probably was the prevailing reaſon, though to ſuffer the ſentence and act to ſubſiſt ſeems to have been equally dangerous. It was eſtabliſhing a precedent in favour of baſtards, which might have ill conſequences. And who knows but it may ſtill affect future ages? Beſides, this regard for the honour of Henry left an eternal blot upon the memory of Elizabeth. At leaſt her enemies, and particularly the queen of Scotland, were thereby furniſhed with a plauſible pretence to wreſt the ſcepter from her, if a favourable opportunity offered. Dr. Burnet thinks the conduct of this parliament equally pious and wiſe. I allow the firſt: but the continued endeavours to dethrone Elizabeth, wholly founded on the ſentence of her mother's divorce and the ſubſequent act, will not permit me to believe it wiſdom to leave them unrepealed.

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[u] This bill was read in the houſe of lords, January 30, 31, and February 4; and in the houſe of commons, February 6, 17, and 21. The biſhops that oppoſed it were, Heath archbiſhop of York, Bonner biſhop of London, Pates of Worceſter, Kitching of Landaff, Bayne of Coventry, Turbeville of Exeter, Scot of Cheſter, Oglethorp of Carliſle. D'Ewes's Journ. p. 19.

The act to recognize the queen's title being paſſed, the parliament turned to the affairs of religion, and made divers ſtatutes, which I ſhall but juſt mention.

Acts concerning religion. Camden. Burnet.

The firſt appointed the publick worſhip to be performed in the vulgar tongue [w].

The ſecond, reſtored the queen to her right of ſupremacy in the church of England.

The third renewed and confirmed all the acts made in the reign of Edward VI. concerning religion. And in this many others were included.

The fourth reſtored to the queen the nomination of the biſhops. By this ſtatute likewiſe many others were confirmed, made in the reign of Henry VIII. againſt the pope. The queen was empowered to put the exerciſe of her ſupremacy into what hands ſhe ſhould think proper. Moreover, all perſons in publick employments were obliged to ſwear, that ‘ they acknowledged the queen to be the ſupreme go‐ ‘ vernor in all cauſes, as well eccleſiaſtical as temporal; that ‘ they renounced all foreign juriſdiction, and ſhould bear the ‘ queen true allegiance.’ Whoſoever refuſed this oath was declared incapable of holding any publick office. Laſtly, divers penalties were enacted againſt any, who by word or writing tended to ſet forth or advance any foreign power in the kingdom.

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[w] And accordingly it began to be ſo on May 8, which was Whitſunday. Stow, p. 639.

The fifth act eſtabliſhed uniformity in divine worſhip [x].

By a ſixth, the parliament empowered the queen to reſerve to herſelf the lands belonging to the biſhopricks, as they became void, giving in lieu of them their full value in impropriated tythes.

By a ſeventh act, all religious houſes were annexed to the crown.

By an eighth, the deprivation of popiſh biſhops in king Edward's reign was declared valid.

In a word, the parliament in this ſeſſion reſtored religion to the ſame ſtate as in Edward VI's reign; and after a grant of a ſubſidy, two tenths, and two fifteenths, with tunnage and poundage for the queen's life, it was diſſolved the 8th of May [y].

Some oppoſition made by popiſh biſhops and lords.
Burnet.

Among the biſhops then in England, ſome there were who had complied with all the changes in religion ſince Henry's breach with the pope. Of t[illegible]mber were, Heath archbiſhop of York, Tonſtal biſhop of Durham, Thirleby biſhop of Ely, and ſome others. Theſe choſe to abſent themſelves from the parliament, becauſe, as they ſaw the queen's intention, they durſt neither openly oppoſe it, nor aſſiſt in reſtoring the reformation, after ſo publick a deſertion of it in the laſt reign. Both appeared to them equally incommodious. Other biſhops ſtrongly oppoſed theſe acts, but with no ſucceſs. Some of the lay-peers alſo endeavoured to ſtem the torrent, and even entered their proteſts, but their number was very ſmall. To ſay all in a word, the ſame thing happened in this as in the parliament under Henry, Edward, and Mary, that is, the court cauſed to be enacted almoſt whatever they

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[x] The diſſentients from it were, the archbiſhop of York, the marquis of Wincheſter, the earl of Shrewſbury, the viſcount Montague; the biſhops of London, Ely, Worceſter, Landaff, Coventry, Exeter, and Cheſter; the lords Morley, Stafford, Dudley, Wharton, Rich, and North. D'Ewes, p. 28.

[y] This parliament granted the queen a ſubſidy of 2 s. 8 d. in the pound of goods, and 4 s. of lands, to be paid at two ſeveral payments. They alſo granted her two tenths, and two fifteenths, and tunnage and poundage for life, as they were granted to Edward VI. and Mary. Stevens. Stow, p. 639.

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pleaſed. This is not very ſtrange with regard to the houſe of commons, where the members may be changed every new parliament; but the readineſs wherewith the houſe of lords conſented, one while to acts favouring the reformation, another while to thoſe eſtabliſhing the Romiſh religion, is much more ſurpriſing.

The high commiſſion erected. Burnet.

The ſupremacy with which the queen was lately inveſted, with power to depute any perſons to exerciſe it in her name, gave riſe to a new court, called the High Commiſſion Court. It was compoſed of a certain number of commiſſioners, who exerciſed the ſame power, which had been formerly lodged by Henry VIII. in a ſingle perſon, with the title of Vicegerent.

The queen forbids to preach without licence. Burnet.

While the parliament was taken up with affairs of religion, ſome preachers having in divers places delivered doctrines from the pulpit, tending to overthrow the reformation, the queen, following the precedent ſet her by Edward and Mary, forbid all preaching without a ſpecial licence under the great ſeal. This fired the lower houſe of convocation, and produced a petition to the queen, in which were boldly aſſerted the doctrines of the church of Rome. This gave occaſion to a propoſition for a conference between nine doctors on each ſide to examine the reaſons of both.

A conference on religion comes to nothing. Fox, t. iii. p. 979, &c. Burnet. t. ii. p. 388. Stow.

The conference was held the beginning of April. But the Roman catholicks reflecting, that they had undertaken more than they could anſwer, in thus bringing the doctrines of their religion into queſtion without being authorized by the pope, refuſed to give their reaſons in writing, though that had been agreed. At laſt, they plainly declared, it was not in their power to diſpute on points already decided [z]. They had not been ſo ſcrupulous in the reign of Mary, becauſe then the ſucceſs of the conference was known beforehand. This gave the proteſtants cauſe to triumph, and pretend that their adverſaries durſt not enter the liſts.

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[z] The points to be diſcuſſed in this conference were, worſhip in an unknown tongue, the power of particular churches to alter rites and ceremonies, and the propitiatory ſacrifice in the maſs. The conference was begun the 31ſt of March in Weſtminſter abbey, before the privy-council, both houſes of parliament, and infinite crouds of people. The proteſtant diſputants were, Storye, biſhop of Chicheſter, Cox, Whitehead, Grindall, Horne, Sands, Gueſt, Ailmer, and Jewel. And the popiſh were, the biſhops of Wincheſter, Lincoln, Carliſle, Cheſter, Coventry and Litchfield, Cole dean of St. Paul's, Langdal archdeacon of Lewes; Harpsfield archdeacon of Canterbury, and Chedſey archdeacon of Middleſex. The biſhops of Wincheſter and Lincoln, ſeeing their cauſe in great danger, ſaid, that the faith of the church ought not to be examined but in a ſynod of divines.—That the queen and council ought to be excommunicated, for ſuffering the catholick faith to be argued before an unlearned multitude. Fox, t. iii. p. 979, &c.

To

The number of clergymen who refuſed to comply with the reformation. Camden. Burnet. Act. Pub. xv. p. 543, 562, 582.

To finiſh what I have to ſay at preſent on religion, I ſhall only add that the reformation having been eſtabliſhed by publick authority, of 9400 beneficed clergymen in the kingdom, only fourteen biſhops [a], twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, fifty canons, and about eighty parochial prieſts, choſe to quit their preferments rather than their religion. Their places being filled with proteſtants, England became entirely reformed, very ſhortly after having ſeen the reformed ſent to the flames. It is now time to return to political affairs.

Elizabeth's reaſons for peace with France. Camden. Mezerai.

While Philip had any hopes of marrying Elizabeth, his plenipotentiaries, aſſembled with thoſe of England and France at Cateau in Cambreſis, inſiſted upon the reſtitution of Calais to the crown of England. But when his expectations were diſappointed by the change in England with regard to religion, he deſerted Elizabeth and made a ſeparate peace, or at leaſt ſettled with France the principal articles. It is pretended that in the treaty, by which France reſigned 198 places to Spain or her allies in exchange for three only, there was a ſecret article of a mutual promiſe between the two kings to extirpate hereticks. This done, the Spaniards, from parties, as they were before, became mediators between France and England. But they acted ſo faintly, that it was plain they did not much concern themſelves in Elizabeth's affairs. Philip's defection therefore obliged the queen to conclude a peace on any terms, the continuation of the war being no way favourable to her affairs, or to the meaſures ſhe was now taking to introduce the reformation in England. By a treaty therefore ſigned the 2d of April, it was agreed,

Act. Pub. xv. p. 505. Camden. Hollingſh.

That the king of France ſhould have Calais and the other places in Picardy conquered upon the Engliſh, eight years; after which, he ſhould be obliged to reſtore them to the queen of England.

That within the ſpace of ſix months, ſeven foreign merchants, not ſubjects of the French king, ſhould engage for the payment of 500,000 crowns of gold to Elizabeth, as a penal fine, in caſe the reſtitution of the places within the time limited, was either refuſed or delayed by Henry or his ſucceſſors. "And that notwithſtanding, whether the ſaid ſum

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[a] Theſe biſhops were, Heath archbiſhop of York, Bonner biſhop of London, Thirleby of Ely, Bourn of Bath and Wells, Chriſtopherſon of Chicheſter, Bain of Litchfield, White of Wincheſter, Watſon of Lincoln, Oglethorpe of Carliſle, Turbevile of Exeter, Pole of Peterborough, Scot of Cheſter, Pates of Worceſter, and Goldwell of St. Aſaph. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 396. By whom they were ſucceeded, ſee Ibid. p. 402, 403. and in Camden, p. 377.

'was paid or not paid, the king of France and his ſucceſſors 'ſhould remain under the obligation to reſtore Calais and the 'other places, as they engaged by this treaty.' Moreover, that the king of France ſhould deliver to the queen, as hoſtages till the promiſed ſecurity was given, Ferry de Foix count of Candale, and Captal of Buch, Lewis de St. Maure marquiſs of Neſle and count of Laval, Gaſton de Foix marquiſs of Trans, Antoine du Prat preſident of the parliament of Paris, and the lord Nantouillet.

A remark upon this article.

Theſe are the expreſs words of the treaty, of which the French hiſtorians give us only the pretended meaning, by turning them after their own manner. Mezerai ſays, 'It was 'covenanted that Henry ſhould either reſtore Calais and the 'other conqueſts, or if he liked it better, the ſum of 500,000 'crowns, which being referred to his opinion, there was no 'doubt he would keep this place, which was the key of his 'kingdom.'

Neither has Father Daniel given us the very terms of the treaty, which perhaps he had never ſeen. He contents himſelf with relating the ſenſe, adding an explication which entirely changes the nature of the treaty. 'Elizabeth (ſays 'this hiſtorian) could not without giving offence to the Engliſh make an abſolute ſurrender of Calais to France. Be'ſides, ſhe ſaw the king determined not to part with it; a 'middle way was therefore taken, which left this prince in 'poſſeſſion of Calais for eight years, at the end of which he 'promiſed to reſtore it, on forfeiture of 500,000 crowns to 'the Engliſh. That notwithſtanding this payment, which 'was to be made on a refuſal or delay of reſtitution, the Engliſh were allowed to uſe force for the recovery of Calais.' By theſe laſt words he explains the ſenſe of thoſe in the original treaty.—— 'That whether the ſum was paid or not 'paid, the king of France and his ſucceſſors ſhould be bound 'to the reſtitution of Calais, as they engaged by the treaty.' This ſhows how we ought to be upon our guard againſt the national partiality of hiſtorians. I ſhall add here upon this article, that Calais never was reſtored, that the 500,000 crowns were never paid, and when Elizabeth demanded Calais at the expiration of the term, the court of France founded their *refuſal* upon ſome generalities, and not upon the treaty itſelf, as they might have done, ſuppoſing what theſe two hiſtorians have related.

Continuation of the treaty of [illegible]

Another article of the treaty was, that neither the king of France, nor the king and queen of Scotland, nor the queen of England, ſhould attempt any thing againſt one another; directly

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directly or indirectly, in prejudice of this treaty. That if the queen of England violated this article, the king of France and the king and queen of Scotland ſhould be freed from their engagements, and their hoſtages and ſecurities be diſcharged. In like manner, if the violation came from the king of France, he ſhould be obliged to reſtore Calais, and the other places, as if the eight years were expired; and if he refuſed to make the reſtitution, the ſecurities and hoſtages ſhould ſtill remain bound.

That the fortifications of Aymouth, and all others made in Scotland ſince the treaty of Boulogne, ſhould be demoliſhed.

That all the other pretenſions of the king of France, of the king and queen of Scotland, and of the queen of England, with all their exceptions, ſhould remain entire, in the expectation that Providence would produce ſome good opportunity to terminate them by a peace.

That the forementioned princes or princeſſes ſhould not afford a retreat or protection to each other's rebels, but reciprocally deliver them to one another.

Treaty with Scotland. Act. Pub. xv. p. 513.

The ſame day a treaty was ſigned between the queen of England and the king and queen of Scotland, of which theſe are the principal articles.

That neither of the parties ſhould attack the dominions now poſſeſſed by the other, neither in perſon or otherwiſe.

That they ſhould give no aid to attack the dominions of one another to any perſon, in whatſoever degree of conſanguinity or affinity he might be related to them, or whatever might be his quality.

That they ſhould not receive or entertain rebels, fugitives, malefactors, &c.

That in three months, the fortifications of Aymouth, and all others erected in Scotland ſince the treaty of 1549, ſhould be razed.

That all other mutual claims and pretenſions ſhould remain entire.

That in two months, commiſſioners ſhould be appointed on both ſides, to ſettle certain articles, concerning which the ambaſſadors of France were not ſufficiently inſtructed.

Ibid. p. 516, 526.

Francis and Mary ratified the treaty the 18th of April, and the 31ſt of May the commiſſioners of the two kingdoms at Upſalinton ſigned a ſecond treaty upon the articles left undecided in the firſt.

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Elizabeth having concluded a peace with France and Scotland with more eaſe and honour than ſhe had reaſon to expect, flattered herſelf ſhe was going to enjoy a ſettled tranquillity. But ſhe quickly perceived, ſhe had little cauſe to triumph. Henry II. had made a peace with her, only becauſe Philip II. who had engaged Mary his queen in the war, was reſolved not to ſign the peace before Elizabeth had concluded her's. It was of little moment to Philip, that ſhe found great advantages in the peace, or the king of France obſerved his treaty with her, provided it appeared to the world that Spain had not deſerted England. This was all he deſired, and probably what facilitated the peace. Henry II. granted no doubt more than he intended to perform, as well to give that ſatiſfaction to the king of Spain, as to diſengage him from the intereſts of England. He ſoon diſcovered he had no other intention.

Henry II. orders the dauphin and his ſpouſe to take the arms of England. Melvil, p. 23. Camden. Buchanan.

Ambaſſadors from France being come to Bruſſels to ſee the peace ſworn, ſecretary Ardoy, who was there from the dauphin king and the queen dauphineſs, gave them the titles of king and queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland. Shortly after, Elizabeth heard that the king of France had ordered Francis and Mary to aſſume the ſame titles and quarter the arms of England in their ſeal, their plate, their furniture, that no one might be ignorant of their pretenſions. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton the Engliſh ambaſſador in France, complained of this uſurpation with great freedom, but the frivolous anſwer to his complaints let him ſee the little regard France had for his miſtreſs. Mezerai ſays, the ambaſſador was told, that this was agreeable to the cuſtom of Germany, where the cadets or younger branches bore the title and arms of the chief of their family[b]. Camden adds, that the court of France pretended, that all princes and princeſſes had a right to bear the arms of their houſe with a bar. But, beſides that Francis and Mary bore them without any ſuch diſtinction, they moreover aſſumed the title of king and queen of England[c]. In ſhort, the court of France being preſſed upon the affair, anſwered the ambaſſador, that the king and queen of Scotland had only taken the arms of England to

The Engliſh ambaſſador makes complaints to no purpoſe. Camden. Mezerai. Melvil.

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[b] Melvil ſays, Throckmorton got but Dutch excuſes; for the French court alledged, that in Dutchland all the princes, brothers, couſins, or children are ſtiled princes, or dukes of that ſame houſe, p. 23.

[c] At the late congreſs, the cardinal of Lorrain told the Spaniſh commiſſioners, "That his niece, the queen of "Scots, was the true and undoubted "queen of England, and that the king "of Spain ought to endeavour to have "Calais put into the hands of his niece, "who was the rightful queen of England." Camden, p. 373.

oblige Elizabeth to quit thoſe of France. To this, Throckmorton replied, that twelve kings of England had carried the arms and title of kings of France, without being obliged by any treaty to quit them. But his reaſons were not heard, and notwithſtanding all his complaints, Francis and Mary ſtill bore the title they had uſurped. Camden affirms, the conſtable of Montmorency by his arguments induced them to relinquiſh it, but aſſuredly he is miſtaken. P. 378. Thus, though the court of France would not openly declare their thoughts of Elizabeth, it was manifeſt ſhe was regarded as a baſtard, and the crown of England was pretended to be devolved upon Mary. Accordingly, Elizabeth did not ſuffer herſelf to be deceived. From that time ſhe conſidered Mary as a dangerous rival, and the princes of Lorrain her uncles, the authors of this uſurpation, as her moſt mortal enemies. The death of Henry, a little after, inſtead of diſcouraging the deſign to place Mary on the throne of England, only gave it freſh vigour. The duke of Guiſe, and the cardinal of Lorrain, governing all under Francis II. ſucceſſor to Henry, never ceaſed inciting the young king to ſend forces into Scotland, to render himſelf abſolute maſter of the kingdom, and then attack Elizabeth from that quarter. But becauſe this project was founded upon the preſent ſituation of the Scotch affairs, it is neceſſary to reſume the recital at the place where I left off the laſt year.

Sequel of the affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

Shortly after the marriage of the young queen with the dauphin, the affairs of Scotland began to be terribly embroiled. The princes of Lorrain having formed the deſign to attack England by Scotland, believed it impracticable till the king and queen were rendered abſolute in their kingdom. They knew, it would be difficult to perſuade the ſtates of Scotland to be the inſtruments of their ambition in making war upon Elizabeth, in order to place the crown of England upon the head of their queen. The number of proteſtants was now ſo conſiderable in Scotland, that they were almoſt maſters in the aſſemblies of the ſtates. Conſequently, it appeared impoſſible to draw them into the project of dethroning a proteſtant queen, (who was eſtabliſhing their religion in England) in order to place a catholick queen on that throne, who would thereby be enabled to deſtroy the reformation in both kingdoms. It was therefore neceſſary to find an excuſe for ſending an army into Scotland to ſtrengthen the catholick party, which probably would be more ready and zealous to favour the enterprize. It was with this view, that they obtained of Henry II. an order to the queen-regent, and to d'Oyſel, com- Melvil, p. 23.

mander of the French and Scots forces in the pay of France, to ſuffer no other religion in Scotland than the Roman catholick [d]. They eaſily foreſaw, this order would produce troubles in Scotland, and furniſh them with a pretence to ſend thither an army.

Melvil. The regent, upon the receit of the order, began to execute it with publiſhing an edict [e] conformable to the king's will, or rather of the two princes his brothers, who, as will hereafter be ſeen, had not diſcovered their whole project to Buchanan. Burnet. the king. The proteſtants, in ſeveral deputations to the queen-regent, repreſented to her the unſeaſonableneſs of rigour, conſidering their number, but ſhe would hearken to nothing. At this time, the city of Perth, alias St. John's-town, having publickly embraced the reformed religion, the regent ſummoned the ſtates to Sterling, and cited thither the reformed miniſters, in order to baniſh them the kingdom by a ſolemn decree [f]. The miniſters appeared at Sterling to defend their cauſe, being attended with infinite crowds of people unarmed, who were come to aſſiſt them in their defence, agreeably to the cuſtom of Scotland [g]. The regent, aſtoniſhed at the ſight, prayed John Areſkin to prevail with the multitudes to retire, promiſing that nothing ſhould be decreed in the ſtates againſt the miniſters. Areſkin ſucceeded, and the miniſters with all their attendants withdrew. But they were no ſooner gone than they were condemned for non-appearance, according to the citation. Areſkin was ſo enraged to be made the queen's inſtrument to deceive the proteſtants, that he reſolved to be revenged. For that purpoſe, he went to the nobility of Strathern, Angus, and Merns, who were aſſembled upon the news of what paſſed at Sterling, and perſuaded them to take up arms.

Buchanan. Burnet. This news being brought to Perth, Knox the miniſter, a celebrated preacher, animated the people by a ſermon, which, while the principal citizens were at dinner, ſent the rabble into the churches, who broke the images and entirely deſtroyed the monaſtery of the Carthuſians. The inhabitants of Cuper immediately followed the example of the people of Perth. The regent vexed to ſee her edict contemned, and willing to prevent the conſequences of this diſobedience, reſolved to chaſtiſe the inhabitants of Perth. To that end, ſhe aſſembled ſome forces, and attended by the earls of Argyle and Athol marched directly to Perth. But approaching the town, ſhe was informed the earl of Glencarne[h] was incamped in the neighbourhood with ſeven thouſand men. This news determined her to offer the earl and his aſſociates certain conditions, which were accepted. Amongſt other articles it was agreed, that the Scotch forces on both ſides ſhould be diſmiſſed, and the French removed at a certain diſtance from Perth[i]: that the queen ſhould be reſpectfully received into the city, and ſuffered to lodge in it ſome days, provided ſhe would make no alterations: laſtly, that the differences concerning religion ſhould be referred to the deciſion of the ſtates. The confederates having diſmiſſed their forces, the regent came to Perth, and entered with ſome Scotch troops in the pay of France, which was conſidered by the confederates as a violation of the treaty[k]. But this was not all they had cauſe to complain of. The regent reſtored the maſs in Perth, and reſolving to make it a place of arms, left a garriſon in the town.

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[d] The pope, emperor, and kings of Spain and France, had then entered into a combination to reduce again the moſt part of Europe to the Roman catholick religion, and to purſue and puniſh with fire and ſword all hereticks who would not condeſcend to the ſame. *Melvil*, p. 23.

[e] A little before Eaſter. Idem, p. 24.

[f] She alſo ordered Patric Ruthen, mayor of Perth, to ſuppreſs all tumults for innovating of religion, who anſwered her, That he had power over the bodies and eſtates of the inhabitants, and thoſe he would take care ſhould do no hurt, but that he had no dominion over their conſciences. Buchan. l. 16.

[g] Criminals were allowed to come to theſe trials attended with their relations and friends. Rapin.

Melvil. Buchanan.

Hence the earl of Argyle and James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, and natural ſon to James V. took occaſion to declare againſt the regent, and levy forces to ſupport the proteſtants. They had ſome time before embraced the reformation, though hitherto they had adhered to the regent. Shortly after, the inhabitants of St. Andrew's and ſome other towns, declaring themſelves proteſtants, committed ſeveral diſorders in the catholick churches. Whereupon the regent aſſembled an army, compoſed of two thouſand French and one thouſand Scots, and giving the command to the duke of Chautelerault ſent him to chaſtiſe the inhabitants of Cuper, who had declared themſelves next after thoſe of Perth. But the duke hearing the confederates were marching with ſuperior forces to give him battle, informed the regent of it, who was then at Falkland. She tried at firſt to amuſe them with new propoſitions, till ſhe had reinforced her army. But the confederates perceiving her artifice, marched to Perth, and became

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[h] Alexander Cunningham.

[i] By the Scotch forces were commonly underſtood the natives which were in the pay of the kingdom; and by the French, not only thoſe forces which were ſent from France, but thoſe Scots likewiſe which were in the pay of France. Rapin.

[k] By reaſon of the equivocal meaning of the term Scotch forces. Rapin.

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maſters of the town in a few days. Afterwards Scone, Sterling, and Linlithgo, were ſecured by them, and as their army daily increaſed, the regent and d'Oyſel were obliged to withdraw to Dunbar.

Melvil, p. 25. Thuanus.

Mean time, the regent had writ to the court of France, that James prior of St. Andrew's was the principal author of the troubles of Scotland, and that, being natural ſon of James V. he deſigned to ſeize the crown. The princes of Lorrain, brothers to the regent, embraced this occaſion to inſinuate to Henry II. that religion was not concerned in the troubles of Scotland, and was only made the pretence to wreſt the crown from the dauphin and the queen his ſpouſe. By this inſinuation, they had inſpired the king with the reſolution of ſending a good army into Scotland, and he had now begun his levies in Germany. But the conſtable of Montmorency having diſcovered the deſign of theſe princes to engage him in very difficult projects, prevailed with him to proceed no farther, till he was more particularly informed of the Scotch troubles. The buſineſs was only to find a perſon in whom the king could confide. The conſtable offered James Melvil, a Scotch gentleman, his domeſtick, and gave him his inſtructions in the preſence of the king himſelf. Theſe inſtructions were, as he ſays himſelf in his Memoirs, " That " the king had been informed by the cardinal of Lorrain, " that James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, pretended, under " colour of religion, to uſurp the kingdom unto himſelf; " and that the king deſired to know certainly, if this was the " ſource from whence the troubles in that kingdom flowed; " or whether Stuart was moved to take up arms only for " conſcience ſake, in defence of his religion, himſelf, his " dependants and aſſociates. In the firſt caſe, the king was " reſolved to hazard his crown, and all that he had, rather " than that the queen his daughter-in-law ſhould be robbed " of her right; and he reſolved to ſend an army to Scotland " for that effect, though he would gladly ſhun the trouble " thereof, if it were poſſible. That in the ſecond caſe, if " it were only religion that moved the Scots, the king would " have no concern in their affairs, but committed their ſouls " unto God, for he had difficulty enough to rule the con" ſciences of Frenchmen. And it was the obedience due " unto their lawful queen, with the body, that the king de" ſired. That finally, he could not perſuade himſelf, that " the Scots had made an inſurrection againſt the regent with" out cauſe, and therefore deſired to know if the regent had " broke her word with them; if ſo, by whom and at whoſe

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“ inſtance. That if d'Oyſel, who was reported to be cholerick, haſty, and too paſſionate, was not acceptable to the Scots, he would ſend ſome other in his room, who, he hoped, ſhould pleaſe them.” This ſhows, the king had been ill informed by the cardinal of Lorrain, to engage him to ſend an army into Scotland, and of this probably the conſtable meant to give him a demonſtration, by the report Melvil was to make him. In effect, Melvil having had a conference with the queen-regent at Falkland, and afterwards with the prior of St. Andrew's, reported to the king, that the prior was ſo far from the thoughts of aſpiring to the crown, that he was ready to baniſh himſelf perpetually out of Scotland on the firſt orders from his majeſty[l]. Melvil, p. 27.

Henry II. being dead before Melvil returned to Paris[m], the confederate Scots prepoſterouſly imagined, there was no farther danger, and moſt of them returned to their homes. The regent and d'Oyſel being informed of it, reſolved to improve this negligence, and marched with ſome troops to Edinburgh, hoping to ſurprize thoſe who remained there. But the duke of Chatelerault and the earl of Morton, knowing the confederates were arming again with all poſſible diligence, waited on the regent, and perſuaded her to conſent to a truce from the 24th of July to the 10th of January. The truce was equally neceſſary to both parties. The confederates wanted to put themſelves in a poſture of defence; and the regent hoped, that in that interval ſhe ſhould receive a powerful aid from her ſon-in-law the king of France. Accordingly, at the ſollicitation of the princes of Lorrain, he immediately ſent her a thouſand foot, with the promiſe of a more conſiderable ſupply. Buchanan. Melvil.

During theſe tranſactions, the earl of Arran, ſon to the duke of Chatelerault, being at the court of France, and receiving notice that he was to be arreſted on ſome pretence, made his eſcape, and came for Scotland. As he was, after the duke his father, next heir to the young queen, he believed, upon ſome well or ill grounded advices, that the duke of Guiſe and cardinal of Lorrain deſigned to ſecure and perhaps murder him, for fear, if the queen died, he ſhould mount the throne, for he had declared himſelf a proteſtant. He was no ſooner in Scotland than he gained his father to the confederates, who put him at their head. Buchanan. Thuanus.

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[l] This is ſupported by the teſtimony of Melvil, and deſtroys what is advanced by Camden, concerning James Stuart, afterwards earl of Murray. Rapin.

[m] He died July 10. Rapin.

Mean

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Mean time, the regent and d'Oyſel were buſy in fortifying Leith, and ſtoring it with all ſorts of proviſions, deſigning to make it a place of arms, and to expect there the ſupplies that were to come from France. The confederates pretended this to be a breach of the truce, whether they proceeded upon ſome general maxim, or on ſome particular articles of the late treaty. However, after ſome fruitleſs complaints to the regent, they aſſembled their forces, and marched to beſiege Leith. But as they ſuffered themſelves to be amuſed for ſome time, they came too late, and finding the place in a ſtate of defence, deſiſted from the ſiege. Shortly after, the regent having received a new ſupply of two thouſand men commanded by La Broſſe, continued the fortifications of Leith, with greater application than ever. The confederates once more deſire her to give over the work: but were not heard. As ſhe ſaw herſelf ſufficiently ſtrong, ſhe only anſwered by ſending a herald with an order to lay down their arms. Their indignation to be thus deceived by the regent, induced them at laſt to publiſh, that they would treat as enemies all that obeyed her orders. But they were little able to make good this bravado. Buchanan. The regent, knowing they were at Edinburgh in ſmall number, marched the beginning of November with all her forces to attack them, and ſo ſurprized them by her Camden. unexpected arrival, that they deſerted Edinburgh, and retired to Sterling. When they were there, they ſent William Maitland of Lidington to Elizabeth, to deſire her aſſiſtance, without which they ſaw they ſhould be infallibly oppreſſed. The French troops ſtill continuing to purſue them, obliged them alſo to quit Sterling, and retire to the mountains, where they divided in two bodies to embaraſs their enemies, who gave them no reſt. Some time after, they received letters from William Maitland, giving them hopes of a good ſucceſs of his negotiation. Such was the origin of the Scotch troubles, on which I have been forced to enlarge, the better to ſhow the concern Elizabeth was to have in them, ſince ſhe was their principal object. As this is a material point in her hiſtory, and as upon the knowledge of the deſigns formed againſt her repoſe ſhe regulated her conduct, I ought to ſupport this truth by the teſtimony of a French hiſtorian, who cannot be ſuſpected in the affair. Father Daniel thus expreſſes himſelf in the reign of Francis II.

Hiſtoire de France, tom. viii.

"I obſerved, that before the conſpiracy of Amboiſe broke " out, la Renaudie had been ſent by the admiral into Eng- " land, to engage Elizabeth to make a diverſion in Scotland, "while the Calviniſtical party revolted in France, and ſhe knew her intereſt too well to neglect ſo favourable an opportunity of kindling or fomenting a civil war in the two kingdoms. Whatever care ſhe had taken to bridle the catholicks of her kingdom, ſhe was always apprehenſive of a party forming againſt her in favour of the queen of France, who carried herſelf as heireſs of the crown of England, and had quartered the arms with thoſe of Scotland, when ſhe was only queen dauphineſs; and if France and Scotland had remained in tranquillity, England was in danger of being attacked from two quarters at once, and diſturbed at home by the ſtill numerous adherents of the old religion."

Hence may be ſeen what was the deſign of the princes of Lorrain, in ſending a French army into Scotland. It was to preſerve the peace of that kingdom, that is, render it entirely ſubject to France, in order to attack England from that ſide. This muſt be ever remembered, if it is deſired to underſtand perfectly Elizabeth's hiſtory. Let us now mention the affairs of France.

Affairs of France. Mezerai.

After Henry II. had concluded a peace with Spain, he reſolved to relinquiſh entirely the affairs of Italy, and apply himſelf ſolely to his project of uniting England, Scotland, and Ireland to the monarchy of France. His haſte to cauſe the dauphin his ſon, and the queen of Scotland his daughter-in-law, to aſſume the title of king and queen of England immediately after the concluſion of the peace, clearly ſhows, he had the thing in his thoughts, though he was not yet perhaps reſolved how to execute it. Elizabeth, who was on the throne of England, was but a woman, and might be conſidered as a baſtard: ſhe had no ally; had lately made a great many enemies amongſt her ſubjects, by her innovations in religion: the king of Spain no longer concerned himſelf with her affairs; and the pope deſired nothing more paſſionately than to dethrone her, and place a catholick princeſs in her room. All theſe circumſtances doubtleſs gave Henry hopes of ſucceſs in his deſign. To effect which, he was to ſhow a great zeal for the catholick religion, to gain the profeſſors of it, princes and ſubjects, to his intereſts. The perſecution renewed in France immediately after the peace of Cateau, flowed perhaps as much from this as any other cauſe, though the king's diſpoſition, the pope's ſollicitations, the ſuggeſtions of the duke of Guiſe and cardinal of Lorrain, and the ſecret

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treaty made with Spain, had but too large a ſhare in that tragedy.

Death of Henry II.

Francis II. his ſucceſſor, puts the government into the hands of the Guiſes. Mezerai. P. Daniel. Thuanus.

Who purſue the deſign of attacking Elizabeth by Scotland. Camden.

This prince was taken out of the world the 10th of July, in the midſt of his vaſt projects, by a death ſudden and tragical [h], leaving for ſucceſſor a young prince incapable to govern of himſelf. The two princes of Lorrain, uncles to the young queen, were intruſted with the adminiſtration of the government under the new reign. They removed the conſtable of Montmorency immediately from the court, and recalled the cardinal of Tournon, ſworn enemy of the proteſtant religion. When the affairs of the court were ſettled, their next care was to erect courts of juſtice called Ardentes, for condemning proteſtants to the flames. This threw the reformed into an inevitable neceſſity of either ſuffering themſelves to be burnt one by one, or of taking up arms in their own defence, and ſo furniſhing their enemies with the deſired pretence to extirpate them all at once. On the other hand, they ſent two thouſand men into Scotland, under the command of La Broſſe, with orders to join the catholicks of England for dethroning Elizabeth. Thus, their boundleſs ambition engaged a young prince, not yet ſeventeen years of age, to throw his own kingdom into a flame, and withal to undertake the conqueſt of England, which of all the countries of the world is the moſt difficult to be conquered.

At the ſame time appeared the ſeeds of troubles in the Low-Countries, which ſoon ripened, and which it will not be improper to mention, in order to ſhow their riſe.

Affairs of the Low-Countries. Grotius.

Charles V. had always a great affection for the Low-Countries where he was born, and had governed them with great lenity. Indeed, after the victory of Pavia, he had formed the project of changing their government, and of making of the ſeventeen provinces one ſtate, dependant on the crown of Spain. He was incited to this by the Spaniards, who would have found their advantage in ſeeing him abſolute maſter of theſe provinces, where his authority was very much limited by their privileges. But after mature deliberation, he relinquiſhed the project, whether to avoid the oppreſſions with which the execution would have been infallibly attended, or becauſe he believed it impracticable by reaſon of the different laws and cuſtoms of theſe provinces, each of which had been a ſeparate ſtate.

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[h] At a great tournament, held on account of his daughter's marriage with Philip II. king of Spain, he was wounded in the eye with the ſplinter of a lance, June 29, and died of the wound. Thuanus, lib. 22.

Philip II. his ſon and ſucceſſor, reſumed much the ſame deſign, and reſolved to rule independent of the laws and privileges inceſſantly alledged by theſe ſtates. To this he added the project of extirpating the proteſtants, then very numerous in the provinces. For that purpoſe, he obtained from the court of Rome the erection of ſeveral archbiſhopricks and biſhopricks, to the great detriment of the abbots, part of whoſe revenues were to be given to the new ſees. But beſides the intereſt of the proteſtants and abbots, there was another thing of univerſal concern. Philip had put Spaniſh garriſons into the principal towns, contrary to the privileges of the provinces, and thereby plainly diſcovered his intention of reducing them to ſlavery. In fine, when he departed in September 1559 for Spain, he committed the government of the Low-Countries to Margaret dutcheſs of Parma, his natural ſiſter[o], to the great diſguſt of William of Naſſau prince of Orange, and of count Egmont, who had both aſpired to that dignity. But what gave them the laſt provocation was his leaving with the governeſs the cardinal of Granvelle their enemy, and who was conſidered as the author of the pernicious counſels, tending to deprive the country of its liberty. Philip was no ſooner arrived in Spain than he cauſed a great number of proteſtants to be burnt, and by theſe inhuman executions, ſhowed the ſubjects of the Low-Countries what they were afterwards to expect.

Pope Paul IV. dying in the courſe of this year, was ſucceeded by cardinal Angelo de Medici, a Milaneſe, by the name of Pius IV.[p]

Death of pope Paul IV. ſucceeded by Pius IV.

To underſtand the ſequel of this reign, it is abſolutely neceſſary to have a diſtinct idea of the ſituation of the Engliſh affairs, as well with regard to the queen's perſon, as to the people of England and the foreigners. The wonder of this reign lies not in the memorable events which happened in England, while Elizabeth was on the throne, but in the tranquillity which ſhe cauſed her ſubjects to enjoy, amidſt the ſecret and open attacks of her own and their enemies, both at home and abroad. To underſtand therefore the motives of Elizabeth's conduct, and the maxims by which ſhe eſtabliſhed her government, theſe enemies, their characters, their views, their intereſts, are to be diſtinctly ſhown. Hence alſo will be ſeen and admired the addreſs, with which ſhe freed herſelf

State of affairs in England.

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[o] She was natural daughter of the emperor Charles V. and was firſt married to the duke of Tuſcany, and afterwards to the prince of Parma. Strada, lib. 1.

[p] This year, on November 18, died the famous Cuthbert Tonſtall, late biſhop of Durham, and was buried in Lambeth-chapel. Hollingſh. p. 1186.

from all the embaraſſments and ſnares to which ſhe was continually expoſed. For this purpoſe, it muſt be obſerved, that her right to the crown was always conteſted openly or tacitly; that the papiſts in general conſidering her but as a queen de facto, believed they might with a ſafe conſcience aſſiſt in dethroning her, whenever an opportunity offered. As the uncertainty of her right was the foundation on which her enemies built, I cannot help enlarging a little on what has been ſaid above on this ſubject.

The parliament of England, conſiſting of the king and both houſes, which repreſent the whole nation, there is no Engliſhman but what is ſubject to its laws, were it only for this reaſon, that every man is ſuppoſed to give his conſent either in perſon or by his repreſentative. It was upon this foundation that Mary and Elizabeth aſcended the throne, I mean, in virtue of an act of parliament, impowering their father to ſettle the ſucceſſion. But it may be doubted, whether foreign princes concerned in ſuch acts of parliament, are obliged to the ſame ſubmiſſion, when they believe them manifeſtly unjuſt to themſelves. I ſhall not undertake to decide this queſtion, which is more uſually determined by arms than by laws. I ſhall only remark, that formerly Edward III. did not think himſelf obliged to abide by the deciſion of the French nation, which had placed Philip of Valois on the throne. However, Mary queen of France and Scotland believed herſelf injured, as well by the act impowering Henry VIII. to interrupt the order of ſucceſſion according to his humour, as by the will of that prince. She alledged, that neither king nor parliament had any right to place on the throne two daughters declared illegitimate by ſolemn acts, and ſtill leſs to overlook the poſterity of the eldeſt daughter of Henry VII. even without aſſigning any reaſon, and place in the line of the ſucceſſion baſtards and the children of the younger. To theſe two grievances it was anſwered, that the Engliſh in acknowledging ſucceſſively Mary and Elizabeth for queens of England, had not followed the caprice of Henry VIII. but the order of nature and the law of ſucceſſion; that the caprice of this prince lay not in his placing his two daughters next after his ſon Edward, but in the intention to exclude theſe two princeſſes really born in wedlock: that in reſtoring them to their due place, Henry corrected his error, and left no room for any alteration: that the not revoking the ſentence of divorce againſt Ann Boleyn, and the ſubſequent act againſt Elizabeth, was not without good reaſons, and at moſt, was but a defect of formality, which altered not the thing itſelf. As to Mary's ſecond grievance, that Henry had not mentioned the poſterity of his eldeſt ſiſter, it muſt be owned, the generality of the Engliſh were convinced of the injuſtice of that proceeding. But as the caſe which might breed a diſpute on this ſubject did not yet offer, this point was left undetermined, in hopes of the queen's marriage, and her having children to ſucceed her.

Let us now proceed to another reflection with reſpect to the foreign princes. Mary, eldeſt daughter of Henry VIII. aſcended the throne without any diſturbance from abroad, whereas after her death the principal ſovereigns of Europe endeavoured to wreſt the ſcepter from Elizabeth. It is not difficult to aſſign many natural cauſes of the different conduct of the princes with regard to theſe two queens. The firſt is, that when Mary mounted the throne, there was not a prince in Europe, who could with any colour diſpute her right. It is true, the young queen of Scotland was in France, and deſtined for the dauphin, but was not yet married. This marriage was only projected, and could not be executed ſome years, by reaſon of the tender age of the parties. But ſuppoſing Henry II. ſhould have then aſſerted the claim of this queen, he muſt have drawn upon himſelf all the forces of the emperor and England. The ſecond cauſe is no leſs natural, namely, that by the principles of the Roman catholicks, they could not conteſt Mary's right without a renunciation of the papal authority, ſince the diſpenſation for the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Arragon was granted by a pope. But Henry II. was very far from any ſuch thought, and as for the emperor Charles V. he was particularly concerned to ſupport Mary's title, who was his couſin-german. As for the pope, he maintained his own rights in ſupporting thoſe of Mary. Laſtly, as Mary was zealous for her religion, the pope, the emperor, the king of France found a great advantage in this zeal. The pope expected to ſee the catholick religion reſtored by her means in England The emperor immediately projected her marriage with his ſon Philip. Beſides, a catholick queen in England removed all apprehenſions of the aid the German proteſtants might receive from the Engliſh. In a word, his zeal for his religion gave him the ſatisfaction of ſeeing England about to return into the pale of the Roman church. For the ſame reaſon, Henry II. who burnt the proteſtants in France, could not but be pleaſed to ſee them deprived of the protection they might have expected from England, if that kingdom had continued proteſtant. Thus every thing conſpired to render Mary's reign

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peaceable and ſecure. It was alſo this doubtleſs which induced that queen to carry the perſecution againſt the proteſtants to ſuch a height, well knowing they could have no hopes of aſſiſtance from abroad.

But when, after Mary's death, Elizabeth mounted the throne, there was a change in the intereſts of the princes, as often happens by the death of a ſovereign. The empire and Spain were no longer under the dominion of the ſame prince. The dauphin had married the queen of Scotland, and by that marriage acquired a claim to England, which he had not before. Beſides, the duke of Guiſe and cardinal of Lorrain were become more powerful in the court of France, by the abſence of the conſtable of Montmorency, who was priſoner in the Low-Countries. After the death of Henry II. they became ſtill more powerful, and ſhowed by their conduct they had nothing more at heart than the placing of the queen their niece on the throne of England. Elizabeth could not doubt it, ſince ſhe ſaw Francis II. and Mary ſtill uſurp the arms of England, which they ſeemed to have taken at firſt only in obedience to the orders of Henry II. On the other hand, Philip II. who deſpaired of marrying Elizabeth, had entirely deſerted the intereſts of England, and appeared by no means diſpoſed to ſupport that kingdom, which was become proteſtant. Laſtly, the pope ſaw his authority baniſhed England, and no hope of gaining Elizabeth, who was evidently concerned to maintain what ſhe had done. Thus France, Spain, the court of Rome, not only had no reaſon to incline them to ſupport Elizabeth, but it was even their intereſt to dethrone her. It is very true, Philip II. would not willingly have ſeen England and Ireland in the hands of the king of France; but he would not have been ſorry that France was to conquer England, becauſe from ſo difficult an undertaking, he would have received the ſatisfaction of ſeeing two powers moſt formidable to him weakening each other. Beſides, his zeal for the catholick religion, and his projects in relation to the Low-Countries, would have made him with great pleaſure behold theſe two kingdoms incapable to aſſiſt thoſe provinces, which already bore their yoak with impatience. As to the new emperor, Elizabeth, if ſhe had nothing to fear, had at leaſt nothing to hope from him. As for the proteſtants of Germany, they then lived in a tranquillity which they would not willingly have diſturbed for the aſſiſtance of England. They had found in the reign of Henry VIII. that under the pretence of maintaining their religion, it was deſigned to engage them in a war by no means agreeable to their intereſts.

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tereſts. Wherefore, content with their preſent condition, they were not willing to be oppreſſed for ſupporting the rights of Elizabeth, though otherwiſe they with pleaſure ſaw a proteſtant queen on the throne of England.

I have already ſhown the ſituation of the Scotch affairs. Elizabeth was ſo far from expecting any aſſiſtance from Scotland, that ſhe ſaw herſelf under an indiſpenſable neceſſity to ſupport the proteſtant party there, well knowing, it was the intention of France to attack her from that quarter. Beſides the two thouſand men already ſent to the regent, another more conſiderable reinforcement was preparing in France, to be conducted into Scotland by the marquiſs of Elbeuf[q]. This ſufficiently diſcovered, that the court of France, ſenſible of the difficulty of attacking England by ſea, was reſolved to puſh the war on the northern frontiers, by a junction of their forces with thoſe of Scotland. Thus the deſign of the French court to ſubdue the Scotch rebels, was only the firſt ſtep by which they hoped to riſe to the conqueſt of England.

Camden.

On the other ſide, Ireland gave no leſs uneaſineſs to Elizabeth. That iſland was inhabited by native Iriſh, and Engliſh families tranſplanted thither ſince the conqueſt of it by Henry II. It was governed by a viceroy or lord-lieutenant in the name of the queen; but his authority was very far from being ſo regarded as to keep the Iriſh in ſubmiſſion. They had amongſt them many great men, who indeed outwardly acknowledged the queen's ſovereignty, but believed they had a right to do themſelves juſtice for the wrongs they pretended to have received. They made war upon one another, regardleſs of the lieutenant's orders, who having but few Engliſh forces was unable to make himſelf feared. As often as there was any preſſing occaſion to chaſtiſe a rebellion, or prevent the ſtrong from oppreſſing the weak, new forces were to arrive from England. But as this could not be done without expence, very often it was not determined till the laſt extremity. So, moſt of the lieutenants finding themſelves deſtitute of the means to force an obedience, wilfully connived at the exceſſes and violences of the great, for fear of unſeaſonably expoſing the royal authority. They contented themſelves with filling their purſes while they held their commiſſions, and left it to their ſucceſſors to repreſs the inſolence of the Iriſh. This conduct had rendered the lords of the country ſo fierce and arrogant, that they acknowledged the royal authority no farther than it was neceſſary to protect them againſt their enemies. Beſides the natural averſion of the Iriſh for the Engliſh, who helped not by their conduct to gain their affection, there was, at this time, another reaſon, which contributed to increaſe their averſion, namely, the change which the queen had lately made in religion. The Iriſh had for the pope an attachment equal to their ignorance, which was extreme: This diſpoſed them to liſten to the ſollicitations of the Romiſh emiſſaries, who were continually inciting them againſt the government. Elizabeth was therefore obliged to have a conſtant eye upon the tranſactions of that iſland, knowing what credit the pope her enemy had there.

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[q] The queen of Scots uncle: theſe forces were levied in Germany, by the Rhinegrave's aſſiſtance. Camden, p. 379.

It remains now to ſpeak of the diſpoſition of the Engliſh to Elizabeth. When the queen deſigned to eſtabliſh the reformation, her firſt care was to change the magiſtrates in the towns and counties, and fill their places with proteſtants. Then ſhe called a parliament, whoſe members were choſen according to her deſires. This parliament revived the laws made by Edward VI. concerning religion. Theſe laws by the care of the magiſtrates were punctually obſerved. So, a few months after Mary's death, the publick exerciſe of the Roman catholick religion was not leſs criminal than the exerciſe of the proteſtant had been in the laſt reign. The clergy, who refuſed obedience to the new laws, were deprived of their benefices, and the vacancies ſupplied by zealous proteſtants. To ſay all in a word, the reformation roſe under Elizabeth juſt as the Romiſh religion had been eſtabliſhed under Mary, with this difference, that no perſon was put to death by Elizabeth on account of religion. We are not however to imagine that this external change produced a real one in the mind. There are very few, who in point of religion, implicitly obey their ſovereigns. Thoſe who were good catholicks under Mary remained ſuch under Elizabeth; as thoſe who really embraced the reformation under Edward VI. continued in Mary's reign reformed in their hearts under an outward compliance. If it is therefore conſidered, that all the changes in religion under this and the foregoing reigns had been made in the ſame manner, it will not be difficult to comprehend that the Roman catholicks were ſtill very numerous in the kingdom. Little more than twenty years had paſſed ſince the reformation began, and in that interval the publick worſhip had been changed four times. Now it is improbable, that a whole nation ſo frequently change their opinion according to the caprice of the governors, though outwardly they ſubmit to the publick authority. It is certain the number of Roman catholicks in the kingdom was very great, even after Elizabeth had eſtabliſhed the reformation, though it is likely the reformed were ſtill more numerous. It is therefore very natural to imagine, that thoſe who perſiſted in their antient ſentiments were ſecret enemies of the queen; that they deſired the re-eſtabliſhment of the old religion, and were diſpoſed to embrace all opportunities to place a catholick queen on the throne. It was not one of the leaſt of Elizabeth's cares to watch her own ſubjects.

Elizabeth's maxims of government.

Let us briefly recapitulate what has been ſaid. Elizabeth had for enemies, France, the queen of Scotland, the pope, and all the catholick powers. For though Philip II. had not yet declared himſelf, ſhe knew he was not her friend, and the ſequel clearly proved it. On the other hand, ſhe had the Iriſh and a great part of her Engliſh ſubjects to guard againſt, without having one ally to aſſiſt her. She was therefore to ſeek in herſelf, in her prudence, in her good conduct, and in her own ſubjects, the aſſiſtance ſhe would have vainly ſought elſewhere. To obtain ſpeedily and willingly the aid, ſhe foreſaw would be frequently wanted, ſhe had but one way, and that was to make herſelf beloved by her people. Accordingly, this was the governing maxim of her conduct. Happily for her, the qualities of her heart and mind were ſo diſpoſed, that ſhe never once deviated from ſo neceſſary a rule. Wherefore it may be affirmed, that no king of England was ever more ſincerely beloved by his people than Elizabeth. But to demonſtrate this elogy not to be groundleſs, it is neceſſary to be more particular upon this ſubject. It is certain, that her truly proteſtant ſubjects were much more numerous than the catholicks. What therefore could ſhe do better than to favour the proteſtant religion, eſpecially, as being herſelf of that religion, ſhe could without reluctance act ſo agreeably to her intereſts? Another thing which greatly contributes to procure a ſovereign the affection of his people, is ſo to manage the treaſury, that he be not forced to load them with unneceſſary taxes. No prince had ever this quality in greater perfection than Elizabeth. Nay, ſhe carried this oeconomy ſo far, that ſhe ſometimes gave occaſion to her own miniſters to charge her with avarice. However, her expences were ſo well regulated, that ſhe was never ſeen to laviſh her treaſures upon her favourites, or expend them in things of no uſe. Nevertheleſs, this frugal inclination, whether owing to nature or policy, hindered her not from being profuſe of her money, when ſhe thought it neceſſary. France, Spain, and Scotland, experienced, in their turns, how well

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ſhe knew to be laviſh of her treaſures. Her people had ſo good an opinion of her oeconomy, that through the whole courſe of her reign, ſhe was never once denied by the parliament the ſupplies ſhe wanted, or complained of by her ſubjects for the taxes they were charged with. She had alſo another quality which won her the eſteem of the Engliſh. She would not be induced by her miniſters to beſtow offices or honours upon undeſerving perſons. She was apprehenſive of nothing more than to render contemptible, dignities deſtined for the recompence of merit and virtue. By this wiſe conduct ſhe avoided the diſobliging of men, who might have aſpired to honours, had they ſeen them beſtowed on others of no greater merit than themſelves. This was a maxim from which ſhe rarely departed, during the whole courſe of her reign. Laſtly, ſhe uſed her conſtant endeavours to cauſe juſtice to be impartially adminiſtered. Her greateſt favourites felt her ſeverity, when they abuſed her kindneſs and wandered from their duty. There is no doubt, her great intereſt to be beloved by her people induced her to employ all poſſible means to that end. But it cannot be, as ſome have inferred from hence, that her whole conduct was all diſſimulation, ſince it is by no means impoſſible for the inclinations of men to tally with their intereſts. Elizabeth had a true eſteem for the reformed religion, and her intereſt required her to ſupport it with all her power. She was naturally an oeconomiſt, and ſuch was the ſituation of her affairs, that no prince ever had more occaſion to be ſo. As ſhe had true merit herſelf, ſhe eſteemed it in others; and therefore could never reſolve to confer dignities upon men who had not merited them. In fine, had ſhe been never ſo little remiſs with reſpect to juſtice, there would have been danger of her ſex being deſpiſed, and of the great men growing by degrees too licentious.

Such were the principal means uſed by Elizabeth to gain the affection of her ſubjects. Their love was ſo neceſſary, that ſhe had no other reſource. Without it, her reign would probably have been very unhappy, conſidering the number and quality of her enemies. The reader therefore is to conſider moſt of her actions, as flowing from the maxim ſhe had preſcribed to herſelf, to neglect nothing which might procure the affection of her people.

There was alſo another maxim which no leſs influenced her conduct than this I have mentioned. She ſaw herſelf threatened on all ſides. The pope, France, and afterwards Spain, never ceaſed their open or ſecret attacks. It was not without reaſon that ſhe feared an union of all theſe powers for her ruin: In this belief, ſhe laboured to the utmoſt to cheriſh the troubles of the neighbouring ſtates, and particularly of France, Scotland, and the Low Countries; that her enemies being employed at home, might be leſs able to invade her. I ſhall not pretend to decide, whether this way of defence againſt enemies ſo powerful and dangerous, was agreeable to the rules of juſtice. It cannot however be denied, that this was excellent policy, and that her own ſecurity juſtified this method, as ſhe had no other to divert their attacks. Accordingly, ſhe made frequent uſe of this maxim, as will hereafter appear.

Different opinions concerning Elizabeth.

I thought it neceſſary to prepare the reader for the ſequel of this reign by theſe reflections, which are ſolely deſigned to ſuſpend in his mind the prejudices inſpired by the hiſtorians of all nations and religions, for and againſt this renowned queen. It is no ſmall difficulty to fix the judgment, amidſt all the contrarieties which occur in the hiſtorians. Some have conſidered her as the moſt accompliſhed queen the world ever ſaw. They have found no fault in her. All her actions were the reſults of prudence, juſtice and equity, and had no other motive than the glory of God and the happineſs of her people. They have pretended that her love for her ſubjects was ſo ardent, that ſhe forgot her own intereſt, and thought only of rendering them happy. Not content to excuſe ſome of her actions which deſerve cenſure, they have even in ſome meaſure ſanctified them, by inſinuating that they were the effects of her zeal for the glory of God and the proteſtant religion. Others have aſperſed her with all the calumnies it is poſſible to invent. According to theſe, ſhe exceeded the moſt famous tyrants in cruelty and barbarity. She was extremely deceitful, and her whole conduct was one continued diſſimulation, from the beginning to the end of her reign, notwithſtanding her affectation of an outward ſhow of religion and virtue. To theſe accuſations concerning her publick adminiſtration, they have added horrid ſlanders upon her private life. They have repreſented her as a diſſolute woman, who conſtantly refuſed to marry, in order more freely to continue her lewd practices. To efface both theſe impreſſions, and incline the reader (if religious prejudices will ſuffer him) to ſuſpend his judgment, I have previouſly ſhown the motives of her conduct, and the maxims by which ſhe was, and with reſpect to policy only ought to have been governed. Her principal aim was to ſecure a tottering crown, and to ſucceed, ſhe followed the above-mentioned maxims. Is it to be thought ſtrange, that on certain occaſions ſhe a little over-acted her tenderneſs for her people, wherein lay her only ſupport? But it would be juſt cauſe of wonder, that by an irregular life and other exceſſes, of which ſhe is accuſed, ſhe would have acted directly contrary to what could only procure her the love and eſteem of her people, of which ſhe had ſo great occaſion. This ſuffices, as I imagine, to diſpel ſome of thoſe clouds by which her reputation has been darkened. On the other hand, as ſhe ſaw herſelf aſſaulted from all parts by powerful enemies, who were continually infuſing a ſpirit of rebellion into her ſubjects, when we ſhall ſee her fomenting the troubles of Scotland, and aſſiſting the Huguenots of France, and the male-contents of the Low-Countries, it will be eaſily known to what this conduct is owing, notwithſtanding the flatteries of ſome of her admirers. Apply but the two maxims, I have mentioned, to her actions, and remember the neceſſity of her always having them in view, nothing almoſt in her conduct will then appear, the true motive whereof may not eaſily be diſcovered. After this long, though, I think, abſolutely neceſſary digreſſion, it is time to proceed to the events of the year 1560.

A treaty between Elizabeth and the male-contents of Scotland. Camden.

Maitland, who was ſent into England from the confederate Scots, at laſt concluded the treaty, which was ſigned at Berwick the 27th of February, 1560 [r]. Elizabeth ſeeing the great preparations which were making in France, and not doubting of their being deſigned againſt Scotland, thought herſelf, above all things, obliged to provide for the ſafety of that nation, and prevent the French from being too powerful there. She had cauſe to fear, that if queen Mary had children by the king her huſband, France and Scotland would be united under one head, which it was her great intereſt to hinder. She concluded therefore a treaty with Maitland, which ſhows her fears with regard to Scotland. The treaty ran:

Act. Pub. xv. p. 569.

That ſhe took under her protection the duke of Chateleraut, and all the nobility and ſubjects of Scotland, to maintain that kingdom in its liberties and privileges, during the marriage of the queen of Scotland with the king of France, and one year after.

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[r] The Engliſh commiſſioner was, Thomas duke of Norfolk, lieutenant of the north; and on the duke of Chateleraut's ſide appeared, lord James Steward, Patrick lord Ruthven, ſir John Maxwell of Teiregles, knight; William Maitland of Lethyngton, John Wyſchert of Pittarrow, and Mr. Henry Balnaves of Halhil. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 569.

That

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That ſhe promiſed to ſend, with all ſpeed, a convenient band of men into Scotland, and continue them there till the French were entirely expelled the kingdom.

That ſhe would come to no agreement with France, but on condition of leaving Scotland in full liberty.

That ſhe would never abandon the confederates, while they acknowledged Mary for their ſovereign, and endeavoured to maintain the liberty of their country, and the eſtate of the crown of Scotland.

That if the Engliſh took any places in Scotland, they ſhould be either demoliſhed by the Scots, or delivered to the duke of Chateleraut, at his own option; but that the Engliſh ſhould erect no fortification in the kingdom, without the advice of the duke and his party.

That the duke and all his party ſhould join the Engliſh forces.

That they ſhould declare themſelves enemies of thoſe of their countrymen, who ſhould ſerve France againſt England.

That if England was attacked in the ſouth, the confederates ſhould ſend to the queen's aſſiſtance two thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe at the leaſt; but if in the north, they ſhould join the Engliſh army with all their forces.

That if the earl of Argyle, lord chief-juſtice of Scotland, ſhould join with the confederates, he ſhould be obliged to uſe his endeavours to reduce the north of Ireland under the dominion of England, agreeably to a treaty to be made betwixt him and the lord lieutenant of Ireland.

That the duke of Chatelerault and his party ſhould give hoſtages to Elizabeth, to remain in England [s] during the time that the marriage between Mary queen of Scots and the king of France ſhould ſubſiſt.

Laſtly, The duke of Chatelerault and his party proteſted, that their intention was to be faithful to their queen in every thing not contrary to the laws and liberties of Scotland, and not tending to their ſubverſion.

From this treaty, it is plain Elizabeth's ſole aim was to keep the king of France from becoming maſter of Scotland, knowing it was intended to invade her from that quarter.

Sequel of the affairs of Scotland. Camden.

While the treaty was negotiating, the French forces which were in Scotland continued their purſuit of the confederate Scots into the mountains, contrary to the opinion of Martigues

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[s] For ſix or four months each; and to be then exchanged, and ſo on.

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of the houſe of Luxemburg. This lord, who had brought the laſt ſuccours from France [t], was for an immediate invaſion of England, imagining, that on his approach, the Engliſh catholicks would all riſe and join him. But the regent, better informed of the ſtate of England, judged it not proper to enter upon ſo great a deſign with ſo ſmall an army. Some time after, while the French were exulting at the ſight of a flying enemy, they diſcovered from a mountain a fleet at ſea, which they at firſt took to be the marquis of Elbeuf's. But perceiving afterwards it was an Engliſh fleet [u], they were of opinion that the forces ſent to the confederates by land were not very diſtant. This made them retire to Leith, with deſign to aſſemble there all their forces, and wait the arrival of the marquis d'Elbeuf. But he was expected in vain, for a violent tempeſt diſperſed his fleet, and forced him to ſail back to France to refit his ſhips. Afterwards the troubles in France calling for the aſſiſtance of the forces which were ſending into Scotland, and of thoſe already there, the expedition was entirely blaſted.

Buchanan.
Camden.

Hollingſh.
Stow.
Thuanus.

The French forces being retired to Leith, the confederates aſſembled from all places, where they were diſperſed, in order to join the Engliſh army marching to their relief under the command of the lord Grey [w]. At length they came to Hadington the 1ſt of April, being ſix thouſand ſtrong in foot and two thouſand in horſe, and there expected the ſo much deſired Engliſh ſuccours, which were advancing with all poſſible ſpeed. The queen-regent fearing to be ſhut up in Leith, choſe rather to retire to the caſtle of Edinburgh, which was committed by the ſtates to the care of John Areſkin, with the expreſs condition not to reſign it without their order. Areſkin received the regent with honour, but ſtill preſerved the command of the caſtle.

The regent retires to Edinburgh.

The Engliſh army enters Scotland.
Buchanan.
Camden.
Stow.
Hollingſh.

Shortly after, the lord Grey entering Scotland [x] with an army of ſix or ſeven thouſand foot and twelve hundred horſe, was joined by the confederates, after which they marched together to Leith, where the enemies were retired. It was no inconſiderable work to beſiege a place which had an army within its walls; and yet it was undertaken, becauſe there was no other way to drive the French out of Scotland. While they were employed in the ſiege, all poſſible endeavours were uſed by the French king to prevail with Elizabeth to recall her forces out of Scotland. But ſhe knew her intereſt too well to be impoſed upon. When de Sevre, the French ambaſſador, firſt mentioned it, ſhe anſwered, Her troops ſhould be readily recalled, provided the French were ſo too; ſince France had no more right than England to ſend forces into Scotland. At laſt the ambaſſador finding, after many attempts, he could not prevail, declared in the preſence of the Spaniſh ambaſſador, that by ſending forces into Scotland ſhe had violated the treaty of Cateau: to which ſhe calmly anſwered, That the king of France had firſt infringed that treaty, by his endeavours to render himſelf maſter of Scotland. Some time before, ſhe had publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring her reaſons for concerning herſelf in the affairs of Scotland. She charged in plain terms the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorrain, with being the authors of the troubles in that kingdom, in order to effect more eaſily their deſigns againſt England. To them alſo ſhe wholly aſcribed the injury done her by the king and queen of France, in aſſuming her title and arms.

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[t] One thouſand foot, and one or two cornets of horſe. Camden, p. 380.

[u] This fleet was commanded by vice-admiral William Winter. Stow.

[w] William lord Grey of Wilton. His aſſiſtant was ſir James Croft: and the lord Scrope was earl-marſhal. Sir George Howard general of the men at arms; Barnaby Fitz-Patrick his lieutenant: ſir Henry Percy general of the light-horſe; Thomas Huggens, Eſq; provoſt-marſhal; William Pelham captain of the pioneers, &c. Stow, p. 641.

[x] March 30. Ibid. p. 641.

Leith beſieged. France preſſes Elizabeth to call her forces out of Scotland. Camden. Proteſt of the French ambaſſador. Elizabeth publiſhes a manifeſto.

Before de Sevre had made his declaration, Monluc, biſhop of Valence, was come into England to preſs the queen to recall her forces from Scotland, and would have even perſuaded her that Francis II. and Mary had aſſumed her title on purpoſe to do her honour. This excuſe was more provoking than the injury. At laſt Monluc ſeeing he could not divert her from her reſolution to ſupport the Scots, told her, the king of France would reſtore Calais, if ſhe would draw her forces out of Scotland. But ſhe anſwered, that ſhe did not value that Fiſh-town ſo much as the quiet of Britain. Mean time, ſhe diſpatched Montague [y] to Philip II. to inform him of her reaſons to aſſiſt Scotland. That ambaſſador was to repreſent to him, that the Guiſes had projected an union of the crowns of France and Scotland, and not to be diſappointed had concerted the murder of the earl of Arran, who had happily eſcaped out of their ſnares [z], and that ſhe therefore deſired him to conſider if ſuch an union would be advantageous to Spain

Camden. Thuanus. France offers to reſtore Calais. An ambaſſy ſent to Philip. Camden.

During theſe negotiations, the ſiege of Leith was continued, but with no great ſucceſs, because of the numerous garriſon.

Camden. Stow.

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[y] Anthony Browne.

[z] This juſtifies Buchanan's account of the deſign laid to arreſt and detain the earl of Arran in France. Rapin.

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garriſon. The 15th of April, the French made a ſally, and nailed three great pieces of cannon [a]. The 30th, the Engliſh were fiercely repulſed at an aſſault. The 1ſt of May they ſtormed again, but with no better ſucceſs. The length and difficulties of the ſiege began now to diſcourage them, when the duke of Norfolk, warden of the northern marches of England, ſent a powerful reinforcement, and came to the Engliſh camp himſelf, to encourage the continuation of the ſiege. They would however have hardly taken the place, had not the conſpiracy of Amboiſe [b], which was then diſcovered in France, convinced the princes of Lorrain, that the ſeaſon was not proper for the execution of their deſigns againſt England. So, inſtead of ſending new forces into Scotland, they thought of recalling thoſe already there, imagining they might want them in France. It was to this end that Monluc biſhop of Valence and the comte de Randan were ſent into Scotland, with full powers from the king to conclude a peace. Elizabeth hearing of it, ſent likewiſe ſecretary Cecil and Dr. Wotton, with the ſame powers [c]. The plenipotentiaries immediately agreed to meet at Edinburgh in July; and in the mean time concluded a truce, which was to laſt till the end of their conferences. During the truce, the queen-regent died in the caſtle of Edinburgh, the 10th of June.

France deſires peace. Camden. Act. Pub. xv. p. 581. Stow. Buchanan.

Truce in Scotland. Stow. Buchanan. Burnet.

A peace negotiated,

When the peace came to be negotiated, the French plenipotentiaries abſolutely refuſed to treat with the Scotch confederates, ſaying, it would be an injury to the royal authority, becauſe they were rebels. This refuſal might have put an end to the congreſs; but, as both ſides were deſirous of peace, an expedient at laſt was contrived, namely, Francis and Mary ſhould grant certain conditions to the confederates, not by way of treaty, but as of pure grace; and that nevertheleſs they ſhould promiſe to obſerve them in their treaty with the queen of England. This was in effect the ſame thing, but the ambaſſadors probably with a view to ſome advantage, preferred that expedient. Moſt hiſtorians confound, in the treaty ſhortly after concluded at Edinburgh, two things, which however ought to be diſtinguiſhed, namely, the conceſſions of Francis and Mary to their Scotch ſubjects, and the treaty between France and England. As of theſe two things, one was obſerved and the other not, it is neceſſary to have a diſtinct idea of them. The promiſes made to the Scots were:

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[a] And at the ſame time took ſir Maurice Berkley priſoner. Camden, p. 381.

[b] See an account of it a lower lower.

[c] They came to Berwick, June 13. Stow, p. 645.

That the French forces ſhould leave Scotland in twenty-four days, and return to France in ſhips to be furniſhed by Elizabeth.

and finiſhed at Edinburgh. Buchanan.

That the city of Leith ſhould be reſtored to Scotland, and the fortifications demoliſhed.

That the works made by the French at Dunbar ſhould be razed.

That the king and queen of France and Scotland ſhould grant an act of oblivion to the confederates, for every thing done from the 10th of March 1559 to the 1ſt of Auguſt 1560, and that this act ſhould be approved and confirmed by the ſtates of Scotland, to be aſſembled the following Auguſt, with the conſent of the king and queen.

That the French ſhould have liberty to leave ſixty men in the iſle of Keith[d].

But, with regard to the intereſts of Elizabeth, a real treaty was concluded, which will be often mentioned hereafter by the name of the treaty of Edinburgh, containing,

That for the future the king and queen of Scotland ſhould not aſſume the title of king and queen of England and Ireland, nor bear the arms of theſe kingdoms.

Act. Pub. xv. p. 593. Stow. p. 646.

That the patents and other acts which had been diſpatched with that title, ſhould be altered or remain of no force.

That the farther ſatisfaction required by the queen of England for the injury done her, ſhould be referred to a conference at London, between the commiſſioners of the two crowns.

That if the commiſſioners could not agree, the deciſion ſhould be left to the king of Spain.

That the king and queen of France and Scotland ſhould perform the promiſes made to the Scots at Edinburgh by the plenipotentiaries of France.

It muſt be obſerved, that Buchanan in his hiſtory has only mentioned the articles granted to the confederate Scots; and Camden, in his annals of Elizabeth, takes notice only of the treaty between the two crowns. This cauſes ſome obſcurity in their reſpective accounts of the following events.

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[d] The reader will naturally aſk of what ſervice it would be to Francis and Mary to have ſixty men of their French ſubjects left in Scotland? --- And Buchanan gives this reaſon, that the queen might not ſeem to be thrown out of the entire poſſeſſion of Scotland.

The treaty, as it related to Scotland, is confirmed, Buchanan. Act. Pub. xv. p. 591. Spotiſwood.

After the concluſion of the treaty, the French and Engliſh quitted Scotland; the fortifications of Leith and Dunbar were demoliſhed; and the act of oblivion ſent over in Scotland, and confirmed by the ſtates. Theſe ſtates, aſſembled in Auguſt, made laws favourable to the reformation, and ſent them to the king and queen for their approbation, rather to diſcover their ſentiments, than with any hopes of obtaining their deſires, and yet they cauſed theſe new laws to be punctually obſerved.

refuſed, as it related to Elizabeth. Camden.

But as to the treaty concluded between the crowns, Francis and Mary refuſed to ratify it, for a reaſon, the force of which is not eaſily conceived. It was, they ſaid, becauſe the Scots falſely ſtiling themſelves faithful ſubjects, had made a treaty with Elizabeth in their own private names, without any warrant from the royal authority. If this refuſal had only concerned the articles granted to the Scots, Elizabeth might have believed that the court of France repented of their conceſſions, and then the reaſon alledged might have had ſome colour. But whatever related to the Scots being already performed, their pretended incroachment could not render invalid a treaty about a difference between Elizabeth and Mary, in which the conduct of the Scots was entirely unconcerned. It was therefore eaſy to infer, that this weak reaſon was but a pretence uſed by Francis and Mary, to elude what they had promiſed in the treaty with reſpect to Elizabeth. Accordingly, Elizabeth was convinced that the princes of Lorrain ſtill perſiſted in the deſign to wreſt the crown from her; and this belief was ever rooted in her mind. Mary's uncles did not then foreſee how dear this proceeding would one day coſt their niece, whoſe grandeur they ſo paſſionately deſired.

The queen ſought in marriage by ſeveral princes and noblemen. Camden. Burnet.

While Elizabeth was employed in theſe affairs, her court was attentive to watch her motions, her conduct, and inclinations with regard to marriage. Though ſhe told her parliament, ſhe was reſolved to remain ſingle, ſuch reſolutions were known to be liable to change, and the more, as there were many princes, and ſome lords, who deſpaired not to make her alter her mind. Charles archduke of Auſtria third ſon of the emperor Ferdinand, the king of Sweden, the duke of Holſtein, had already made their addreſſes. The earl of Arran ſon of the duke of Chateleraut, relying on the barrenneſs of queen Mary and his ſucceſſion to the crown of Scotland, flattered himſelf that Elizabeth would prefer him to any other, in order to unite the two kingdoms [e]. To theſe were added others, who being her ſubjects, and not daring to declare their minds ſo openly, were contented to leave her to gueſs their inclinations, or to diſcloſe them by means of ſome of her ladies. One proceeded upon his birth, another upon his merit, a third upon his mien and outward accompliſhments, apt to kindle the flames of love in the fair ſex. In ſhort, ſhe was indirectly aſſaulted on all the ſides which are generally thought weakeſt in a woman. The earl of Arundel [f], of a noble and antient race, though a little advanced in years, imagined the queen would marry a ſubject rather than a ſovereign, and if ſo, that no man deſerved that honour better than he. Sir William Pickering [g], having received ſome particular mark of the queen's eſteem, deſpaired not that theſe firſt favours would be extended much farther. But no man believed he had better grounds to flatter his hopes, than Robert Dudley, ſon of the late duke of Northumberland. The queen viſibly preferred him to all who had the honour to approach her, and gave him ſo many proofs of the inclination ſhe had for him, that for ſome time it was believed ſhe intended to marry him. At her acceſſion to the crown, ſhe made him maſter of the horſe, and knight of the garter. From thenceforward, ſhe took a pleaſure to diſtribute her favours through him: ſo that by this diſtinction, ſhe diſcovered that ſhe had more than a bare eſteem for him. He was at court called only My Lord, without any other addition, which demonſtrated her preference of him to all the nobility. And yet, when his pretenſions to ſuch diſtinguiſhing favours were examined, no qualities were found in him capable to make an impreſſion upon ſo diſcerning a queen. His vices far ſurpaſſing his virtues, recourſe was had to the planets which ruled his birth and occaſioned this ſympathy of thoughts. However this be, he was a favourite at court. All affairs were imparted to him: ambaſſadors gave account to him of their negotiations: every one applied to him for his affairs at court, and woe to thoſe who addreſſed to any other; that was an unpardonable fault.

Robert Dudley in great favour.
Camden.
Naunton.

The queen had two favourites more, but of a different kind from Dudley, as they were only for the affairs of the go-

Bacon and Cecil firſt miniſters.
Naunton.
Statut. 5 Eliz. c. 18.

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[e] Camden ſays, he was recommended to her by the proteſtants of Scotland, with the view and hopes of uniting the two kingdoms, p. 382.

[f] Henry Fitz-Alan.

[g] Sir William Pickering (whom Rapin, by miſtake calls, ſir George) was of a deſcent inferior to few of the nobility; he was honoured with the garter, and had by his embaſſies in France and Germany diſplayed his great abilities for publick affairs. Camden, p. 383.

vernment.

Eliz. 1560.

vernment. Theſe were Nicholas Bacon and William Cecil. The firſt was made keeper of the great ſeal, with all the privileges of lord chancellor. William Cecil had been ſecretary of ſtate to Edward VI, and diſcharged the office ſo well, that if his religion had not ſtood in the way, he had been continued under Mary. He was not however expoſed to perſecution, whether he ſo artfully managed as to give no advantages againſt him, or his particular merit procured him a diſtinction above all other proteſtants. He had an uncommon genius, a ſound judgment, a capacity for great affairs, an unwearied application, and an impenetrable ſecrecy, with a conſtant tendency to his ſole view, the welfare and advantage of the queen. It is not therefore ſtrange if he preſerved all his life the favour of a queen who ſo perfectly knew her own intereſt. When able princes are bleſt with ſuch miniſters, they do not eaſily part with them.

Philip receives the embaſſy from Elizabeth with great coldneſs. Camden.

In the ſituation of Elizabeth's affairs, ſhe wanted able and diſintereſted miniſters to guide her. Wherever ſhe turned her eyes out of her kingdom, ſhe ſaw not one friend who was really concerned for her welfare: ſhe had at firſt relied on the king of Spain; but Montague's report of his embaſſy to that prince, diſappointed all her expectations from him. When this ambaſſador, after diſcourſing with Philip about the Scotch affairs, demanded, agreeably to his inſtructions, the renewing of the antient alliance between England and the houſe of Burgundy, he found him very cold. Philip, in his anſwer, lamented the changes made in England with regard to religion, and ſignified his concern for them. He complained he had received no intelligence of the ſending an Engliſh army into Scotland till it was too late, and yet he adviſed the queen to have it inſerted in the future treaty between her and Mary, that if France ſent forces into Scotland, ſhe ſhould alſo have the ſame liberty, and to ſtipulate poſitively the reſtitution of Calais. He added, he had till then prevented Elizabeth's excommunication, and obtained from the pope a promiſe, that nothing ſhould be done in that affair without his knowledge. As to the renewing of the treaty, he coldly anſwered, it was needleſs. In fine, he returned by the ambaſſador the collar of the order of the garter. This convinced Elizabeth, that Philip was no longer her friend, and that his advice, which came too late, was more the effect of his jealouſy of the growing greatneſs of France than of his affection for her. Some time after, ſhe gave him a ſmall mortification, in refuſing her permiſſion to certain Engliſh catholicks

Returns the garter.

She refuſes a requeſt from him. Camden.

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tholicks[h] to reſide in the Low-Countries, and preſerve their effects in England. Amongſt theſe was Jane Dormer, grandmother of the Condé de Feria's lady, whom he married in England, during his ambaſſy[i]. This ſo provoked the Condé, that he uſed all his credit with Philip to exaſperate him againſt Elizabeth. He even found an opportunity to force into the inquiſition a ſervant of Chamberlain the Engliſh ambaſſador in ordinary for Spain. He alſo ſtrongly ſollicited the pope to excommunicate her, but without ſucceſs. Pius IV. was for trying other means, which appeared to him more proper to gain the queen, and were not prejudicial to his cenſures, which he could thunder againſt her whenever he pleaſed.

The pope endeavours to gain Elizabeth. Camden.

It was with this view, that he ſent Vincenzo Parpaglia, abbot of St. Saviour, into England, with certain inſtructions and a letter to the queen, exhorting her to return into the pale of the church, and promiſing to continue the general council[k] as ſoon as poſſible. It is pretended, the nuntio had likewiſe a power to offer the queen, that the pope would annul the ſentence of Henry's divorce with Ann Boleyn, and the ſubſequent act of parliament, confirm the Engliſh liturgy, and permit the Engliſh to communicate in both kinds. But theſe offers were not capable of moving Elizabeth: and the rather, as probably they were not ſincere, at leaſt, in what concerned religion. Hence it may be obſerved, what opinion the court of Rome and all catholicks had of Elizabeth's birth, ſince it was offered as a great favour to own her for legitimate daughter of Henry VIII.

but without ſucceſs.

Camden.

Stow. Hollingſh.

Mean time, Elizabeth very cloſely applied herſelf to the affairs of the government, in order to render her ſubjects as happy as poſſible, well knowing, her greateſt aſſiſtance was to flow from them in caſe of an invaſion, which ſhe had reaſon to expect. This year, ſhe was obliged to reſtore the coin to its ancient ſtandard, which had been extremely debaſed in the reign of Henry VIII. though no king had ever drawn ſo much money from his ſubjects[l]. If cardinal Pole may be

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[h] Richard Shelly, late prior of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem in England, Thomas Harvey, &c. Camden, p. 383.

[i] It was a proviſo in the antient laws of England, that under pain of forfeiting goods and chattels, none but peers of the firſt rank, and merchants, ſhould (without the king's ſpecial licence) leave the kingdom and reſide in foreign countries, beyond ſuch a fixed time. The Condé de Feria married the daughter of William Dormer by Mary Sidney. Camden, p. 213.

[k] This was the famous council of Trent, which had been opened many years before, but interrupted in its ſeſſions by continual wars, or the intrigues of the popes.

[l] The greateſt allay was in the 5 of Edw. VI. See the Coin-note of Edward VI. Queen Elizabeth reduced the ſilver coin to eleven ounces, two pennyweight fine, and eighteen pennyweight allay, the preſent ſtandard. See Coin-note at the end of this reign.

Act. Pub. xv. p. 590.

credited, this prince alone drew more money from the people than all the kings together ſince the conqueſt. The monaſtery of Weſtminſter was this year turned into a collegiate church [m]. Theſe were the moſt remarkable events in England in 1560. But before we proceed to the following year, it is neceſſary briefly to mention the affairs of the neighbouring ſtates.

Affairs of France. Mezerai. Thuanus. P. Daniel.

The affairs of France tended to confuſion the beginning of the year. The proteſtants ſeeing themſelves perſecuted, and condemned to the flames without mercy, thought it time to provide for their common defence. To this end, ſome of them, after a private conference, formed a conſpiracy againſt the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorrain, the king's miniſters, and their declared enemies. They had no leader who openly appeared, but very likely the prince of Condé, jealous of theſe two foreign princes, had among the reformed emiſſaries, who intimated to them, that when things were ripe, they ſhould not want a ſupport. However this be, a gentleman, named La Renaudie, projected to carry off the Lorrain princes, then with the king at Amboiſe. This attempt miſcarrying, was interpreted as a conſpiracy againſt the king himſelf, and twelve hundred perſons, either guilty or only ſuſpected to be concerned in it, were put to death. The two Lorrain princes would have been glad, on this pretence, to have diſpatched the prince of Condé; but their meaſures not being yet well taken, they waited a more favourable opportunity. Some time after, the ſtates being aſſembled at Orleans, the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé indiſcreetly came thither, though they had intimation of the court's ill deſigns againſt them. The king of Navarre indeed was not arreſted, but was ſo carefully watched, that an eſcape was impoſſible. The prince of Condé was impriſoned, and ſhortly after condemned to die. But the death of Francis [n] about the ſame time prevented the execution of the ſentence, and the prince was releaſed.

Death of Francis II. Buchanan.

Affairs of the Low-Countries. Grotius.

This ſame year, Philip II. having carried war into Africk againſt the corſair Dragut, who had made himſelf king of Tripoli, his arms were ſo unſucceſsful, that he was forced to recall the Spaniſh troops left in the Netherlands. The inhabitants of thoſe provinces ſaw the departure of the Spaniards with great ſatisfaction, which would have been much increaſed, had cardinal Granvelle been alſo recalled, for they mortally hated him, and were encouraged in their hate by the prince of Orange and the counts of Egmont and Horn, his ſworn enemies.

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[m] For a dean, twelve prebends, a ſchoolmaſter, an uſher, forty ſcholars, beſides chaplains, ſinging-men, twelve penſioners, &c. Camden, p. 385.

[n] The 5th of December. Rapin.

Sequel of the affairs of France.

Charles IX. ſucceeds his brother.

Thuanus. Mezerai.

The death of Francis II. cauſed great alterations in the court of France. Charles IX. his brother and ſucceſſor, being yet a minor, Catherine de Medici, his mother, had the addreſs and influence to prevail with the king of Navarre, firſt prince of the blood, to yield the regency to her, and content himſelf with the title of lieutenant-general. Mean while, as ſhe was not entirely without fear that he might one day think of reſuming the rank due to his birth, ſhe fomented with all her art the diſſenſions which had begun to appear in the late reign. By this means, ſhe at laſt formed two parties in the court and kingdom, which proved her ſecurity, as ſhe was neceſſary to both. The firſt was headed by the duke of Guiſe, the conſtable of Montmorency, and the marſhal of St. André. These three lords were called the Triumvirs. On their ſide were all the catholicks of the kingdom, into whom a belief was infuſed, that the chiefs had only in view the maintenance of the catholick religion. At the head of the other party, wholly conſiſting of Huguenots, (ſo the French proteſtants [o] were called) were the prince of Condé, the admiral of Coligny or Chatillon, and his brother d'Andelot. The king of Navarre fluctuated between the two parties, without being able to reſolve, and the queen-regent reaped great advantages from the diviſion among the great men.

The affairs of France being in this ſituation, Elizabeth ſeemed to be out of danger from them. Francis's ſucceſſor had no pretence to concern himſelf with the affairs of Scotland any farther than as a common ally, and he had no manner of demand upon England. On the other hand, the queen-regent, who had no great affection for her daughter-in-law, was far from engaging in a war for her ſake. Tho' ſhe could have hoped to place her on the throne of England, it was not her intereſt to render the houſe of Guiſe more powerful than it was. In fine, the princes of Lorrain, employed in ſtruggling with their enemies at court, were not in condition to proſecute the rights of the queen their niece. Wherefore, immediately after the death of Francis II. Mary, by the advice of her uncles, quitted the title of queen of Eng-

Mary quits the title of queen of England.

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[o] They were ſo called, either from Hugo's gate, in the city of Tours, where they uſed to meet firſt; or from king Hugo's ghoſt, which was the ſcare-crow uſed in that town to frighten children, and which was ſaid to walk in the ſuburbs in the night, it being the uſual time and place where the proteſtants were wont to meet. Charles IX. forbid this name by an edict. Thuanus, lib. 24.

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land, which ſhe had bore ever ſince the treaty of Cateau. But this was not ſufficient to ſatisfy Elizabeth. Mary being ſtill very young, might marry ſome powerful prince, and transfer to him her pretenſions. Therefore to make Elizabeth eaſy, the young queen was ſolemnly to declare ſhe had no right to that title, otherwiſe ſhe might have reſumed it when ſhe pleaſed, a bare interruption being not ſufficient to invalidate her claim. By the way, Elizabeth, like her grandfather Henry VII. was all her life ſo jealous of her crown, that ſhe was for ever uneaſy on that account.

Preſſed by Elizabeth to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh.

Returns an evaſive anſwer. Walſingham's negotiations, p. 12. Camden.

When ſhe heard of Francis's death, ſhe ſent the earl of Bedford into France, with her compliments of condolance and congratulation to the new king, and ordered him to preſs Mary to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. The ambaſſador diſcharged his commiſſion, and was anſwered by Mary, that the affair not concerning her as queen of France, but as queen of Scotland, ſhe would not confirm it without the advice of the Scottiſh nobility[p].

The poſture of her affairs. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 30, 31. Leſley.

Mean time, as ſhe knew her mother-in-law the queen-regent loved her not, ſhe left the court of France, and retired to Rheims, where her uncle the cardinal was archbiſhop, to ſpend part of the winter there, and afterwards ſhe went to reſide at Nancy. While ſhe was at Rheims, ſhe received a viſit from Martigues, la Broſſe, d'Oyſel, and the biſhop of Amiens, who being acquainted with the affairs of Scotland, and knowing her intention to return thither, believed it incumbent on them to give her ſome inſtructions. She came from thence ſo young, that ſhe was utterly ignorant of the kingdom ſhe was going to govern.

p. 26.

Melvil ſays, they adviſed her to gain by her favours, James Stuart prior of St. Andrew's, her natural brother, the earl of Argyle, who had married Jane Stuart her natural ſiſter, ſir William Maitland of Lethington, and ſir William Kirkaldy laird of Grange, and to rely on the proteſtants rather than the catholicks, as the reformed were in all reſpects ſuperior.

Leſley. Buchanan.

Some time after, on her way to Nancy, ſhe gave audience to John Leſley, ſent to her from her catholick ſubjects. Leſley ſays himſelf in his Hiſtory of Scotland, that he adviſed her, agreeably to his inſtructions, not to confide in the prior of St. Andrew's, and to repair to Aberdeen, where ſhe might be at the head of a good body of catholick troops, to reſtore religion to the ſtate it was in before the late changes. But ſhe was too wiſe to follow ſuch dangerous counſel. The next day the prior of St. Andrew's, who was alſo come to France to pay her his reſpects, met her at Joinville, and gave her counſels more ſuitable to the ſituation of her affairs. He confirmed her reſolution to return into Scotland, and adviſed her to reign like her predeceſſors with the concurrence of the ſtates, aſſuring her, it was the only way to live happy and peaceable [r]. The queen, agreeably to this advice, ordered him to return to Scotland, and prepare all things for her reception. Moreover, ſhe put into his hands a patent, impowering the ſtates to meet and ordain whatever they ſhould judge convenient for the good of the kingdom. Thus, Leſley's pains to prejudice her againſt Stuart, were for once ineffectual. This Leſley, afterwards biſhop of Roſs, greatly contributed, by his intrigues and violent counſels, to the misfortunes which at laſt fell on the head of the queen his miſtreſs. Stuart arriving in Scotland, notwithſtanding Leſley's endeavours to have him arreſted in France, delivered to the ſtates the patent which the queen had ſent by him. As almoſt all Scotland was then proteſtant, the ſtates employed the general power granted them by the queen, to eſtabliſh the reformation by publick authority. This was followed with an order to demoliſh all the monaſteries, which was immediately put in execution.

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[p] This affair being thus put off from time to time, queen Elizabeth began to ſuſpect ſome plot was hatching againſt England, and therefore reſolved to prevent it. Accordingly, ſhe diſpatched ſir Thomas Randolph into Scotland, to cultivate a good underſtanding between the Engliſh and Scotch nations. Camden, p. 385.

Buchanan.
Melvil.

The ſtates of Scotland eſtabliſh the reformation.
July.
Buchanan.

Mean time, Mary preparing to ſail for Scotland, ſent d'Oyſel to Elizabeth for a ſafe-conduct. Elizabeth anſwered, ſhe hoped the queen would ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, after which ſhe ſhould not only have a ſafe-conduct, but alſo, without being expoſed to the dangers and fatigues of the ſea, might paſs through England, where ſhe ſhould be received with all the marks of affection ſhe could expect from a good ſiſter [s]. Mary complained of this anſwer to Throckmorton the Engliſh ambaſſador, ſo as to ſhow him, ſhe was extremely offended at it. She told him, "As ſhe came into France in ſpite of Edward, ſhe could return into Scotland notwithſtanding Elizabeth's oppoſition: ſhe was heartily vexed, for aſking a favour, ſhe could ſo well be without: that the refuſal and the aſſiſtance given by Elizabeth to the Scotch

Elizabeth refuſes a ſafe-conduct to Mary, deſirous to return into her kingdom;
Camden.
which gave great offence to Mary.

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[r] Camden ſpeaks quite otherwiſe of James Stuart. Rapin. Camden ſays, he adviſed queen Elizabeth to intercept Mary in her paſſage, and that Lidington was alſo of the ſame mind, leſt at her return ſhe ſhould treat the proteſtants of Scotland with extreme rigour; not as traytors, but hereticks, as queen Mary of England had done before her. Camden, p. 387.

[s] Buchanan is in the wrong to omit the conditions on which Elizabeth was willing to grant a ſafe-conduct. Rapin.

Eliz.
1560.

"rebels, was a clear evidence, how little ſhe deſired to preſerve a good underſtanding between the two kingdoms: that it was matter of aſtoniſhment to her, that the queen of England ſhould obſtruct the return of her near relation, and moſt certainly preſumptive heir, into her own country: that ſhe could have no pretence for this, ſince ſhe could not accuſe her of meddling with the affairs of England, tho' the diſcontent of the Engliſh gave her an opportunity." She added, "ſhe was a queen as well as Elizabeth, and not deſtitute of friends when they ſhould be wanted: that the treaty of Edinburgh was made in the life-time of her huſband; and if he delayed to ſign it, he alone ought to bear the blame: that ſince ſhe was a widow, neither the council of France, nor her uncles, had concerned themſelves with the affairs of Scotland: that the Scots about her were private perſons, whom ſhe neither could nor ought to conſult in ſo important an affair; but as ſoon as ſhe had adviſed with the ſtates of Scotland, ſhe would return a ſuitable anſwer: that therefore ſhe was haſtening her return into Scotland, but Elizabeth intended to ſtop her journey, and ſo alone was the cauſe of the delay ſhe complained of." She concluded with ſaying, "ſhe had never offended Elizabeth, and prayed the ambaſſador to tell her the reaſon of her anger."

Throckmorton replied, his order was only to receive her anſwer concerning the treaty of Edinburgh: but ſince ſhe deſired it, he would for a moment lay aſide the ambaſſador, and give her his ſentiments as a private man. Then he told her, the queen his miſtreſs was very much offended at her aſſuming the title and arms of England, which ſhe had not done in queen Mary's reign, and left her to judge, whether a greater indignity could be offered to a crowned head. Mary anſwered, ſhe did it by the expreſs command of Henry II. her father-in-law, and of Francis her huſband, whom ſhe was obliged to obey; but upon the death of her huſband, ſhe had, when miſtreſs of herſelf, quitted both the title and arms: that however, ſhe being a queen, and grand-daughter to Henry's VIII's eldeſt ſiſter, did not believe it injurious to any perſon to bear the arms of England, which had been done by others more remotely allied, without any noiſe. Camden, from whom this is taken, does not mention Throckmorton's reply. It would however be ſtrange, that he ſhould be ſatiſfied with ſuch weak reaſons. Elizabeth did not only demand that Mary ſhould quit the title and arms of England, but alſo ſhould declare in the moſt expreſs manner, that ſhe never had any right to aſſume them. Nay, ſhe expected a ſolemn reparation for the incroachment, as appears by the treaty of Edinburgh. Now Mary's quitting the title and arms of England, without owning ſhe had no right to aſſume them, was very far from contenting Elizabeth, who would not have had any other perſon but herſelf pretend to the title of queen of England. Mary's alledging that others had borne the ſame arms, without any offence, pointed to the marquiſs of Exeter and the dutcheſs of Suffolk. But there were three remarkable differences between them and Mary. The firſt was, they bore the arms by the king's ſpecial grant. The ſecond, that they did it with a limb or border for diſtinction. The third, that they never aſſumed the title of king and queen of England.

Elizabeth ſuſpicious of Mary. Camden.

All this made Elizabeth ſuſpect the queen of Scotland was forming ſome dangerous deſign, and in quitting the title and arms of England intended only to amuſe her, ſince ſhe refuſed to own the injuſtice of aſſuming them. In ſhort, Mary, being determined to return into Scotland without Elizabeth's ſafe-conduct, ſent for Throckmorton to Abbeville, and demanded of him what was to be done to ſatisfy Elizabeth. Throckmorton anſwered, ſhe had only to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, as he had often told her before. She replied, ſhe could not conceive why ſhe was thus urged to ratify a treaty already executed: that the articles concerning the Scots had been really performed: that as ſhe had quitted the title and arms of England, ſhe could not be accuſed of ſeeking evaſions not to ratify the treaty, ſince a treaty already executed did not want a ratification: that the Scots could not complain of being treated with too much rigour, but that ſhe perceived the perſon who would prevent her return into Scotland, would prevent their enjoying the effects of her clemency. She added, ſhe would write to the queen of England with her own hand, and deſired the ambaſſador rather to compoſe than aggravate matters. But the letter ſhe writ on this occaſion, did not give Elizabeth the ſatisfaction ſhe believed to have reaſon to expect. As the uſurpation of the arms and title of Elizabeth, and the refuſal to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, were the baſis and foundation of the differences between theſe two queens, and had a conſtant influence upon this reign, it will not be unneceſſary to add ſome obſervations to what has been ſaid, in order to ſet in a clearer light the reaſons and intereſts of both.

Eliz. 1560.

The intereſts and political views of the two queens with regard to the treaty of Edinburgh.

1561.

Elizabeth, in France and all the catholick countries, was deemed illegitimate. It was upon this foundation, that Henry II. obliged the dauphin his ſon, and the queen of Scotland, the dauphin's wife, to aſſume the title of king and queen of England, and that after his death they continued to bear the ſame. Elizabeth was not ſo void of underſtanding, as not to perceive that this pretence would be more than ſufficient to deprive her of the crown, ſhould it ever come to be ſupported by force. On the other hand, ſhe could not doubt that ſuch a deſign was formed by Mary and her friends. Of this, her having aſſumed the title of queen of England was a clear indication. It was therefore neceſſary to provide for her ſafety. The civil war in Scotland naturally preſenting itſelf, ſhe aſſiſted the malecontents; and whereas France was reſolved to invade her from that quarter, gave Francis and Mary cauſe to apprehend ſhe would deprive them of Scotland. This produced the treaty of Edinburgh, which was never ratified by Francis; and after his death Mary perſiſted in her refuſal, contenting herſelf with only quitting the title of queen of England. But this was not a ſufficient ſecurity for Elizabeth. As Mary had quitted the title without giving any reaſon, ſhe could reſume it the firſt opportunity; and this was what Elizabeth deſired to prevent, and the more, as Mary's obſtinate refuſal gave her cauſe to believe it was really intended.

Mary on her ſide had ſtrong reaſons to elude this ratification. She was perſuaded Elizabeth was not the legitimate daughter of Henry VIII. and that neither his will nor an act of parliament could give her a right which nature denied. Upon this ſuppoſition, Mary believed the crown of England was fallen to her, as next heir to the deceaſed queen; and though Elizabeth had poſſeſſion, ſhe did not deſpair of wreſting it from her, with the aſſiſtance of France, Spain, the pope, and the Engliſh catholicks. But if, by ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, ſhe owned herſelf in the wrong to aſſume the title of queen of England, and promiſed with an oath never to bear it more, ſhe had cauſe to fear her friends would grow very cool. To what purpoſe then did Francis order his plenipotentiaries to ſign a treaty, which he did not intend to ratify? To this the anſwer is eaſy. He could not otherwiſe draw his forces out of Scotland, where they were beſieged, nor oblige Elizabeth to recall hers. As to the breach of his word, it did not then much trouble the French court. Now as Mary was at that time in ſubjection to a huſband, ſhe threw upon him whatever was amiſs in that conduct.

The ſecond reaſon Mary had to refuſe the ratification was ſtill of more force. The plenipotentiaries of France, in ſigning the treaty, made a wrong ſtep, for want of ſufficient knowledge of the Engliſh affairs. They ſuffered to be inſerted in the treaty, without any reſtriction, this general clauſe, "That for the future Francis and Mary ſhould not "aſſume the title of king and queen of England." Now Mary had reaſon to fear, that theſe words, 'for the future,' might be a ſnare to make her renounce for ever the crown of England, on account of her religion. This fear ſeemed the more juſt, as the Engliſh had ſufficiently diſcovered their intention, to regulate the ſucceſſion by Henry the Eighth's will, where the poſterity of Margaret queen of Scotland was omitted, and the dutcheſs of Suffolk placed next to Elizabeth. It ſeemed therefore to her, that a ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh would give occaſion to ſay, ſhe complied with the will of Henry VIII. which could not but be to her extremely prejudicial. It is ſcarce to be doubted, that Elizabeth thought the ſame thing, ſince afterwards, when Mary, preſſed by the neceſſity of her affairs, offered to ratify the treaty with this alteration of the clauſe in diſpute, "That during the life of "Elizabeth ſhe would not take the title of queen of Eng"land," Elizabeth was not ſatisfied. This is an evident ſign, that her intention was to make uſe of the ratification to deprive Mary of her birth-right, or at leaſt, to hold her in ſubjection, by keeping her in a perpetual uneaſineſs concerning her ſucceſſion. There was then inſincerity in both their proceedings. Mary, in evading the ratification of the treaty, on pretence of the prejudice it might do her, refuſed in effect to acknowledge ſhe had done amiſs in aſſuming the title of queen of England during the life of Elizabeth, and thereby preſerved all her claim to be aſſerted on occaſion; for it was not till ſome years after, that ſhe offered the forementioned reſtriction. On the other hand, Elizabeth, under colour of deſiring Mary only to renounce a right which ſhe had aſſumed to her prejudice, meant to engage her to ſign an equivocal clauſe, which might have deprived her of all her rights. Theſe remarks will hereafter appear not to be entirely uſeleſs.

Mary, though ſhe had no ſafe-conduct from Elizabeth, puts to ſea, and happily arrived in Scotland. Some ſay, ſhe eſcaped the Engliſh fleet in a fog, which waited to intercept her †. But this is only a bare conjecture, without any proof.

Mary arrives in Scotland, August 21.
Leſley.
Buchanan.
Blackwood.

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† That queen Elizabeth intended to intercept the queen of Scots, is not poſitively aſſerted by the Scottiſh hiſtorians. Buchanan ſays, that queen Elizabeth had prepared

proof[u]. It is however very likely, that as affairs ſtood between her and Elizabeth, if ſhe had been taken ſhe would have been detained in England, at leaſt till ſhe had ratified the treaty of Edinburgh. She was received in her kingdom with great demonſtrations of joy, both by the nobles and people[w]. But ſhe had the mortification to ſee the reformation eſtabliſhed by laws ſo ſevere, that only herſelf was allowed the liberty to have maſs in her own chapel, but without any pomp or oſtentation. Nevertheleſs, ſome lords ſtill perſiſted in the old religion, and hoping to reſtore it by her authority, made their court to her with great application. Of this number were George Gordon earl of Huntley, the earls of Athol, Crawford, Sutherland, with ſome biſhops. It was not poſſible to determine, what was the religion of the duke of Chatelerault, his conduct had been hitherto ſo ambiguous. The lords I have named were very conſiderable by their birth, their riches, and their vaſſals. And yet they would never perhaps have thought of reſtoring the ancient religion, had they not depended upon the queen's favour, who could alone counter-ballance the power of the proteſtants. Their firſt project was to try to alienate her from thoſe of the proteſtants, who had the moſt credit with her and in the kingdom. James Stuart her natural brother was the principal object of their hatred, on account of his adherence to the proteſtant religion. Beſides, the queen having at her arrival committed to him the adminiſtration of affairs, it would be very difficult for them to undertake any thing without oppoſition from him, while he continued in that poſt. For this reaſon, they omitted nothing that could ſerve to ruin him with the queen. But it is not neceſſary to be more circumſtantial in theſe intrigues; it ſuffices to ſhow the ſituation of the court of Scotland, becauſe this is abſolutely neceſſary for the ſequel.

The Roman catholicks project to reſtore their religion in Scotland. Buchanan.

Endeavours to ſupplant James Stuart.

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prepared a great fleet, on pretence to ſcour the ſea of pyrates; but ſome thought, that it was to intercept the queen of Scots, if ſhe adventured to paſs againſt her will. So that it was only a ſuſpicion, lib. 17. Thuanus affirms, that James prior of St. Andrew's, in his return from France through England, adviſed queen Elizabeth to detain the queen of Scots, thinking ſhe would come through England, lib. 29.

[u] It is true, there aroſe a great fog in her paſſage. (See Brantôme, Dam. illuſt. p. 130.) But that does not prove ſhe was purſued by the Engliſh fleet. Rapin.

[w] And at firſt, following the counſel of her friends, ſhe behaved herſelf humanely to them all, committing her affairs to her brother the prior of St. Andrew's, and to the ſecretary Lethington, or Lidingtoun, as meeteſt both to hold the country at her devotion, and alſo to beget a ſtrict friendſhip between her and the queen of England. Melvil, p. 32.

The haughtineſs with which Mary talked to the Engliſh ambaſſador before ſhe left France, was not only unſuitable to her preſent circumſtances, but even contrary to her meaſures and the projects ſhe had formed with her uncles. Whilſt Francis II. was alive, theſe princes believed that the forces of France would be ſufficient to ſubdue Scotland, under colour of extirpating hereſy, and afterwards in conjunction with the Scotch troops, it would be eaſy to enter England, and with the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh catholicks dethrone Elizabeth. But the war they had excited in Scotland taking a very different turn from what they expected, and the death of Francis following immediately upon it, they found that other meaſures were to be taken, and the execution of their project deferred for ſome time. They therefore adviſed the queen their niece voluntarily to quit the title of queen of England, to return into Scotland, to enter if poſſible into a ſtrict friendſhip with Elizabeth, to endeavour to be declared her preſumptive heir, and under colour of that correſpondence to form a party in England, where was no want of malecontents to be ſerviceable on occaſion. The whole courſe of the hiſtory ſhows this to have been Mary's plan, and I ſhall hereafter give convincing proofs of it. Nothing therefore was more contrary to theſe meaſures, than a quarrel with Elizabeth, whoſe friendſhip ſhe ought to have courted, in order to obtain the declaration ſhe deſired, by means of which ſhe was to ſtrengthen her party in England. When ſhe arrived in Scotland, ſhe endeavoured to correct this error by ſending Maitland to Elizabeth, to notify her ſafe arrival at Edinburgh, and to deſire her friendſhip. The ambaſſador carried likewiſe a letter from the principal noblemen to Elizabeth, which, after many compliments, ſignified to her, that the beſt way to preſerve a good underſtanding between the two kingdoms, was for her to declare their queen her preſumptive heir. Elizabeth was ſo much upon her guard againſt whatever came from Mary, that it was not eaſy to ſurprize her. She anſwered the ambaſſador, that the queen of Scotland, while in France, promiſed to give her ſatisfaction concerning the treaty of Edinburgh, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould arrive in that kingdom; it could not therefore but ſurprize her to find no notice taken of that article. The ambaſſador excuſed the queen his miſtreſs, that the ſhort time ſince her arrival had not allowed her to think of any important affair. Elizabeth ſeemed ſatisfied with the excuſe; but to the letter from the lords, anſwered plainly, that ſhe would not run the hazard of ſeeing her ſubjects adore the riſing ſun. And raiſing her voice, added,

Mary's error in falling out with Elizabeth.

She ſends an ambaſſador to Elizabeth, and deſires to be declared her heir. Buchanan. Melvil. Camden. Thuanus.

Elizabeth demands the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; Walſingham's negotiations. Norris's inſtructions, p. 12.

and refuſes the requeſt of Mary. Buchanan. Camden.

added. She would not ſuffer the queen of Scotland to rob her of the crown during her life; neither did ſhe intend to do any thing that might prejudice that queen after her death, though ſhe had uſurped the arms of England, for which ſhe ought in juſtice to make reparation. This was the ſubſtance of what paſſed in relation to this embaſſy, from which Mary drew the advantage ſhe deſired, as it gave her an opportunity to renew a correſpondence with Elizabeth. I am perſuaded Melvil is miſtaken, when he ſays in his Memoirs, that after Mary's return to Scotland, there was ſo cloſe a friendſhip between the two queens, that they writ to one another every week, and teſtified an extreme deſire to deliver by word of mouth what they committed to writing. Nothing till then had paſſed between them that could ſerve to form or cement this pretended reciprocal friendſhip. On the contrary, many things contributed to alienate their hearts from each other. But if Melvil, who was then in Germany, was rightly informed, one cannot help thinking they were both very great diſſemblers. About the end of the year, Mary gave the prior of St. Andrew's the title of earl of Murray, and created John Areſkin earl of Marr.

Camden, p. 23.

Stewart and Areſkin made earls. Buchanan.

The pope deſirous to ſend a nuntio to Elizabeth, is refuſed. Camden. Collier.

Though the anſwer, given laſt year to the abbot of Parpaglia, was by no means proper to inſpire the pope with any great hopes of the reſtoration of the antient religion in England, he ſent a nuntio this year to Elizabeth, to notify that the council of Trent which had been interrupted, would be continued in the ſame place, and to deſire her to ſend thither ſome Engliſh biſhops. The abbot Martinengo, who was charged with this commiſſion, arriving in Flanders, and ſending for leave to purſue his journey into England[w], could never obtain it. Whereupon the nuntio at Paris prayed Throckmorton to write to the queen, who coldly anſwered, ſhe heartily deſired a general council, but a popiſh one ſhe would never honour with an ambaſſador; that ſhe had no buſineſs with the biſhop of Rome, who had no more power than other biſhops.

Philip ſeparates himſelf at a ſtill greater diſtance from Elizabeth. Camden.

After ſuch an anſwer, Elizabeth might depend upon continual diſturbance from the court of Rome, and the more, as ſince the death of Francis II. the king of Spain was entirely eſtranged from her, becauſe he no longer dreaded the union of Great Britain with the monarchy of France. This fear was the only band that had till then attached him to England.

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[w] For it was provided by an antient act, That the pope's nuncios ſhould not ſet foot in England without leave; and, before making oath, that they would attempt nothing prejudicial to the king, or liberties of the people. The council did not think proper to admit the preſent nuncio, when there were ſo many papiſts in all parts of the kingdom, who were endeavouring to involve the nation in troubles. Camden, p. 387.

The queen makes divers preparations to defend herſelf. Hollingſh. p. 1192. Camden. Stow.

Mean time, Elizabeth ſeeing herſelf without any ally, and in danger from all ſides, took care in time of her defence. She employed this whole year in preparations, which convinced her enemies ſhe would not be eaſily ſurprized. Her great care was to have always a good fleet in readineſs, knowing that her navy was the beſt bulwark of England. At the ſame time ſhe ordered all the forts and caſtles of the northern borders to be well fortified, and particularly Berwick, as the place from whence ſhe might be attacked with moſt eaſe. As the Engliſh had till this time been obliged to have all their gunpowder from abroad, ſhe was afraid of wanting it, and, to prevent that inconvenience, ordered it to be made in her own kingdom [x]. Moreover, ſhe increaſed the pay of the ſoldiers, to encourage them to ſerve her faithfully and be ready upon occaſion. This ſame year was happily diſcovered in Cumberland a mine of pure copper [y], which had been neglected many ages, and at the ſame time was found in great abundance the ſtone called Lapis Calaminaris, ſo neceſſary for braſs-works.

Orders payment to be made to the monks of their penſions and arrears. Camden.

The cares of war did not divert Elizabeth from the affairs of juſtice and the civil adminiſtration. She had her eye every-where; and laboured effectually for the reformation of abuſes and the bringing things into good order. Information being made, that the officers of the exchequer reſerved the penſions aſſigned to thoſe eccleſiaſticks who had been turned out of their abbies, ſhe ordered, that all who were living and unprovided with benefices, ſhould be paid to a farthing [z].

Her great oeconomy.

Thus every man relying on the queen's juſtice and equity, England ſaw the revival of a happineſs ſhe had long wanted. The people had the more reaſon to be pleaſed with the government, as the queen, without demanding any ſubſidies, diſcharged all the extraordinary expences out of the crown revenues [a]; for ſhe did not laviſh her money upon the court-

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[x] She bought up abundance of arms in Germany, and cauſed a great number of iron and braſs cannons to be caſt. Camden, p. 388.

[y] Near Reſwick, lying at the foot of the tall mountain Skiddaw.

[z] The queen alſo increaſed the ſalary of the judges, and firſt allowed them proviſion for their reſpective circuits. Camden, p. 388.

[a] Camden obſerves, that ſhe gave very little out of her own demeſnes, or indeed any thing elſe, but on condition it ſhould, in default of iſſue male, return to the crown. It is to be wiſhed this rule had always been obſerved! p. 388.

leeches,

Eliz. 1561.

leeches, like her predeceſſors. Her maxim was, to injure none, but to be extremely ſparing of her favours and treaſures; remembering in what want, by exceſſive profuſion, many of her predeceſſors had lived, with great revenues. This was what forced them to have frequent recourſe to their parliaments, not to have the publick occaſions but their own extravagances ſupplied [b].

1562.

Elizabeth is ſuſpicious of the counteſs of Lenox, and impriſons her. Camden.

It was not without reaſon that Elizabeth took ſo much pains to gain the love of her ſubjects by the good order ſhe introduced into the kingdom, ſince at the ſame time endeavours were uſed to corrupt and draw them into rebellion. The catholicks began to meet and plot to reſtore their religion by arms. Elizabeth having ſome intimation of theſe cabals, was deſirous to know whence they ſprung, and at laſt found it was the queen of Scotland that was to ſerve for pretence to the revolt, on account of her title to the crown of England. The counteſs of Lenox, born from a ſecond marriage of Margaret queen of Scotland with the earl of Angus, held a ſecret correſpondence with Mary. Here the firſt diſcovery was made. As this counteſs had the ſame intereſt with Mary, ſince they both deſcended from the eldeſt daughter of Henry VII, the queen imagined this correſpondence was not without myſtery, and therefore ſent the earl and counteſs of Lenox to the Tower [c].

A conſpiracy againſt the queen diſcovered. Camden.

Soon after ſhe diſcovered that Arthur Pole and his brother, deſcended from a princeſs of the houſe of York [d], and ſir Anthony Forteſcue who had married their ſiſter, began to form a party in the kingdom. Upon this intelligence, they were ſent to priſon and afterwards tried. They confeſſed a deſign of withdrawing into France to the duke of Guiſe, of returning from thence into Wales with a French army, to proclaim Mary queen of Scots queen of England, and Arthur Pole duke of Clarence. They proteſted however that they meant not to execute their project during the queen's life, who, they believed, would die before the end of the year, having been told ſo by ſome pretenders to aſtrology. Their own confeſſion condemned them; but the queen, in conſideration of their illuſtrious deſcent, forgave their offence.

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[b] This year, on June 15, the ſpire of St. Paul's cathedral in London, the timber part of which was two hundred and ſixty feet high, and the roof ſeven hundred and twenty feet long, and one hundred and thirty broad, were burnt down by lightning, as it was then thought; but a plummet confeſſed on his death-bed, that it was ſet on fire by his careleſneſs, in leaving a pan of coals in the ſteeple, when he went to dinner. Stow, p. 647. Heylin's Hiſt. Ref. p. 312.

[c] The earl was committed to the cuſtody of the maſter of the rolls, and the counteſs to the cuſtody of ſir Richard Sackville. Camden, p. 389.

[d] Great-grand-children to George duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV.

Eliz. 1562.

The queen's ſeverity to Catherine Grey. Camden.

Catherine Grey, daughter to the duke and dutcheſs of Suffolk, and ſiſter of Jane Grey beheaded in the laſt reign, was not uſed with the ſame lenity, though ſhe was leſs criminal, and the queen's near relation. She was called to account for a crime, in the puniſhment of which Elizabeth leſs ſhowed her zeal for juſtice than her jealouſy and deſire to find a pretence to ſecure herſelf from this ſort of rival, who gave her ſome uneaſineſs. Catherine had been married to Henry, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Pembroke [e], who had procured a divorce, becauſe he could not live with her. Afterwards the earl of Hertford privately married her, and then went into France. In his abſence, the queen being informed of this clandeſtine marriage, ſent Catherine to the Tower, though ſhe was very big with child. The earl returning, and owning his marriage, was committed to the ſame place. After this, the archbiſhop of Canterbury annulled their pretended marriage, becauſe it was not ſufficiently proved, and they both remained priſoners in the Tower. While they were there, the earl found means to come to her, and ſhe again proved with child. Whereupon he was accuſed of three capital crimes: Of breaking priſon: Of debauching a virgin of the blood royal: And of abuſing her a ſecond time; and for each offence was fined five thouſand pounds [f]. At laſt, after a long impriſonment and ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to have his ſentence reverſed, he was forced to forſake her by an authentick act. But the queen remaining implacable to the lady, ſhe died in priſon. Before ſhe expired, ſhe prayed the lieutenant of the Tower to tell the queen, that ſhe begged her pardon for contracting marriage without her permiſſion, thereby ſhowing, ſhe had ever conſidered the earl of Hertford as her lawful huſband [g]. This exceſſive rigour does Elizabeth no credit, ſince it is plain, Catherine Grey's right to the crown, whether well or ill grounded, was her greateſt offence.

[e] Rapin ſays, to the earl of Pembroke, but the lord Henry Herbert was divorced before his father died. Camden ſays, when ſhe was divorced, ſhe had ſuffered a long ſlight and contempt, and was ſo far gone with child as to be near her time, p. 389.

[f] And nine years impriſonment. Camden, p. 389.

[g] The validity of their marriage was afterwards brought to a trial at the common law; where the miniſter who married them being preſent, and other circumſtances agreeing, the jury found it a good marriage. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 369. —— They were married in the church of Great Bodmin in Wiltſhire: lord Beauchamp, a ſon of this unfortunate pair, lies buried there, with this inſcription on his tombſtone:

"Bello campus eram, Graiâ genetrice, Semerus
"Tres habui Natos, eſt quibus una ſoror."

But

The queen diſtruſts the courts of France and Spain. Camden.

But it was not from the houſe of Suffolk that Elizabeth had moſt to fear. The queen of Scotland was a rival much more dangerous, as being powerfully ſupported. Her friends ſtill thought of placing her on the throne of England, and only waited a favourable opportunity to execute their deſign. Elizabeth had occaſion to be convinced of this by her intelligence, that the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorrain, to engage the king of Navarre [h] in their party, offered him the marriage of their niece, and promiſed him poſſeſſion of the throne of England, by the aſſiſtance of the pope and king of Spain. Though this prince had a wife, they minded not the difficulty of annulling his marriage, becauſe his queen Jane was a heretick [i]. This ſatisfied Elizabeth that the princes of Lorrain had not laid aſide their firſt deſign; and that Philip II. was coming into the plot. Whereupon ſhe diſpatched Sidney [k] into France on ſome pretence, to inform himſelf exactly of the affairs of that kingdom, and of what was contriving againſt her, that ſhe might take her meaſures accordingly.

Affairs of France. Mezerai. Thuanus.

Catherine de Medici ſtill continued to foment the diſſention between the two factions, and ſeemed to incline to the ſide of the Huguenots, who were the weakeſt. As the Guiſes had artfully perſuaded the catholicks, that their differences with the prince of Condé concerned only religion, ſhe feared to ſee herſelf once more at their diſcretion; as ſhe had been in the laſt reign, if the Huguenots were oppreſſed. For this reaſon ſhe ſupported them, and procured them a very favourable edict, called the Edict of January. The duke of Guiſe, penetrating her deſign, believed it time to break her meaſures, by engaging on a ſudden both parties in a war. He accompliſhed his deſign by the maſſacre of Vaſſy, committed under his eyes, upon a very ſlight occaſion. Then the Huguenots, unable to contain any longer, began the war by ſurprizing Orleans, with the more reaſon, as the queen regent had applied to the prince of Condé for his aſſiſtance, to free her and the king from the captivity in which they were held by the Guiſes.

The Huguenots deſire ſuccours of Elizabeth; who concludes a treaty with them. Camden. P. Daniel.

I ſhall not deſcend to the particulars of this war, which may be ſeen in all the hiſtories of France: I ſhall only ſay, that the Huguenots, unſucceſsful in the firſt campaign, ſent the Vidame of Chartres to Elizabeth, to deſire her aſſiſtance. Shortly after his arrival at London, he concluded a treaty with Elizabeth, by which ſhe promiſed to furniſh the Huguenot leaders with a hundred thouſand crowns, and an aid of ſix thouſand foot, half to be employed in the defence of Dieppe and Roan, and half to be put into garriſon at Havre de Grace. The Huguenots, on their ſide, engaged to put the queen in poſſeſſion of this laſt place, to be kept till the reſtitution of Calais. The ſame day the treaty was ſigned, Elizabeth publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring the reaſons which obliged her to aſſiſt the Huguenots. She ſaid, "her intention in ſending troops into Normandy was not to recover that province, the antient patrimony of her anceſtors, and unjuſtly wreſted from them; but to preſerve it for the king of France during his minority, and reſcue it from the ambition and tyranny of the princes of Lorrain. That ſhe was the more concerned to endeavour to prevent that province falling into their hands, as it was manifeſt their deſign was to ſeize the ports of Normandy, and from thence invade her dominions, after the extirpation of the reformed in France. That for theſe reaſons ſhe thought herſelf obliged to aſſiſt the young king, hinder his ſubjects from being oppreſſed by the Guiſes, protect the profeſſors of the reformed religion, and provide for her own ſafety." This laſt article concerning her ſecurity was the chief, or rather the only one, which juſtified her aſſiſting the Huguenots. In all appearance, ſhe would not have liked that a foreign prince ſhould have uſed the other pretences, alledged in her manifeſto, to aid the Engliſh catholicks, had they taken up arms againſt her. But ſhe looked upon the duke of Guiſe as her moſt mortal enemy and the principal protec[illegible] of the queen of Scotland, for whom it manifeſtly appeared, he would have procured the crown of England. The duke was at the head of the catholick party, which was infinitely more powerful than that of the Huguenots. It might therefore very eaſily happen, that theſe would be extirpated, or at leaſt entirely diſabled, and the duke of Guiſe become abſolute maſter of the court and kingdom, and employ all the forces of France to execute his project in favour of the queen of Scotland his niece. It is therefore eaſy to conceive the neceſſity Elizabeth was under to oppoſe the advancement of ſo formidable an enemy, which was not to be done more ſucceſsfully than by aſſiſting the Huguenots. In maintaining the war in France, ſhe held the duke of Guiſe employed, and rendered him incapable to attempt any thing againſt England. Paul de Foix, the French ambaſſador, having notice of the treaty, required her in virtue of the treaty of Cateau to deliver

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[h] Anthony of Bourbon.

[i] And for the very ſame reaſon queen Elizabeth was to be depoſed. Camden, p. 389.

[k] Sir Henry Sidney.

Publiſhes a manifeſto on that occaſion.
Mezerai.
Stow. p. 648.
Camden.

The queen's true motive.

The French ambaſſador complains, but receives no ſatisfaction.
Camden.

to him the Vidame and all his attendants: but ſhe excuſed herſelf, and told him, ſhe would write to the king of France about it. She did ſo indeed, but not obtaining any thing for that lord, ſhe did not think herſelf obliged to deliver him to the king.

The Engliſh put in poſſeſſion of Havre de Grace. Camden. Mezerai. Thuanus. Stow. Hollingſh. Act. Pub. xv. p. 625. Roan taken. The battle of Dreux. Thuanus. Mezerai. P. Daniel.

The ſix thouſand Engliſh not embarking till September, found the king of Navarre on their arrival before Roan. This was the reaſon of their dividing themſelves in two bodies only, of which one entered Dieppe [l], and the other took poſſeſſion of Havre de Grace, according to the treaty of London. The earl of Warwick [m], general of theſe forces, had been made governor of this laſt place by the queen. Mean time, the city of Roan was taken by aſſault, and the king of Navarre, who was wounded at the ſiege, died on his return to Paris. In the cloſe of this year, the battle of Dreux was fought between the catholicks and Huguenots with almoſt equal loſs. The prince of Condé and the conſtable de Montmorency, who commanded the two armies, were both taken priſoners, but the king's forces kept the field of battle. The prince of Condé not being able to head his party, admiral de Chatillon took upon him the command of the army. I muſt now ſpeak of the tranſactions of Scotland this year.

Affairs of Scotland.

Buchanan.

James Stewart, created earl of Murray, held ſtill the firſt rank in the management of affairs, not ſo much from any affection the queen had for him, as from her being adviſed to keep him always attached to her intereſt. It was indeed almoſt impoſſible for Mary, who had been educated in a court ſo averſe to the reformation, to have any great friendſhip for the earl her brother, whom ſhe conſidered as the head of the reformed. Beſides, his ſevere temper did not agree with the luxury which was introducing into the court by the young queen. The preachers exclaimed from the pulpit againſt theſe worldly vanities, as very repugnant to true religion. On the other hand, the earl of Murray, as well to ſupport his intereſt amongſt the reformed as to follow his own inclination, ſignified often to the queen, that this way of life would at laſt forfeit her the eſteem and affection of her ſubjects. This furniſhed his enemies with a pretence to inſinuate to the queen, that Murray meant to keep her in ſervitude, and it would be impoſſible to reſtore the old religion while he had the direction of affairs. But if Buchanan is worthy of belief, they were not content with uſing ſecret artifices to ruin him in the queen's favour. This hiſtorian pretends the duke of Chatelerault and the earls of Huntley and Bothwell conſpired to aſſaſſinate him, but their plot was diſcovered by the earl of Arran. He adds, that the duke was puniſhed with the loſs of his government of Dunbarton, and Bothwell impriſoned in the caſtle of Edinburgh, from whence he found means to eſcape.

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[l] This was commanded by ſir Adrian Poynings. Camden, p. 390.

[m] Ambroſe Dudley, created December 26, 1561, baron Liſle, and earl of Warwick, Stow, p. 648.

A deſign diſcovered againſt the earl of Murray. Buchanan.

But theſe were not Murray's moſt dangerous enemies. Buchanan ſays, the cardinal of Lorrain writ to the queen his niece, to incite her to diſpatch the earl and ſome other zealous proteſtants out of the way, for which ſhe might depend upon a powerful aid from the pope to reſtore the catholick religion in Scotland. According to this hiſtorian, the queen reſolved to comply with the deſires of the pope and the cardinal, and communicated her intentions to the earl of Huntley, who approved of them, and promiſed his aſſiſtance. It was for this purpoſe, that the queen took a progreſs into the north, where lay the earl of Huntley's eſtate [n], and where the catholicks were numerous. But at the ſame time Huntley finding the queen, in order to execute her project, was going to a country which almoſt wholly depended on him, formed himſelf the deſign to carry her away and force her to marry George Gordon his ſecond ſon [o]. Murray accompanying the queen in her progreſs, ſeveral obſtacles occurred, which cauſed the execution of the plot againſt him to be delayed from day to day. Mean while, the earl of Huntley and his ſon improved the occaſion to execute their project. One day, when the court was in a ſmall and ill-fortified town, George Gordon appeared near it with ſome forces, in order to ſurprize the queen's perſon. But the earl of Murray by unexpected good fortune found means to ſave her. This important ſervice effaced for ſome time the diſadvantageous impreſſions ſhe had received of him.

The earl of Huntley forms a deſign to carry off the queen. Buchanan.

Murray preſerves her.

Huntley perſiſts in his deſign; Buchanan.

The diſcovery of the plot was not capable to make the earl of Huntley deſiſt from his enterprize. He ſtill kept in arms with intent to ſurprize the court, where the earl of Sutherland was his ſpy, and informed him of what paſſed there. But an intercepted letter diſcovering all, Sutherland fled into Flanders, and the earl of Murray at the head of ſome forces marched

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[n] Inverneſs.

[o] Rapin, by miſtake, ſays eldeſt ſon, but Alexander was the eldeſt, who dying without iſſue, George ſucceeded to the title (which his father had forfeited) but not till June 1566, at which time he was reſtored by parliament. Crawford's Peerage.

againſt

is defeated and taken. Dies. George his ſon condemned to die.

againſt the earl of Huntley, who bravely expected him. In a battle fought on this occaſion, Huntley was defeated and taken priſoner, but died within a few days [p]. George his ſon eſcaping, the duke of Chatelerault his father-in-law very earneſtly ſued for his pardon, and upon ſome good hope given him by the queen, put him into her hands. He was however conducted to Dunbar, tried and ſentenced to die: but the ſentence was not executed [q].

Project of a marriage betwixt Mary and the arch-duke. Melvil, p. 33, &c.

While theſe things were tranſacting in Scotland, James Melvil, author of the memoirs under his name, was employed at Inſpruck to ſound the inclinations of the imperial court concerning the marriage of queen Mary with the arch-duke Charles, third ſon of the emperor Ferdinand. The firſt overture of this deſign had been made by the cardinal of Lorrain in his way through Inſpruck to the council of Trent, with the offer of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, for a portion. This occaſioned Maximilian, eldeſt brother of Charles, to aſk Melvil, ſpeaking of this marriage, whether the Scots would be willing to aſſiſt their queen in obtaining the crown of England. Hence it is plain, that the Guiſes had ſtill this deſign in view, and were inceſſantly labouring to execute it. We muſt not therefore wonder that Elizabeth had always an eye upon the queen of Scots as upon a very dangerous rival [r].

1563. Affairs of France. Mezerai. Thuanus. F. Daniel. Melvil.

In the beginning of the year 1563, the duke of Guiſe laid ſiege to Orleans, which was the magazine of the Huguenots, and where D' Andelot brother of the admiral was ſhut up with a numerous garriſon. The place was now reduced to the laſt extremity, when the duke of Guiſe was killed with a piſtol-ball by a gentleman named Poltrot. The duke perceiving his end approaching, teſtified an extreme concern for having kindled the civil war, and ſent his ſerious advice to the queen-regent to make a peace on any terms. The admiral being accuſed of this murder, endeavoured to clear himſelf, but the relations of the deceaſed perſiſted in their belief of his guilt. Mean while, the peace between the king and the Huguenots cloſely followed the death of the duke of Guiſe, without any care taken by the prince of Condé [s] to have his generous friend the queen of England included. Nor was this all: for Charles IX. beſieging Havre de Grace, the Huguenots diſtinguiſhed themſelves in driving the Engliſh out of a place which they themſelves had put into their hands. If their conduct on this occaſion ſhowed them good Frenchmen, it was alſo a demonſtration of their being very ill politicians. Indeed they could not have done any thing more prejudicial to their own intereſt, or more agreeable to their enemies than thus to quarrel with England. The earl of Warwick defended the place ſome time with great bravery and intrepidity [t]; but the plague which raged in the town, daily ſwept away fifty of his men [u], and reduced him to the neceſſity of a capitulation, by which the town was reſtored to the king of France. After Havre was taken, a peace was concluded between the two crowns. The Engliſh forces which had ſerved in France bringing the plague with them into England [w], it made terrible ravages, above twenty thouſand dying in London only [x].

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[p] John, one of his ſons, was executed a few days after. Buchanan, l. 17. --- This battle was not fought till October 28, 1563, according to Crawford.

[q] Melvil, who was then in Germany, ſays nothing of this conſpiracy of the earl of Huntley. Camden, whoſe aim was only to blacken the reputation of the earl of Murray, contents himſelf with ſaying (in his annals of the year 1566) that Murray had ruined the illuſtrious houſe of the Gordons, without ſaying one word of this conſpiracy. Rapin.

[r] This year, Shan O Neal, earl of Tirroen, who had in 1560, broke out into a rebellion, came and made his ſubmiſſion to queen Elizabeth, and received her pardon. Camden, p. 385, 391. --- This year alſo, on December 25, died William lord Grey of Wilton. Stow, p. 652.

The Huguenots make a peace without any notice taken of Elizabeth.

Havre beſieged. Camden.

Hollingſh. p. 1195.---1205.

Surrenders. Stow.

A truce between France and England. Camden. Mezerai.

Plague at London.

The death of the duke of Guiſe made ſome alteration in the affairs of the queen of Scotland. Charles IX. declaring himſelf of age to govern, was under the influence of the queen his mother, who not loving her daughter-in-law gave her ſome mortifications. The payment of her dowry was diſcontinued, the Scotch guard diſmiſſed, and the duke of Chatelcraut denied his revenues. The duke of Guiſe left a ſon, who was too young to have any ſhare in the government, and the cardinal of Lorrain had no longer the ſame credit as during the life of his brother. Mary complaining of her ill treatment from the court of France, the cardinal her uncle fearing ſhe might be provoked to turn to Elizabeth, was more preſſing than ever for her marriage with the archduke, and did his utmoſt to accompliſh it. Melvil ſays however in his

The court of France cold to the intereſts of Mary. Camden.

The cardinal of Lorrain preſſes her marriage with the archduke Charles, Camden. Melvil, p. 35.

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[s] He pleaſed himſelf with the hopes of being lieutenant-general of France, and huſband to the queen of Scots. Camden, p. 392.

[t] There were ſome recruits ſent thither, two hundred whereof periſhed by ſhipwreck, with their commander ſir Thomas Finch, knt. and two brothers of the lord Wentworth. ibid. Hollingſh. p. 1202.

[u] The plague ſwept away all theſe famous officers, Francis Somerſet, John Zouch, Alberic Darcy, Thomas Drury, Wilfrid Antwiſſel, Edward Ormeſby, Cuthbert Vaughan, Richard Croker, John Cockſon, John Prowd, William Saule, Thomas Kemeys, &c. Stow, p. 656.

[w] Moſt of them embarked July 31. Stow, p. 656.

[x] Twenty thouſand, one hundred thirty ſix. Ibid.

She aſks advice of Elizabeth relating to this marriage; who tries to diſſuade her, and prevails with her to marry an Engliſhman. Camden. Melvil, p. 40.

Memoirs, that he perceived at the imperial court it was not reliſhed by Maximilian, eldeſt ſon of the emperor. Be this as it will, Mary readily received the propoſition. But as the death of the duke of Guiſe had removed at a great diſtance the near proſpect ſhe had of mounting the throne of England, ſhe believed it neceſſary to manage Elizabeth, and deſire her advice concerning the propoſed marriage. Elizabeth was alarmed at the deſign of allying the queen of Scotland with the houſe of Auſtria, not being ignorant with what view the cardinal of Lorrain offered ſuch a marriage to his niece. She therefore told Mary, by Randolph her ambaſſador, that having for her the tenderneſs of a ſiſter, and regarding her intereſts as her own, ſhe deſired her to conſider that ſuch an alliance would remove her for ever from the throne of England, ſince the Engliſh would never run the hazard of falling under the dominion of the houſe of Auſtria: that England was not without perſons who had their pretenſions to the crown as well as herſelf, and might greatly embaraſs her: it was therefore her intereſt to gain the affection of the Engliſh, by a marriage which would not be uneaſy to them: that if any Engliſh nobleman was ſo happy as to pleaſe her, ſuch a marriage would doubtleſs remove the difficulties which lay in the way of her deſire to be declared her preſumptive heir. This was the ſubſtance of what Randolph was ordered to repreſent to the queen of Scotland, without naming however the lord Elizabeth wiſhed to give her for huſband. But he had a ſecret commiſſion to intimate to the earl of Murray, and ſecretary Lidington, that he believed ſhe had caſt her eyes on the lord Dudley [x].

Mary's difficulty. Camden.

Elizabeth's anſwer threw Mary into great perplexity. She believed herſelf at leaſt the lawful heir of Elizabeth by her birth-right; but Henry VIII. having not placed her in the line of the ſucceſſion, an act of parliament was neceſſary to reſtore her to her right. Without this, ſhe was in danger that, if Elizabeth died without heirs, the will of Henry would be punctually complied with. On the other hand, her uncertainty whether Elizabeth would cauſe ſuch an act to be paſſed in her favour, and get her declared her heir, made her unwilling to relinquiſh the hope given her by her uncle the cardinal, of being placed on the throne of England by the aſſiſtance of the pope, France, Spain, and the Engliſh catholicks. In this perplexity, ſhe choſe to inform the cardinal of the repreſentation made to her by Elizabeth, and of that queen's deſign to marry her to Dudley. The cardinal anſwered, that Dudley was not a fit match for her, and that Elizabeth only amuſed her, in pretending to marry her to a man whom ſhe intended for her own bed. That as to the hope ſhe was flattered with, of being declared her preſumptive heir, it was not much to be relied on, ſince, though ſhe kept her word, ſhe might have children, which would render the act of no uſe, or might, on the leaſt pretence, cauſe it to be repealed. That it was therefore more agreeable to her intereſt, to depend upon the aſſiſtance of her real friends, than on ſuch uncertain hopes.

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[x] His lady, daughter of ſir John Robſart, was lately dead of a fall from a pair of ſtairs, at Cumnore in Oxfordſhire, and lies buried in St. Mary's in Oxford. Camden, p. 393. Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 22.

She deſiſts from the archduke's marriage.

Politicks of the two queens. Camden.

This did not prevent Mary, after a mature examination of what had been offered on both ſides, from reſolving to deſiſt from the deſign of marrying the archduke, for fear of doing herſelf a prejudice in England. But withal, ſhe determined to evade the propoſal Elizabeth intended to make her, concerning Dudley, without breaking however with her. It was abſolutely neceſſary to ſhow a regard for Elizabeth, in order to continue with more eaſe her intrigues in England, and increaſe there the number of her friends, which was already conſiderable. Beſides that the catholicks were all for her, many proteſtants were perſuaded, that the crown, if Elizabeth died without children, could not be refuſed her without injuſtice, and the leaſt diſcontent was capable to create a belief, that Mary had even a better title than Elizabeth herſelf. This gave great uneaſineſs to Elizabeth, who feared that Mary, by a marriage with a catholick prince, would be enabled to ſupport her pretenſions. Therefore ſhe did all that lay in her power to divert her from any ſuch deſign. To this end, ſhe told Melvil, in his return through England, how much it would offend her, if Mary married without her advice. She added, as it was their common intereſt to live in a good underſtanding, ſhe deſigned to make her two offers; that, by embracing either, ſhe might avoid the jealouſy, which her marriage with a foreign prince would raiſe in the Engliſh. The treaty of Edinburgh was all this while unmentioned, the conjuncture not being proper to preſs that affair.

Melvil, p. 40.

The dutcheſs of Suffolk dies. Camden.

Frances Brandon dutcheſs of Suffolk, ſo often mentioned, died this year[y]. She had accepted for her third huſband Adrian Stokes, a private gentleman, by whom ſhe had no children. Of her three daughters by her former marriage with Grey marquiſs of Dorſet, afterwards duke of Suffolk, Jane the eldeſt had been proclaimed queen after the death of Edward, and loſt her life on a ſcaffold. Catherine was in the Tower, or perhaps dead. Mary the third had been given in marriage to a man ſo little diſtinguiſhed, that there was no likelihood of her being put in competition with the queen of Scotland. Thus by the death of the dutcheſs of Suffolk, Mary ſaw herſelf delivered from a rival, who was grand-daughter of Henry VII. [z].

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[y] She lies buried in Weſtminſter-abbey. Sandford, p. 537.---This year alſo died William lord Paget, and Henry Manours earl of Rutland. Camden, p. 394.

1564. Peace made between France and England. Camden. Act. Pub. xv. p. 640. Stow.

The truce between France and England ended at laſt in a peace, ſigned at Troye in Champagne the 11th of April, 1564. By the treaty, the king of France and queen of England preſerved entire all their pretenſions, without mentioning any in particular, not even the reſtitution of Calais. There were only ſome ſeparate articles, which were left unſigned till the next day, concerning the hoſtages delivered to Elizabeth after the treaty of Cateau, which ſhe was willing to reſtore for a very ſmall ſum [a]. Throckmorton, who had been arreſted in France on ſome pretence [b], was ſet at liberty. After this, Elizabeth ſent to king Charles the order of the garter by the lord Hunſdon [c], who was ſent into France to ſee the peace ſworn to.

Diſturbances between England and the Low-Countries. Camden. Strada.

At this time, the commerce between England and the Netherlands was entirely broke, by the artifices of cardinal Granvelle. As he foreſaw a war was going to be kindled in the Low-Countries, he was willing to remove the Engliſh, and for that purpoſe had prevailed with the governeſs to forbid the importation of Engliſh cloths. This prohibition obliged the Engliſh to ſet up a ſtaple for their cloths at Embden, a town of Eaſt Frieſland. But a new ambaſſador[d] ſent into England by Philip, in the room of the biſhop of Aquila, who was dead, conſidering that his maſter's ſubjects would, from this interruption of commerce, receive no leſs damage than the Engliſh, brought the affair to a negotiation. As there occurred great difficulties, it was mutually agreed that the treaty of commerce, called the Great Intercourſe, made in the time of Maximilian, ſhould ſubſiſt till one of the parties notified the contrary to the other, with the allowances of forty days to the merchants to withdraw their effects. This affair was very important to both nations. Camden ſays, that in his time the commerce between England and the Netherlands, roſe yearly to above twelve millions of gold, and that the woollen trade alone amounted to above five millions[e].

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[z] This year a parliament met at Weſtminſter, January 12, and was prorogued on April 10. They granted the queen a ſubſidy, and two fifteenths and tenths; and the clergy gave a ſubſidy of ſix ſhillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. D'ews.---The moſt remarkable acts during this ſeſſion, were theſe: 1. An act against holding or maintaining the authority of the biſhop of Rome. 2. That no one ſhall procure a falſe witneſs, upon the penalty of forty pounds; nor any one be a falſe witneſs, upon the penalty of twenty pounds, and ſix months impriſonment. 3. An act making the clipping and waſhing of coin, treaſon. 4. That any perſon which ſhall be ſeen or found, for one month, in a company of Egyptians, ſhall be deemed a felon. 5. An act for the due execution of the writ de Excommunicato Capiendo. 6. An act for tranſlating the Bible and Common-prayer into Welſh. Laſtly, An act paſſed to eſtabliſh and confirm the queen's ſupremacy in eccleſiaſtical affairs. The work of the reformation, which, with ſeveral interruptions, had been carrying on above thirty years, was in great meaſure compleated, and the articles of the church of England ſettled by the convocation, and reduced to the number of thirty-nine, as they ſtand to this day.

[a] One hundred and twenty thouſand crowns of gold, de ſoleil, each worth fifty-one pence Tournois. See Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 644, 645.

[b] On pretence of coming to France without a paſs. He and ſir Thomas Smith were the commiſſioners employed in negotiating this peace. Camden, p. 392, 394.

[c] Henry Carey.

Act. Pub. xv. p. 639.

This affair being finiſhed, Elizabeth viſited the univerſity of Cambridge, where ſhe was received with great pomp and magnificence. She teſtified her ſatisfaction in an elegant Latin oration, wherein ſhe aſſured the univerſity of her protection, and intention to encourage learning to the utmoſt of her power.

The queen viſits the univerſity of Cambridge. Hollingſh. p. 1206. Camden.

The tranquillity which the queen then enjoyed would have been compleat, if her ſuſpicions of the queen of Scotland had not given her perpetual uneaſineſs. It was on her ſhe was always reflecting, as on her moſt dangerous enemy. She conſidered that the marriage of this queen might prove to her a fountain of troubles and cares, and draw upon her the greateſt misfortunes. So, her whole policy tended either to obſtruct all marriages offered to Mary, or at leaſt, to effect that ſhe ſhould eſpouſe a man, from whom England ſhould have nothing to fear. With this view ſhe writ her a letter, wherein, after many demonſtrations of friendſhip, ſhe gave her advice concerning her marriage, telling her, the marrying without her conſent would ruin her affairs. Notwithſtanding Mary's reſolution to live in friendſhip with Elizabeth, ſhe was provoked at her thus taking upon her to adviſe her, and even with an air of ſuperiority, which was but too manifeſt[f]. Forgetting therefore her reſolution, and thinking only

A difference between the two queens. Melvil.

Melvil, p. 42.

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[d] Don Diego Guſman de Sylva, canon of Toledo.

[e] Camden obſerves here, that the Engliſh wool proved to the Netherlands more than an imaginary Golden Fleece, and from thence was derived that famous order of the Golden Fleece, inſtituted in 1429, p. 395.

[f] She deſired Mary to take heed, that in ſhewing pleaſure to the earl of Lenox, ſhe

only of making herſelf ſatisfaction [g], ſhe returned ſuch an anſwer to the letter as greatly offended Elizabeth. But ſome time after, reflecting that ſhe herſelf broke her own meaſures in quarrelling with Elizabeth, ſhe diſpatched ſir James Melvil to pay her compliments, and to endeavour to mend what had been ſpoiled by her impatience. Elizabeth received her compliments with equal diſſimulation. After telling Melvil how much cauſe ſhe had to be offended with the letter, ſhe tore it [h] in his preſence, teſtifying her readineſs to be reconciled, and expreſſing an affection for her good ſiſter, which aſſuredly ſhe had not. It was not her intereſt to quarrel, for fear of inducing Mary to marry ſome prince, who would not have patience to wait the time of enjoying her ſucceſſion. She therefore embraced this occaſion to renew her inſtances to Mary for her choice of a huſband, proper to preſerve their friendſhip, and a good intelligence between the two kingdoms. All this tended only to a ſetting forth of ſeveral reaſons to perſuade Mary to accept the lord Dudley, tho' ſhe did not directly name him. It is however very uncertain, whether this marriage was ſincerely intended by Elizabeth, or only deſigned to amuſe Mary, and prevent her thinking on others. Nay, it is very likely Dudley, who depended upon Elizabeth, was only propoſed to prolong the affair. This ſeems to be confirmed by the permiſſion afterwards granted by Elizabeth to the lord Darnly, ſon of the counteſs of Lenox, to go into Scotland, though ſhe was not ignorant that Mary had ſome thought of marrying that lord, as ſhe intimated to Melvil. Indeed, Mary had now reſolved it, not in compliance with the counſels of Elizabeth, to eſpouſe a lord little capable to give her uneaſineſs, but in hopes of receiving a conſiderable advantage from the marriage. It had been frequently hinted to her, that there was room to doubt, whether her title to the crown of England was as good as the dutcheſs of Suffolk's, which was ſupported by the will of Henry VIII. and that this was a point to be decided by Engliſh lawyers. This was to keep her in ſubmiſſion, and prevent her diſobliging Elizabeth. When this uneaſineſs was removed by the death of the dutcheſs

They are reconciled. Melvil, p. 42, 47.

Elizabeth's politicks with regard to Mary. Melvil.

Mary reſolves to marry the lord Darnly, Camden. Melvil.

ſhe did not diſpleaſe the houſe of Hamilton, ſeeing thereby trouble and ſtrife might ariſe in her country. Melvil, p. 42.

[g] At any other time this advice would not have been ill taken; but now all advices given by Elizabeth were miſconſtrued, partly on account of her having hindered the marriage with the archduke, and partly becauſe Rizzo, the queen of Scots ſecretary for the French tongue, was not very ſkilful in inditing French letters. Melvil.

[h] Not queen Mary's letter; but an angry anſwer to it, which ſhe had writ, and intended to ſend. See Melvil, p. 46, 47.

Eliz. 1564.

dutcheſs of Suffolk and Catherine her daughter, the rights of the counteſs of Lenox, daughter of Margaret queen of Scotland by her ſecond huſband Archibald earl of Angus, began to be whiſpered. Henry VIII. her uncle, had given her in marriage to Matthew Stuart earl of Lenox, who had withdrawn into England, as was ſaid in the reign of that prince. The counteſs of Lenox could not indeed, with any ſeeming juſtice, enter into competition with Mary, ſince ſhe was born only of Margaret's ſecond marriage, whereas Mary came from the firſt. But it could be alledged in her favour, that ſhe was one degree nearer; and it was to be feared for Mary, that this reaſon would prevail, if ſupported by Elizabeth. So, to avoid this competition, Mary had reſolved to unite the titles of the two families by her marriage with the lord Darnly, ſon to the counteſs of Lenox, and thereby diſable Elizabeth to give her any diſturbance. Elizabeth had for the ſame reaſon reſolved to obſtruct the marriage, not from any fear of the lord Darnly, but with intent to keep Mary always in awe and ſubmiſſion.

She draws the earl of Lenox into Scotland. Camden. Melvil, p. 42. Buchanan.

The reconciliation between the two queens being made, as I before ſaid, Mary ſeriouſly thought of executing her deſign. But as ſhe was prepoſſeſſed with a belief, that Elizabeth only ſought to amuſe her, and prevent her from marrying, ſhe ſaw it neceſſary to uſe ſome art, to draw the earl of Lenox and his ſon into Scotland. She began with the father, and pretended to recall him in order to reſtore him to his eſtate, forfeited during the regency of the duke of Chatelerault. Elizabeth did not think it right to oppoſe the earl of Lenox's return into his own country, upon a motive ſo juſt and reaſonable. In this whole affair the two queens behaved with equal diſſimulation. At the very time Mary was taking meaſures to marry the lord Darnly unknown to Elizabeth, ſhe pretended a readineſs to be directed by her counſels. She even conſented to a congreſs of commiſſioners of both the kingdoms, concerning her marriage, though ſhe was not ignorant of Elizabeth's intentions to propoſe to her Dudley, lately created earl of Leiceſter[i]. On the other hand, Elizabeth, not unacquainted with Mary's deſign to marry the lord Darnly, ſeemed not to perceive it, being well pleaſed to have her fix her thoughts upon a ſubject, whom ſhe believed to be at her diſpoſal, becauſe the earl his father had great poſſeſſions in England. She hoped therefore to have it always in her power to break off or delay the marriage, as ſhe ſhould judge pro-

Diſſimulation of the two queens. Melvil.

Dudley made earl of Leiceſter. Camden. Stow, p. 657. Hollingſh.

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[i] On September 30. Stow, p. 657.

per, her ſole aim being to gain time, and amuſe the queen of Scotland.

Conference at Berwick on the ſubject of Mary's marriage. Camden. Melvil, p. 53. Camden, p. 396.

Some time after, the earl of Bedford[k] for England, and the earl of Murray with Lidington for Scotland, had a conference at Berwick[l], where the earl of Bedford, according to his inſtructions, propoſed the marriage of the queen of Scotland to the earl of Leiceſter. But the two Scotch commiſſioners, who had likewiſe their orders, received the propoſal with ſuch coldneſs, that the earl of Bedford thought it not proper to inſiſt much on it. Nay, it is pretended that the earl of Leiceſter, who had ſome hope to marry Elizabeth[m], had deſired him not to preſs it.

Mary diſtruſts Elizabeth. Melvil, p. 53.

Mean time, Melvil being returned, freely told Mary, in laying his negotiation before her, that the queen of England's friendſhip was far from being ſincere. This cauſed Mary, who had already no very good opinion of Elizabeth, to regard her as a ſecret enemy, who, though ſhe always called her good ſiſter, did not mean her well. Sometimes ſhe thought Elizabeth only propoſed the earl of Leiceſter to her, that ſhe herſelf might marry him with the leſs diſhonour, after his having been encouraged by a queen; and ſometimes, that this propoſal was only an artifice, to waſte time in fruitleſs negotiations.

Death of the emperor Ferdinand, who is ſucceeded by Maximilian II.

Thus was ſpent the year 1564, in which Ferdinand I. died, leaving the imperial dignity and his hereditary dominions to his ſon Maximilian.

1565.

The queen of Scotland had for ſome time entertained David Rizzo, an Italian, who governed her abſolutely. As the queen entirely changed both her conduct and character, after this ſtranger was received into her confidence, and as he was the firſt cauſe of the troubles of Scotland, and the misfortunes of his miſtreſs, it is neceſſary to ſay ſomething of him.

Riſe and fortune of David Rizzo. Melvil, p. 54. Buchanan. Thuanus.

David Rizzo, ſon of a muſician of Turin, being ſervant to the count de Muretto, ambaſſador to Scotland, attended his maſter into that country. As he perfectly underſtood muſick[n], and ſung a good baſs, he got acquainted with the court-muſicians, and was introduced to the queen, who wanting a baſs to her concert, deſired the ambaſſador to leave him with

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[k] With ſir Thomas Randolph. Camden, p. 396.

[l] In November.

[m] Queen Elizabeth herſelf told Melvil, that ſhe eſteemed Dudley as her brother, and beſt friend, whom ſhe would have herſelf married, had ſhe ever minded to have taken a huſband. Melvil, p. 47.

[n] He was the author of the old Scotch tunes.

He becomes the queen's favourite.

her. His fine voice often procuring him the honour of ſeeing and talking with the queen, he ſo artfully inſinuated himſelf into her good graces, that he daily increaſed in favour and credit. At laſt the ſecretary of the French diſpatches being gone into France, Rizzo was choſen for that office during his abſence. From this time he puſhed his fortune ſo ſucceſsfully, that he became in a manner firſt miniſter, nothing of moment being tranſacted at court but by him. Buchanan, the queen's great enemy, often inſinuates, that David's influence over her was not confined to publick affairs. He ſays, ſhe admitted him to her table, and frequently dined at his, and by ſuch uncommon familiarities gave occaſion to ſcandalous ſuſpicions. In a word, he ſays enough to incline thoſe who pay entire credit to him, to believe that the queen's conduct was not free from crime. But as Buchanan may juſtly be ſuſpected of aggravation, it is better to adhere to Melvil's account. He can be accuſed of no deſign to aſperſe the queen's reputation, ſince he rather, on all occaſions, ſhews a great zeal for her, without however concealing her faults. At the time when Rizzo was moſt in favour with the queen, ſhe had ſo entire a confidence in Melvil, as even to allow or rather command him to admoniſh her of her faults. See what this author in his Memoirs ſays of Rizzo. p. 54, 55. “As he entered in greater credit, ſo he had not the prudence how to manage the ſame rightly. For frequently, in preſence of the nobility, he would be publickly ſpeaking to the queen, even when there was greateſt conventions of the ſtates. Which made him to be much envied and hated, eſpecially when he became ſo great, that he preſented all ſignatours to be ſubſcribed by her majeſty. So that ſome of the nobility would frown upon him, others would ſhoulder and ſhut him by, when they entered the queen's chamber, and found him always ſpeaking with her. All who had any buſineſs at court, addreſſing themſelves to him, and depending upon him, in ſhort time he became very rich.—As he was a known minion, and ſuſpected to be a penſioner of the pope, it gave ground of ſuſpicion, that ſome deſign would be by him contrived againſt the reformed religion.” p. 56. The ſame author adds, that having himſelf repreſented to the queen the injury which her favours upon this ſtranger now did and might afterwards do her, his remonſtrance was very ill received, the queen telling him, ſhe would not be ſo far reſtrained, but that ſhe might diſpenſe her favours to ſuch as ſhe pleaſed. He ſays farther, that having remonſtrated to Rizzo how much he offended the nobility by his affectation to appear ſo great with the queen, he ſeemed to pay ſome regard to his advice; but within a few days told him, he had the queen's orders to behave as he was wont, without minding any thing. This teſtimony, added to Camden's ſilence, who, having undertaken in his Annals of Elizabeth to juſtify the queen of Scots, ſays nothing of Rizzo, ſhows that this miniſter or favourite entirely governed the queen. So, the lord Darnly being a catholick, and Rizzo the pope's penſioner, as Melvil affirms, it is not to be doubted that the queen was determined to the marriage by her favourite's advice. It was therefore to have an opportunity of drawing that young lord into Scotland, that ſhe reſtored his father to the poſſeſſion of his eſtate. As this was to be done in the aſſembly of the ſtates, ſummoned to meet in January, Darnly demanded leave to be abſent three months, in order to be at the Scotch parliament, and obtained it by the interceſſion of Cecil, who never imagined he would venture to eſpouſe Mary without the queen's permiſſion. Probably he was permitted to go into Scotland only with intent to amuſe the queen, and perhaps to give her an opportunity to entertain for that handſome young lord a paſſion, which would hinder her from thinking of any other. However this be, he was well received by the queen, who immediately gave him great marks of her eſteem, and ſhortly after it was perceived ſhe deſigned him for her huſband: Rizzo inſtantly contracted ſo cloſe a friendſhip with him, that they both lay in the ſame bed.

Lord Darnly obtains leave to go into Scotland. Camden. Melvil, p. 53. Buchanan.

February 22. Melvil. Buchanan.

He contracts friendſhip with Rizzo.

After Rizzo had ingroſſed the queen's favour, the earl of Murray ſaw his credit daily decline. This, added to the intended marriage, and the great union between Darnly and Rizzo, convinced him it was time to retire, and to haſten him, the queen recalled all his enemies to court. The earl of Bothwell returned from France, the earl of Sutherland from Flanders, and George Gordon, who was impriſoned at Dunbar, and under ſentence of death, was releaſed, and after obtaining his pardon, took the title of earl of Huntley. Murray could not ſee Bothwell (who would have murdered him) without reſentment. He impeached him in a legal manner, and prevailed to have a day aſſigned for his trial. The queen, according to Buchanan, uſed her utmoſt endeavours to oblige Murray to deſiſt from his proſecution, and not ſucceeding, tried to corrupt his judges. Notwithſtanding ſo powerful a protection, Bothwell thought it not proper to appear, but withdrew. Afterwards the queen obtained from the earl of Murray a ſort of reconciliation with Bothwell. The ſame hiſtorian pretends, that the queen had conceived ſo violent

The earl of Murray declines in his credit, and ſees his enemies in favour. Buchanan. Thuanus.

lent hatred againſt Murray, that, jointly with Darnly and Rizzo, ſhe formed a deſign to have him murdered in a journey ſhe made on purpoſe to Perth; but that Murray having ſome notice of it, retired to his mother's at Lochleven. He ſays further, that the queen being at Perth, a report was induſtriouſly raiſed, that Murray intended to ſurpriſe her and the lord Darnly, in their return to Edinburgh. To make the report the more credible, ſcouts were ſent out on the road, and the queen came to Edinburgh with a precipitation apt to create a belief of the greatneſs of her danger. It muſt however be owned, that Melvil ſpeaks of a conſpiracy to ſeize the lord Darnly as ſomething real, though Buchanan will have it to be all imaginary; but Melvil does not aſcribe it to Murray alone, ſince the duke of Chateleraut, the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Rothes were likewiſe concerned.

He is reported to deſign to ſeize the queen.

p. 56.

The earl of Murray had a double intereſt to obſtruct the projected marriage, the one private, the other publick. I have already taken notice of the firſt, which engaged him to alter the ſtate of the court, where he could no longer ſupport himſelf. The latter flowed firſt from the danger into which the queen's marriage with a catholick lord might throw the reformed religion. In the next place, it was to be feared, that this marriage, being made without the queen of England's participation, or any care for the ſupport of the reformed religion, would lay a foundation for troubles, in which it was almoſt impoſſible for England and France not to be concerned, to the great prejudice of the kingdom. The earl of Murray was not the only perſon who diſliked the marriage. The duke of Chateleraut, ſworn enemy to the houſe of Lenox, the earls of Argyle, Rothes, Marr, Glencairn, and many others, ſome from private views, others from more honeſt motives, believed it time to apply effectual remedies to the impending miſchiefs, by making a league to oppoſe the deſigns of the court. It is not eaſy to decide whether theſe lords took up arms before or after the queen's marriage. Buchanan intimates this was not till after, upon the court's intending to oppreſs them. Melvil ſpeaks of an inſurrection of theſe lords after failing to ſeize the lord Darnly, and then proceeds to the recital of the queen's marriage. Camden poſitively aſſerts that the queen, to celebrate the marriage with more ſafety, was obliged to march with ſome forces againſt the confederate lords, and forced them to fly into England. If this be true, ſhe doubtleſs ſurprized them before they were prepared. This is not the only diſagreement between Camden and Buchanan.

Murray is averſe to the queen's marriage with Darnly.

Buchanan. Thuanus.

Joins with ſome others to prevent it,

p. 56.

but without ſucceſs.

How-

Mary has her marriage approved by the lords of the court.
Camden.
Spotiſwood.

However, Mary having reſolved on her marriage, had now applied to the pope for a diſpenſation [o]. When ſhe knew it was granted, ſhe aſſembled the great men of her court, who were all devoted to her, and aſked their advice concerning her marriage, which was unanimouſly approved. Only it was added, not to exaſperate the people, that care was to be taken of the proteſtant religion. The firſt part of this approbation was gladly accepted, but as for the reſtriction, it was no more heard of. Buchanan ſays, the earl of Murray undertook to procure Elizabeth's conſent, provided the proteſtant religion was ſecured. But this was not the intention of the court, who perceived this ſecurity would be the guaranty of Elizabeth, which agreed neither with the intereſts of the queen, nor thoſe of Rizzo and the lords newly taken into favour.

The people murmur.
Buchanan.

Mary aſks the approbation of Elizabeth.
Camden.
Thuanus.
Strype.

Mean time, the people began to murmur by the ſecret inſtigations of the confederate lords. It was debated in private converſations, whether the queen could marry without the conſent of the ſtates. Some ſaid, ſhe could not be denied a natural right enjoyed by all her ſubjects. Others maintained, that the condition of the queen and her ſubjects were not the ſame, becauſe the queen by her marriage gave a ſovereign to her ſubjects, which ſhe could not do without their conſent. Theſe freedoms convinced the queen that ſhe muſt haſten her marriage, not to be any longer expoſed to the difficulties which might be ſtarted, whilſt there was hope to obſtruct it. She believed, however, that ſhe could not avoid aſking, not the advice but the approbation of Elizabeth, whom it was, as I ſaid, her intereſt to manage. She writ to her therefore [p], to communicate her deſign as a thing already reſolved. Elizabeth, on ſight of the letter, aſſembled her council, who examined the affair with great attention. The reſult was, that the marriage of the queen of Scotland with Darnly was dangerous to religion and the kingdom. To religion, becauſe that queen, in chuſing a catholick lord, intended, it was to be feared, to reſtore her religion in Scotland, which would be very prejudicial to that of the proteſtants. To the kingdom, as Mary uniting by this marriage the intereſts of the two houſes, who could pretend to the crown of England, ſeemed to have a deſign of forming a powerful party in the kingdom, and preventing the interruption of her cabals, by oppoſing againſt her the houſe of Lenox. For theſe reaſons, ſome of the counſellors were for ſending immediately an army into Scotland to ſupport the malecontents. But Elizabeth thought it not proper to be ſo haſty, and the more, as the alledging that her marriage might be dangerous to England, was but a weak pretence to make war upon the queen of Scots[q]. She contented herſelf therefore with ſending ſir Nicholas Throckmorton, to make her ſenſible of the hazard ſhe ran of loſing her expectation of mounting the throne of England, by a marriage ſo diſagreeable to the Engliſh. Mary's anſwer was, that the affair was too far advanced to be recalled, nor had Elizabeth any reaſon to diſapprove the marriage, ſince by her advice ſhe had now choſe an Engliſhman, deſcended from the royal blood of both kingdoms, and the firſt nobleman of all Britain. Throckmorton, unable to prevail with Mary, ſignified to the earl of Lenox and the lord Darnly, that their licence being expired, they were to return to England, or their eſtates would be forfeited[r]. This menace was incapable to command their obedience in ſuch a conjuncture. However, they both writ very ſubmiſſively to the queen, and Darnly in particular proteſted, that he only accepted the honour done him by the queen of Scotland, with intent to preſerve a perfect harmony between the two kingdoms.

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[o] 'And about this time, ſhe created the lord Darnly, baron of Ardamanack, earl of Roſſe, and duke of Rothſay, which are the uſual titles of the eldeſt and ſecond ſons of Scotland.' Heylin's *Hiſt. Ref.* p. 345.

[p] *By Liddington*, Camden, p. 396.

who endeavours to divert her, but in vain.
Camden.
Melvil.

She recalls the earl of Lenox and his ſon, who excuſe themſelves.
Buchanan.
Camden.
Melvil.

But this was not the only commiſſion the ambaſſador of England was charged with. He had alſo inſtructions to encourage the diſcontented lords, and give them hopes of the queen's protection. It was probably from this encouragement that they took up arms to oppoſe the marriage. But the queen prevented them, by having it ſolemnized the 29th of July in her own chapel, after the manner of the church of Rome. Buchanan ſays, ſhe had two other reaſons to haſten her marriage. The firſt was, her fear of the cardinal of Lorrain's oppoſition, who wiſhed her to make a more conſiderable alliance. The other was, that Rizzo was willing to recommend himſelf to the pope, by giving the queen a catholick huſband, without any ſecurity for the proteſtant religion.

Throckmorton encourages the Scotch malecontents.
Camden.
Strype.

Marriage of Mary.
Buchanan.
Camden.
Melvil.
Thuanus.

Mean time, the confederate lords being cited, and not appearing, the queen, whether before or after her marriage, put herſelf at the head of four thouſand men, and purſuing them from place to place, forced them at laſt to retire into

Some lords take up arms and are forced to fly into England.
Camden.
Melvil.
Strype.
Buchan.

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[q] The two queens had an interview this year, in May or June; but what the effect of it was, does not appear. Strype's Ann. tom. i. p. 510.

[r] Queen Elizabeth, on June 22, ordered the counteſs of Lenox, and her ſon Charles, to be put in cuſtody. Camden, p. 397. Melvil, p. 58.

P. 57.

Camden.

England. There they found a ſafe retreat [s], notwithſtanding the treaty of the year 1560, by which the two queens mutually promiſed to deliver the fugitive rebels. But ſuch articles are uſually very ill obſerved. Melvil relates a particular which deſerves notice. The Scotch fugitive lords having deputed to Elizabeth the earl of Murray to deſire her protection, ſhe politically induced him to own, before the ambaſſadors of France and Spain, that ſhe was not concerned in their rebellion. But the words were no ſooner out of Murray's mouth, than ſhe called them rebels and traitors, and forbid them her preſence. This was to clear herſelf to the ambaſſadors: but it was all a farce, ſince ſhe ſtill granted the fugitives a ſafe retreat in her kingdom. Nay, privately ſupplied them with money by the duke of Bedford [t].

The people of Scotland diſcontented. Buchanan.

The court drives the fugitive lords to extremities. Melvil, p. 59, 64.

Motives of this conduct.

Mary's marriage with a catholick, the great credit of Rizzo, and the concern of many for the fate of the fugitive lords, produced a diſcontent among the Scots, which daily increaſed by the ſecret intrigues of the relations and friends of the fugitives. The preachers ſtill greatly inflamed it, by inſinuating to the people, that religion was in extreme danger. Notwithſtanding all this, the court, now proſperous and elate, reſolved, contrary to the rules of policy, and at a time when the kingdom was diſſatisfied, to degrade and baniſh the fugitive lords by a decree of the ſtates. To this end, the ſtates were ſummoned to meet in February the next year. Melvil ſays, in his Memoirs, that having repreſented to the queen the miſchiefs this rigour might produce, ſhe at firſt ſeemed to mind him, but however, perſiſted in her reſolution for two reaſons. The firſt was, the avarice of Rizzo, who had an eye to the confiſcation of the exiles eſtates. The ſecond was, the powerful ſollicitation of the cardinal of Lorrain againſt them. He ſtill thought of placing the queen his niece on the throne of England, and therefore judged, if the fugitives of Scotland, as they were the heads of the proteſtants, were once ruined, it would be eaſy to reſtore the Romiſh religion in Scotland, and afterwards invade Elizabeth from thence. Rizzo, the pope's creature, acted doubtleſs from the ſame motive, and in all appearance the new king was no enemy to the deſign. If Elizabeth is to be credited, in what ſhe writ to her ambaſſador in France ſome years after, Mary and the lord Darnley from the moment of their marriage never ceaſed to cabal againſt England. On this ſuppoſition, it will not appear ſtrange, that Elizabeth fomented the troubles in Scotland to put it out of the power of her enemies to invade her.

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[s] Melvil ſays, that queen Elizabeth had, by her ambaſſadors, promiſed to hazard her crown in their defence, in caſe they were driven to any ſtrait for appearing againſt the marriage, p. 57.

[t] Melvil ſays, that had not ſome of the proteſtants in England, who favoured the Scots exiles upon account of their religion, interpoſed with queen Elizabeth, they would not have been permitted to have remained within her dominions; though ſhe had promiſed a little before to give them aſſiſtance. And as for ſecret help, ſhe gave them none, only they obtained a ſmall contribution among ſome of their own religion, p. 57.

Walſingham's negotiations. Norris's inſtructions, p. 12.

In the mean time, Elizabeth ſent into Scotland Tamworth, a gentleman of her privy-chamber, with a letter written with her own hand, wherein ſhe demanded of Mary, that the lord Darnley, to whom ſhe vouchſafed not to give the title of king, ſhould be delivered up to her, according to the tenor of their treaty. Mary refuſed to give the ambaſſador audience, but was willing to receive the letter. Whilſt ſhe was reading it in the preſence of ſome lords, Rizzo came in, and ſnatching it out of her hands, hindered her from proceeding [u]. He judged that Elizabeth demanded the king, only to oblige the queen to pardon the exiles, to which he could not agree, being determined to ruin them, though the earl of Murray had ſent him a very ſubmiſſive letter, with a fine diamond incloſed. Mary anſwered Elizabeth, That ſhe would not attempt any thing againſt England ſo long as ſhe lived, ‘provided ſhe was declared her preſumptive heir by act of parliament.’ As to the fugitive lords, ſhe deſired her to leave her at liberty to diſpoſe of them as ſhe pleaſed, ſince ſhe did not meddle with what paſſed in England.

Mary gives an ill reception to Elizabeth's ambaſſador. Camden. Strype.

Buchanan.

Mary's letter to Elizabeth.

Whilſt Rizzo was employed in taking meaſures to execute his projects, the queen conceived an extreme averſion to her new ſpouſe, which ſoon became publick, becauſe ſhe took no care to conceal it. She was not contented with grievouſly mortifying him in private, but was pleaſed all the world ſhould know how little ſhe valued him. When they were firſt married, ſhe had cauſed the king's name to be ſet with her own in all publick acts and on the coin [w], but preſently after ſhe ordered her own to be placed before the king's, and even cauſed his to be left out in the money-ſtamp. Mean while, ſhe continued without any reſerve her ſcandalous familiarities with Rizzo, if we may believe Buchanan. Melvil ſays not

Queen Mary conceives an averſion to the king. Buchanan. Melvil.

Her behaviour to Rizzo is ſcandalous Buchanan.

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[u] Buchanan ſays, when ſhe had read about half of the letter, Rizzo ſtood up and bid her read no more, ſhe had read enough, ſhe ſhould ſtop.

[w] And on the 28th and 30th of July 1565, iſſued out two proclamations, whereby ſhe ordered he ſhould be ſtiled king of Scotland. See them in Anderſon's Collect. tom. i. p. 33, &c.

ſo much on this ſubject, but, beſides his plain intimations, he manifeſtly ſuppoſes it, otherwiſe there would be no coherence in what he relates. As for Camden, who makes it his buſineſs to vindicate queen Mary upon all occaſions, he ſcarce mentions Rizzo; and for the queen's averſion to the king, he accuſes the earl of Murray, then a fugitive in England, of having cauſed it by his letters and friends. He pretends Murray took occaſion from the alteration enjoined by the queen with reſpect to the acts and the coin, to ſow diſcord between them; ſo aſſigning for cauſe, what was only the effect of the queen's averſion.

The king receives many mortifications. Buchanan. Cauſſin.

Buchanan muſt be copied to repreſent fully all the mortifications the queen made the king undergo, the affronts ſhe put upon him, and the little diſcretion ſhe obſerved in her familiarities with Rizzo [x]. Perhaps this hiſtorian is guilty of great aggravation. But however, it cannot be denied, that the king was jealous. The queſtion is to know, whether the queen gave occaſion for this jealouſy, as Buchanan pretends; or whether, as Camden affirms, the earl of Murray, though abſent, inſtilled it into the king without any foundation by his letters and friends [y]. Melvil, who may be conſidered as an unſuſpected evidence, plainly ſuppoſes the king's jealouſy without any mention of the cauſe, and it may be almoſt affirmed, that if he had thought the queen entirely innocent, he would not have failed to clear her. He adds, that the friends of the fugitive lords improving the viſible diſcord between the king and queen, and the diſpoſition of the king with regard to Rizzo, induced him to reſolve to take away the life of that favourite, in order by his death to put a ſtop to the proſecution of the fugitives, who properly had no other adverſary but him. This ſeems to confirm what Buchanan ſays, ſince Melvil ſuppoſes the king's jealouſy, and ſince the friends of the fugitives only made uſe of the king's diſpoſition. On the other hand, Camden ſeems to have ſaid juſtly, that the earl

Melvil, p. 64.

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[x] We find (in the lord Ruthven's relation of the death of David Rizzo) the king thus complaining to the queen. "Since yon fellow Davie fell in credit and familiarity with your majeſty, ye regarded me not, neither treated me nor entertained me after your wonted faſhion; for every day before dinner and after dinner, ye would come to my chamber and paſs time with me, and this long time ye have not done ſo; and when I come to your majeſty's chamber, ye bear me little company, except Davie had been the third marrow; and after ſupper your majeſty hath a uſe to ſet at the cards with the ſaid Davie till one or two of the clock after midnight: and this is the entertainment that I have had of you this long time, p. 30.

[y] Blackwood ſays, it was the earl of Morton that put it into the king's head. Martyre de Marie, p. 203, &c. Coll. Jebb. So alſo ſays Caſtelnau, Mem. c. 13.

of Murray's friends inſpired the king with the deſign to diſpatch Rizzo out of the way. But we ſhall ſee preſently, that by the friends of the fugitive lords, Melvil did not mean the earl of Murray's particular friends, but rather thoſe of the other lords, who like him had taken refuge in England.

The king privately recalls the exiles. Buchanan.

The king having taken this reſolution, and conſulted ſome of his domeſticks how to execute it, the queen, who was informed of it, was ſo enraged with him, as made him ſtill more ſenſible how much ſhe was concerned for that unworthy favourite. As the deſign was diſcovered, the king was afraid of his own life, and not knowing what courſe to take, aſked advice of his father the earl of Lenox, who was of opinion, privately to recall the fugitive lords, and ſtrengthen himſelf by their aid againſt Rizzo's attempts. Probably it was then the king ſent to theſe lords, that they might return to Scotland, whether he only gave them ſome general hopes of a revolution to their advantage, or informed them of his moſt ſecret deſigns.

Interview of France and Spain at Bayonne. Thuanus.

In July, this year, was the famous interview of Bayonne, where the two courts of France and Spain reſolved to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to extirpate the hereticks, as it afterwards appeared. Very likely queen Elizabeth was not forgot on this occaſion.

Pius V. pope. Thuanus.

Pope Pius IV. dying in September, his ſucceſſor took the name of Pius V. I return to the affairs of Scotland, which are very material to clear the hiſtory of Elizabeth [z].

1566.

The ſtates of Scotland aſſembled. Buchanan. Melvil. Rizzo ſollicits againſt the fugitives.

The members of the parliament of Scotland daily repaired to Edinburgh in the beginning of the year 1566. As they arrived, Rizzo openly ſollicited them to obtain the condemnation of the fugitive lords, notwithſtanding the warm inſtances of the Engliſh ambaſſador, who conjured the queen to pardon them, or at leaſt delay their trial. Theſe inſtances were ſo far from moving her, that they rather helped to confirm her reſolution, becauſe ſhe conſidered Elizabeth as an enemy, againſt whom ſhe was to guard. Theſe lords being the heads of the proteſtants, it was probable the queen of England demanded their pardon, only to have ſo many powerful friends when they ſhould return to their country. But

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[z] This year, on July 16, there was ſuch a terrible ſtorm of thunder, with violent ſhowers of hail, that at Chelmsford in Eſſex, there were five hundred acres of corn deſtroyed. Stow, p. 659. --- This year alſo, Armigill Wade, Eſq; and William Herlle gentleman, having found out the way of making brimſtone, and of extracting out of certain roots and herbs, an oil proper for the dreſſing of cloths, obtained a patent for the ſame. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 650.

Eliz. 1566.

this was what the queen and Rizzo were reſolved to prevent at any rate, knowing their projects would be very difficult to be accompliſhed, when theſe lords were in Scotland. And therefore they were to be deprived of all hopes to return.

The king cauſes Rizzo to be murdered in the queen's chamber. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 64.

Mean while, the king conſulted with the earl of Morton and ſome other friends, how to diſpatch Rizzo. In ſhort, his death was determined, the king having firſt ſigned a writing, declaring himſelf to be the author [a]. His inſtruments were, the lord Ruthven, and George Douglaſs, natural ſon to the earl of Angus [b]; Morton only adviſing the thing, without lending his aſſiſtance, and it was executed in this manner. The queen being at table, and Rizzo in her chamber, the king came up by a private pair of ſtairs, and ſtood ſome time leaning upon her chair. Preſently after, the lord Ruthven and George Douglaſs entered all armed, and attended with ſome of their complices, the reſt having poſted themſelves in ſeveral parts of the palace to prevent aſſiſtance. Theſe men entered ſo abruptly, that the table was overturned. The queen aſking Ruthven what his deſign was, he made her no anſwer, but ſpeaking to Rizzo, boldly commanded him to go out of the room, ſaying, the place he ſat in was not fit for him. It ſeems by that, Rizzo was at table with the queen. Be that as it will, Rizzo perceiving he was the mark they aimed at, trembled for fear, and took hold of the queen's robe, to put himſelf, as it were, under her protection, who did all ſhe could to interpoſe herſelf between him and the conſpirators. But the king taking her in his arms, and telling her ſhe had nothing to fear, hindered her from expoſing herſelf to the danger, and withal from ſcreening Rizzo. Mean time, George Douglaſs taking the king's dagger from his ſide, drew it and ſtabbed Rizzo, who was immediately dragged into another room [c] and there ſlain [d]. The queen was

Thuanus. Buchanan.

Melvil, p. 64.

Ibid.

Ibid.

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[a] The reader may ſee this writing in a curious relation of the death of Rizzo, written by the lord Ruthven, and publiſhed at London 1699.

[b] Who was father to Margaret Douglaſs counteſs of Lenox, the king's mother. Melvil, p. 64.

[c] The outer-hall. Melvil, p. 65. This was contrary to the deſign of thoſe who conſpired his death; for they had reſolved to hang him publickly, Buchanan.

[d] The account of this matter is thus given by the lord Ruthven, the principal actor in this buſineſs. “Upon Saturday the ninth day of March, the earl of Morton, lord Ruthen, and lord Lindſay, with their complices, paſſed up to the queen's utter chamber; and the ſaid lord Ruthen paſſed in through the king's chamber, and up through the privy way to the queen's chamber, as the king had learned him, and through the chamber to the cabinet, where he found the queen's majeſty ſitting at her ſupper, at the middes of a little table, the lady Argyle ſitting at one end, and Davie Rizzo at the head of the table, with his cap on his head, the king

was then above five months gone with child, and it may be eaſily judged that the committing ſuch a deed in her preſence muſt have made her like to miſcarry [e].

The queen is put under a guard. Melvil, p. 65.

Rizzo being dead, a guard was ſet upon the queen, who found means however to tell Melvil to go inſtantly to the provoſt of Edinburgh, and bid him draw the people together and come to her relief. Melvil having diſcharged his commiſſion, the provoſt anſwered, he would do his endeavour to

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“king ſpeaking with the queen's majeſty, and his hand about her waiſt. The lord Ruthen at his coming in, ſaid to the queen's majeſty, It would pleaſe your majeſty to let yonder man Davie come forth of your preſence, for he hath been over-long here. Her majeſty anſwered, What offence hath he made? The ſaid lord replied again, That he had made great offence to her majeſty's honour, the king her huſband, the nobility and commonweal of the realm. And how? ſaith ſhe. It will pleaſe your majeſty, ſaid the ſaid lord, he hath offended your majeſty's honour, which I dare not be ſo bold to ſpeak of. As to the king your huſband's honour, he hath hindered him of the crown matrimonial, which your grace promiſed him, beſides many other things which are not neceſſary to be expreſſed: and as to the nobility, he hath cauſed your majeſty to baniſh a great part, and moſt chief thereof, in ſo far as he ſuffered not your majeſty to grant or give any thing but that which paſſed thro' his hands, by taking of bribes and goods for the ſame;--- beſides many other inconveniencies that he ſollicited your majeſty to do. Then the ſaid lord Ruthen ſaid to the king, Sir, take the queen's majeſty your ſovereign and wife to you, who ſtood all amazed, and wyſt not what to do. Then her majeſty roſe on her feet, and ſtood before Davie, he holding her majeſty by the plaits of her gown, leaning back over in the window, his whyniard drawn in his hand. Arthur Erſkin, and the abbot of Holyrood-houſe, and others, began to lay hands on the ſaid lord Ruthen, none of the king's party being preſent. Then the ſaid lord pulled out his whyniard, and freed himſelf while more came in, and ſaid to them, Lay not hands on me, for I will not be handled; and at the incoming of others into the cabinet, the ſaid lord Ruthen put up his whyniard: and with the ruſhing in of men, the board fell to the wallwards, with meat and candles being thereon; and the lady of Argyle took up one of the candles in her hand; and in the ſame inſtant, the ſaid lord Ruthen took the queen in his arms, and put her into the king's arms, beſeeching her majeſty not to be afraid; for there was no man there that would do her majeſty's body more harm, than their own hearts; and aſſured her majeſty, all that was done was the king's own deed and action. Then the remanent gentlemen being in the cabinet, took Davie out of the window; and after that they had him out in the queen's chamber, the ſaid lord Ruthen followed, and bad take him down the privy way to the king's chamber; and the ſaid lord returned to the cabinet again, believing that the ſaid Davie had been had down to the king's chamber, as ſaid is; but the preſs of the people hurled him forth to the utter chamber, where there was a great number ſtanding, who were ſo vehemently moved againſt the ſaid Davie, that they could not abide any longer, but ſlew him at the queen's far door in the utter chamber.” Relation of the Death of David Rizzo, by the Lord Ruthen, p. 27---29.

[e] Melvil ſays, it appeared to be done to deſtroy both her and her child. For they might have killed Rizzo in any other part, and at any other time, p. 66. The lords concerned in this murther, were for diſpatching Rizzo in his own chamber in a morning, or elſewhere. But the king inſiſted it ſhould be done as it was. Relation of his Death, p. 22, 23.

ſerve the queen, but there was not much to be expected from the people, who were extremely diſpleaſed with the government. Some however appearing in arms before the palace, the king ſhowed himſelf out of a window, and aſſuring them that Rizzo was ſlain by his command, ordered them to retire, which they did immediately [f].

Vindication of the earl of Murray againſt Camden's accuſations. Melvil, p. 65.

Mean while, the queen not doubting Rizzo's murder was committed in favour of the fugitive lords, and that they would ſoon return into Scotland, ſent to Melvil by one of her ladies, that he would endeavour to prepoſſeſs the earl of Murray, and intreat him from her not to join with her enemies, for which he might depend upon her love and favour for ever. Murray and the other fugitive lords arrived indeed two days after Rizzo's death, having had notice of the change which was to happen at court. Camden draws this conjecture from the ſudden arrival of the fugitives, that Rizzo's murder muſt have been committed for the ſake of the earl of Murray, who was to be condemned two days after by the parliament: But it appears, on the contrary, in Melvil's Memoirs, that the earl of Murray's particular friends had no hand in the deed, ſince he did not think himſelf at all obliged to the actors. What Melvil ſays upon this occaſion, ſhows that the conſequence drawn by Camden againſt the earl of Murray from the ſudden arrival of the fugitives, is not juſt. His words are theſe: 'Which commiſſion [to perſuade Murray not to join 'with her enemies] I did not fail to execute at his coming 'upon Monday, but he was more moved at his meeting with 'her majeſty, who embraced and kiſſed him, alledging that 'if he had been at home, he would not have ſuffered her to 'have been ſo uncourteouſly handled. Which ſo much moved 'him, that the tears ran from his eyes. He knew ſufficiently 'well that it was not for his cauſe, but their own particular 'ends, that the greateſt part who had made that enterprize 'had therein engaged, which made him the leſs concerned 'in them.' Can any thing be more oppoſite to Camden's inference? This hiſtorian will have Rizzo to be ſlain on the earl of Murray's account, and in order to prevent his condemnation, without mentioning the other fugitive lords, as if their friends had not been concerned in the deed. And yet Melvil, who was then preſent in the court and writ long before him, ſays poſitively that the friends of the other fugitive lords were the ſole authors of the murder, and that the

P. 327.

P. 65.

Ibid.

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[f] Buchanan ſays, there was a great tumult in the city, and that the citizens took up arms; but according to Melvil, the tumult was not very conſiderable. Rapin.

earl of Murray's were not engaged in it. By ſuch ſtrokes as this, and by perpetual invectives againſt Murray, Camden has disfigured the Scotch hiſtory of thoſe days, and withal that of England, in what it has in common with this neighbouring kingdom.

While the queen was kept in confinement, Scotland was in a real anarchy, which however did not laſt. The king quickly began to repent of following ſuch violent counſels, and the queen, who perceived it, managed him ſo artfully, that ſhe perſuaded him to abandon Rizzo's murderers [g]. This unexpected turn aſtoniſhed them, eſpecially as they ſaw, contrary to their expectation, that the earl of Murray would not join with them. The queen embracing ſo fair an opportunity, propoſed an agreement, to which they readily conſented, unable as they were to ſupport themſelves. But ſhe had the addreſs to cauſe the writing to be ſo penned, that there was occaſion to make ſeveral alterations before it could be ſettled. This was done to gain time, and give the queen leiſure to take neceſſary meaſures to free herſelf from captivity. When the writing was drawn to the ſatisfaction of the parties, ſhe repreſented to the king, that if ſhe ſigned it whilſt a priſoner, it would be of no force, and by that means ſhe got her guard to be diſmiſſed. But inſtead of ſigning the writing, ſhe found means to eſcape [h], and retire to Dunbar, where ſhe brought the king along with her [i]. When ſhe was going away, ſhe ordered Melvil by one of her ladies to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to keep the earl of Murray in his good reſolution; and Melvil ſays, Murray and his friends aſſured him of their conſtant fidelity to the queen.

The king forſakes the murderers, Melvil, p. 65. who are obliged to treat with the queen. Relation of the Death of Rizzo. Buchanan. Thuanus.

The queen deceives them, and eſcapes to Dunbar. Melvil, p. 65. Buchanan. p. 66.

Mary being come to Dunbar and reſuming her authority, granted a pardon to the earl of Murray, and afterwards the earls of Argyle, Rothes and Glencairn obtained the ſame favour. As for the duke of Chatelerault, he had withdrawn from them before they were conſtrained to fly into England. The queen's anger was wholly turned againſt Rizzo's murderers: but Morton, Ruthven and Douglaſs being fled into England, ſhe could puniſh only ſome of their complices, who were executed. Buchanan affirms, ſhe cauſed Rizzo's body to be removed from the obſcure place where it was buried,

She re-aſſumes her authority, and pardons the fugitives. Rizzo's murderers fly into England. Relation of Rizzo. Melvil, p. 66, 67. Buchanan.

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[g] Buchanan does not fully explain this, and thereby makes his account very obſcure. Rapin.

[h] At midnight, March 12. Melvil, p. 66.

[i] Buchanan ſays, ſhe compelled him to go with her; but in the condition ſhe was in, it was hardly poſſible for her to uſe force, and conſequently it is much more likely that he followed her voluntarily. Rapin.

and laid in the ſepulchre of the kings, cloſe by Magdalen of France, daughter of Francis I. It is eaſy to gueſs that the deed lately committed by the king greatly increaſed the queen's averſion to him. She put a conſtraint upon herſelf whilſt a priſoner; but as ſoon as ſhe ſaw herſelf at liberty, ſhe mortified him beyond all patience. Buchanan is very circumſtantial, and what he relates is in a manner confirmed by Melvil, who ſays, 'the queen could not bear the king in her ſight; 'ſhe fled from his company; and he went up and down all 'alone, ſeeing few durſt bear him company. He was miſ'liked by the queen, and by all ſuch as ſecretly favoured the 'late baniſhed lords: ſo that it was a great pity to ſee that 'good young prince caſt off, who failed rather for want of 'good counſel and experience, than from any bad inclina'tions.' In a word, the queen, who had reſolved to lie-in at Sterling, ſeeing the king arrive there, retired without him to the caſtle of Edinburgh to wait the time of her delivery.

Melvil, p. 66, 67.

The earl of Bothwell is in great credit. Melvil, p. 67, Thuanus. Buchanan.

Now began the earl of Bothwell to hold in the queen's affection the place Rizzo had poſſeſſed. As the new favourite found the queen had a great regard for the earl of Murray, who had lately given her convincing proofs of his fidelity, he joined with the earl of Huntley, and John Leſley biſhop of Roſs, to deſtroy him. To this end, they intimated to the queen, that he intended to get the earl of Morton and the reſt of Rizzo's murderers recalled, in order to form a party againſt her whilſt ſhe was in childbed [k]. But ſhe would not believe it, and Melvil entirely undeceived her. Thus Murray was always expoſed to his enemies, to whom the queen, to her own misfortune, gave but too much acceſs to her perſon.

Elizabeth diſcovers Mary's deſigns by help of a ſpy. Melvil, p. 68.

Elizabeth being fully informed of what paſſed at the court of Scotland, was not ſorry to ſee her good ſiſter (for ſo ſhe called Mary) purſue a courſe contrary to her true intereſt, in truſting to men who could not but ruin her. She knew Mary could not relinquiſh her project of dethroning her; and that the pope, the cardinal of Lorrain, and the courts of France and Spain, took great care to keep her in that reſolution. So, the better to diſcover her ſecrets, ſhe had ſent one Ruxby [l] into Scotland, who feigning to fly out of England, and to hate Elizabeth mortally, had inſinuated himſelf into Mary's favour, and by degrees got out of her ſome important ſecrets, which he communicated to ſecretary Cecil. Theſe diſcoveries having confirmed Elizabeth's ſuſpicions, were the reaſon that though ſhe had by proclamation commanded all the fugitive lords of Scotland to depart out of her dominions, ſhe gave them private aſſurances of her protection, deſigning when occaſion, to make them her inſtruments to raiſe Mary diſturbances, which ſhould prevent her from thinking of England.

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[k] And therefore adviſed her to impriſon him till ſhe was delivered. Melvil, p. 67.

[l] This man was to appear to be a zealous favourer of Mary's right and title to the crown of England, and to inform her of the great friendſhip divers of the catholicks had for her, who durſt not deal with the Scotch ambaſſador, being a proteſtant; but that he would deal himſelf betwixt her majeſty and them.

She aſſures the Scotch fugitives of her protection. Melvil, p. 69.

Mean while ſir Robert Melvil, the Scotch ambaſſador in England, having found that Ruxby was Cecil's ſpy, gave notice of it to the court of Scotland, who ordered him to be arreſted with all his papers, among which were found ſome of Cecil's letters in cypher [m]. He was kept with ſuch care, that it could not be known why he was apprehended. Shortly after, Elizabeth ſending Killigrew into Scotland about ſome affairs, ordered him to demand Ruxby as an Engliſh fugitive. Mary, feigning to be ignorant of Ruxby's buſineſs in Scotland, replied, ſhe was ready to deliver him to any perſon, whom the queen her ſiſter ſhould commiſſion to receive him. But Elizabeth underſtanding he had been arreſted, and ſuſpecting the reaſon, ſaid no more of the matter. Thus theſe two queens, amidſt their mutual demonſtrations of friendſhip, looked upon one another however as real enemies, and not without cauſe. Mary was privately labouring by her emiſſaries to corrupt Elizabeth's ſubjects, and inſpire them with a ſpirit of rebellion. Elizabeth on her part countenanced the male-contents of Scotland with ſecret intimations, that they ſhould always find in her a powerful protection.

The ſpy is diſcovered. Melvil, p. 69.

The two queens conſider one another as enemies.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the queen of Scotland was delivered of a prince on the 19th of June, and immediately James Melvil was ſent to Elizabeth, to carry her the news and deſire her to ſtand godmother to the new-born infant. Melvil ſays in his Memoirs that ſecretary Cecil having brought the news to the queen, who was then at a ball, the dancing immediately ended, and the queen ſat down in her chair, leaning her head upon her hand, without ſpeaking a word; that one of her ladies aſking the reaſon of her ſudden melancholy, ſhe replied, 'The queen of Scots was mother 'of a ſon, while ſhe was but a barren ſtock.' However, the

Birth of James, Mary's ſon. Buchanan.

Melvil, p. 69, &c.

Elizabeth is vexed at it. Melvil, p. 70.

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[m] It was only one letter, wherein ſecretary Cecil promiſed Ruxby to ſee him rewarded, and deſired him to continue in his diligence. Melvil, p. 69.

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next morning, when ſhe gave audience to the envoy, ſhe appeared better dreſſed and more gay than uſually, expreſſing great joy that the queen her good ſiſter was ſafely delivered. At the audience, Melvil inſinuating to her, that in this juncture ſhe could not better ſhow her concern for what related to the queen of Scotland, than by declaring her preſumptive heir to the crown of England; ſhe coldly anſwered, the affair was in the hands of the lawyers, and ſhe heartily wiſhed her title might be found well grounded.

Mary's friends try to diſpel Elizabeth's ſuſpicions. Melvil, p. 73, 74.

Whilſt Melvil was at London, Mary's principal friends thought it abſolutely neceſſary to remove the court of England's ſuſpicions occaſioned by Ruxby's intelligence; and that, for this purpoſe, it would be proper for queen Mary to write two letters, one to her ambaſſador in ordinary, to be ſhown to Elizabeth, another to ſecretary Cecil [n], and draughts were ſent to her. Theſe letters were writ accordingly. In that to her ambaſſador, Mary proteſted ſhe expected nothing, but by the favour and friendſhip of her good ſiſter. She enjoined her ambaſſador not to hearken to any propoſal of the malecontents, but to threaten to diſcover their plots if they came to his knowledge. The other letter, directed to the ſecretary of ſtate, contained much the ſame proteſtations. 'By theſe 'letters, adds Melvil, Ruxby's intelligence was ſuppreſſed, 'and my brother ſuffered to ſtay in England, whereby the 'queen's friends ſo increaſed, that many whole ſhires were 'ready to rebel, and their captains already named by the 'election of the nobility.'

Mary's deſigns. Melvil, p. 74.

The two queens lay ſnares for one another.

This confeſſion of a man, who probably was well informed, ſince he was brother of the ambaſſador in ordinary, ſhows what were Mary's deſigns. Can it be thought that the ambaſſador undertook to incite the nobles and counties of England to rebel, contray to the will of the queen his miſtreſs, or without her knowledge? There are in Melvil's Memoirs ſeveral paſſages to the like effect, which ſhow that Mary and her friends were perpetually ſtriving to increaſe her adherents in England, and to keep them diſpoſed to take up arms againſt Elizabeth, when it ſhould be deemed proper. It is therefore no wonder if Mary refuſed to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. That ratification would have diſcouraged her friends in England and other countries. Elizabeth was not ignorant of Mary's aim, which, in ſhort, was to dethrone her, if ſhe could poſſibly find means. This was the reaſon of her preſ-

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[n] The letters were both writ to Melvil, of which the queen was to ſee one, and Cecil the other. They are to be ſeen, p. 73. of Melvil's Memoirs.

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ſing her ſo earneſtly to take the falſe ſtep of ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, in order to break her meaſures. On the other hand, at the very time Mary was making proteſtations of friendſhip to her good ſiſter, and intreating her to ſtand godmother to her ſon, ſhe was endeavouring to inſnare her, by perſuading her to get her declared heir to the crown. She knew, could ſhe once obtain that advantage, her party, which was already very great in England, would become more numerous and powerful. But they both knew their intereſts too well to fall into the ſnares they laid for each other. So, Mary never ratified the treaty of Edinburgh, neither did Elizabeth ever declare her next heir. It may however be juſtly preſumed that if Mary had not loſt herſelf another way, as we ſhall ſee preſently, ſhe would have thrown Elizabeth into difficulties, of which with all her policy ſhe would have hardly got clear.

Mary uſes the king ill.
Buchanan.
She lives in a ſcandalous manner with Bothwell.
Thuanus.
Buchanan.

In the interval between Mary's delivery and the prince's baptiſm, ſhe was ſeen to treat the king with ſo great contempt, and to put ſuch grievous affronts upon him, that it was the talk of the whole kingdom. Buchanan is not content with enlarging upon this ſubject; but ſpeaks moreover of the queen's amours with Bothwell, in a manner that ſhows ſhe had loſt all ſhame, and no longer regarded what the world ſaid of her. It might be thought Buchanan, who hated the queen, has uſed aggravation, if what happened afterwards did not too evidently confirm what he has ſaid. Camden ſays nothing of the queen's amours with Bothwell, and ſpeaks but ſlightly of her averſion to the king, calling it only a difference between them, becauſe theſe were things directly contrary to his deſign of an entire vindication. Melvil found himſelf embarraſſed. He durſt not ſay all, but the ſequel and connexion of his Memoirs neceſſarily requiring he ſhould ſay ſomething p. 77. of the queen's amours, he contents himſelf with intimating in ſeveral places, that Bothwell was at that time abſolute at court and entirely governed the queen [o]. He was not ſo reſerved with reſpect to the queen's averſion to the king, ſince he does not ſcruple to ſhow it was extreme.

The prince's baptiſm.
Melvil, p. 74.
Buchanan.
Camden.

The prince's baptiſm being to be celebrated at Sterling, the ambaſſadors of France, England, and Savoy, who were to ſtand godfathers, repaired thither, and the court was very numerous. It was the earl of Bedford, whom Elizabeth ſent to ſtand in her place [p]. The prince was named James, and the queen prevailed, though with much difficulty, that he ſhould be baptized after the manner of the Romiſh church, intending to educate him in the catholick religion. Whilſt the court was at Sterling, the king was expoſed to unheard-of indignities, not daring to ſhow himſelf by reaſon of the extreme want he was reduced to, whilſt Bothwell appeared with a royal magnificence, to the great ſcandal of the world. But without inſiſting upon what Buchanan ſays, ſince he is not thought impartial, I ſhall content myſelf with the teſtimony of Melvil. The queen, ſays that author, being at Sterling, ſeemed very melancholy, and complained to me of Rizzo's murder, as of an outrage which could not be blotted out of her mind. I endeavoured to comfort her, and to perſuade her to recall the baniſhed lords, that ſhe might enjoy a peaceable government. I had now ſomewhat prevailed with her; 'but, alas, ſhe had bad company about her, for the 'earl of Bothwell, who had a mark of his own that he ſhot 'at, as ſoon as he underſtood of her wiſe and merciful delibe'rations, took occaſion to bring in the earl of Mortoun, and 'his aſſociates, thereby to make them friends, and by them 'to fortify his faction. For apparently, he had already in his 'head the reſolution of performing the foul murther of the 'king, which he afterwards put in execution, that he might 'marry the queen.' He adds further, that the earl of Bedford being upon the point of returning to England, deſired him to tell the queen from him, 'That for her own honour, ſhe 'ſhould entertain the king as ſhe had done at the beginning.' Melvil diſcharged his commiſſion, but without any effect. What Buchanan relates, is much better confirmed by theſe teſtimonies than confuted by Camden's ſilence.

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[o] Thus, p. 77. he ſays, that the earl of Bothwell ruined all at court, having brought home the baniſhed lords, and patched up quiet friendſhip with the earl of Morton; and in the ſame page he affirms, that the earls of Bothwell and Huntley enterpriſed the ſlaughter of the earl of Murray at Jedburgh, but the lord Hume came there with forces, and prevented that enterprize.

The king undergoes many mortifications. Buchanan.

p. 74, 75.

p. 77.

After the ceremony of the baptiſm, the earl of Bedford, purſuant to Elizabeth's orders, preſſed the queen of Scotland to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. Hitherto ſhe had only uſed pretences and excuſes to evade the demand; but now ſhe ſpoke more freely. She anſwered, there was an article in the treaty expreſſed in ambiguous terms, which ſhe could not ratify without great prejudice to herſelf: that however, ſhe offered to ſend commiſſioners to the borders, to agree with thoſe of the queen of England upon a new treaty, wherein ſhe would promiſe to aſſume neither the title nor arms of England, ſo long

Mary refuſes to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, Camden. Walſing. Inſtructions to Norris, Thuanus. and offers to make another leſs ambiguous.

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[p] He was accompanied by George Carey, eldeſt ſon of the lord Hunſdon, Chriſtopher Hatton, Eſq; Mr. Ligniſh, &c. Melvil, p. 76. The prince was baptized December 18. Stow, p. 660.

as Elizabeth and her heirs ſhould live. Thus the difficulty was at length unravelled, and indeed Elizabeth could not with juſtice require more of her. Nevertheleſs, ſhe took this anſwer for a refuſal, which, in my opinion, is a clear evidence of what I have ſaid elſewhere, that Elizabeth intended to make uſe of this abſolute ratification, if Mary had been ſo unwiſe as to give it, againſt Mary herſelf, and thereby prove ſhe had no title to the crown of England. It is extremely probable, that moſt of the Engliſh proteſtants, after having been ſo cruelly perſecuted in the foregoing reign, wanted only a pretence to exclude a catholick princeſs from the ſucceſſion.

Elizabeth's deſign.

The court of Scotland being returned to Edinburgh after the prince's baptiſm, the king was treated there in ſo injurious a manner, that he reſolved at laſt to retire to Glaſcow to the earl his father, who had left the court, not to be a witneſs of the baſe indignities offered to the king his ſon. Juſt as he was going, ſome of the queen's officers took away all his plate, and gave him a ſett of pewter. He was hardly a mile from Edinburgh, when he felt himſelf ſeized with a very violent illneſs, cauſed by poiſon, given him before his departure[q]. He went on, however, to Glaſcow, where phyſick and the ſtrength of his conſtitution overcame the violence of his diſtemper, though with great difficulty. Not to interrupt the thread of the affairs of Scotland, I have run over at once what of moment happened in that kingdom, in the year 1566. We muſt now proceed to other matters.

Mary treats the king unworthily. He reſolves to withdraw.

He is poiſoned as he is going away. Buchanan. Melvil. Thuanus.

He overcomes the poiſon.

In the beginning of this year, Charles IX. ſent Mr. de Rambouillet into England, with two collars of the order of St. Michael, which he deſired Elizabeth to confer on what two noblemen ſhe pleaſed. She made choice of the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Leiceſter, and honoured the bearer with the order of the garter[r]. But we muſt not be deceived by theſe external marks of mutual eſteem and friendſhip between the two courts, for they were far from being ſincere. Elizabeth had broke the meaſures of the court of France, by driving the French out of Scotland. Moreover, ſhe was looked upon as the head and protectreſs of the proteſtants,

Charles IX. gives Elizabeth marks of his eſteem. Camden. Stow.

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[q] Camden ſays not a word of this poiſoning. Rapin. --- Melvil's account is this, "The king followed the queen "about whitherſoever ſhe rode, but got "no good countenance. So that find"ing himſelf ſlighted, he went to "Glaſcow, where he fell ſick, it being "alledged, that he had got poiſon from "ſome of his ſervants," p. 77.

[r] It was not the bearer, but king Charles his maſter that was honoured with the order of the garter. Rambouillet, in the king his maſter's room, took his place amongſt the knights of St. George at Windſor, ſays Camden, p. 399.

whoſe deſtruction had been determined in the conference of Bayonne. So, in all appearance, it was only to amuſe her, that the court of France gave her this equivocal mark of their eſteem. Elizabeth was not ignorant, that the French court, which was extremely bigotted, and where the queen of Scotland had ſuch powerful friends, had no affection for her: nay, ſuppoſing ſhe had received no intelligence of the reſolution taken at Bayonne, which was however known or gueſſed by the Huguenots of France, ſhe could never truſt that court.

The earl of Arundel quits England. Camden.

This year, the earl of Arundel departed the kingdom with the queen's leave, under colour of changing the air for the recovery of his health. It was thought, the real motive of his retreat was his deſpair of marrying the queen, with which he had vainly flattered himſelf [s].

The queen viſits Oxford. Camden. Stow. Hollingſh.

Shortly after Elizabeth's receiving the news of the queen of Scotland's delivery, ſhe viſited the univerſity of Oxford, where ſhe was received in the ſame manner as at Cambridge. She alſo ſhewed here, by her diſcourſe and courteous behaviour, an extraordinary regard for that univerſity [t]. Never was prince greater maſter than herſelf of the art of gaining the love of her ſubjects, by kind and affectionate expreſſions, which ſeemed to flow from her heart [u].

A plot to cauſe the queen of Scotland to be declared Elizabeth's heir. Camden. D'ewes.

Notwithſtanding all this, a terrible ſtorm was gathering againſt her. The queen of Scotland having been delivered of a prince, her friends began to ſtir, and ſcrupled not to act openly, in order to have her declared the queen's heir. The parliament met in November [w] with that reſolution. Thoſe who managed the affair were Mary's chief friends, and had only her in view: but the publick good was pretended by all. Among the lords there were, who ſeeing Elizabeth unmarried, and the queen of Scots inclined to a divorce, flattered themſelves with marrying one or other. To this end they kept behind the curtain, and ſet their friends to work, in order to ſtrike in the moſt critical minute. At length, the party being made, it was moved in the upper houſe to addreſs the queen, and pray her to marry, or appoint a ſucceſſor. Among

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[s] He left the kingdom after the expence of a vaſt treaſure, on the vain hopes of enjoying the queen.---At the ſame time others of the Engliſh nation went into Hungary to war againſt the Turks; the chief of whom were, ſir John Smith, ſon to the ſiſter of Jane Seymour, king Edward VI's mother, Henry Champernoon, Philip Butſhide, Richard Greenville, William Gorges, Thomas Cotton, and others. Camden, p. 399.

[t] She ſtaid there ſeven days. Ibid.

[u] She returned the univerſity thanks for their civilities in a Latin ſpeech. Camden, ibid.

[w] It met by adjournment on September 30. D'ewes, p 93.

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the reaſons alledged for this requeſt, ſome were contradictory; but all arguments were good to thoſe who had formed the project, provided they could engage the majority on their ſide. To gain thoſe who had only the publick good in view, they were told, if the queen died without iſſue, the kingdom would be expoſed to great troubles, becauſe nothing yet was ſettled about the ſucceſſion. The zealous proteſtants were made to fear, that the queen of Scotland having a claim to the crown, there was danger of ſeeing the late reign acted over again, if the queen did not take a huſband, and with the bleſſing of God get a ſucceſſor. Many fell into the ſnare, imagining the queen, who had ſo great an affection for her ſubjects, would comply with their deſires, and reſolve at length to marry, and they hoped by that means to ſee the kingdom in perfect tranquillity. The queen of Scotland was not mentioned, and yet it was ſhe alone the heads of the plot had in view. They knew the queen had reſolved never to marry. Nay, it was believed, ſhe could not do it without hazarding her life, and that her phyſicians had told her the ſame [x]. But feigning ignorance, they reſolved ſhe ſhould be preſſed to marry, that they might, from her refuſal, have a pretence to oblige her to name a ſucceſſor. This could be only the queen of Scotland, there being no other perſon that could diſpute her title. The dutcheſs of Suffolk and her two eldeſt daughters were dead. The third was very deformed, and had married a man of a very mean condition. Nay, I do not know whether ſhe was yet alive. As for the children of Catherine Grey, the ſecond of the three ſiſters by the earl of

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[x] Huick the queen's phyſician diſſuaded her, it ſeems, from marrying, on pretence of ſome natural defect. Camden, p. 399.----Here it may not perhaps be diſagreeable to the reader, to peruſe a ſtory related by Melvil. He was told at Newcaſtle, by an Engliſhman, one of the gentlemen of queen Elizabeth's privy-chamber, that king Henry VIII. had been ſo curious as to enquire of diviners or necromancers, what ſhould become of his ſon Edward, and of his two daughters Mary and Elizabeth. He was anſwered, that Edward ſhould die, having few days and no ſucceſſion; [illegible] that his two daughters ſhould ſucceed one another. That Mary, his eldeſt daughter, ſhould marry a Spaniard, and that way bring many ſtrangers [illegible] England, which would occaſion great ſtrife and alteration. That Elizabeth ſhould reign after her, who ſhould marry either a Scotchman, or a Frenchman. Whereupon the king cauſed to give poiſon to both his daughters, but becauſe this had not the effect he deſired, (for they finding themſelves altered by vehement vomitings and purgings, and ſuſpecting poiſon, had taken remedies,) he cauſed to proclaim them both baſtards. But the women that attended about queen Mary alledged, that her matrix was conſumed; for ſhe was ſeveral times ſuppoſed to be with child by king Philip of Spain, yet brought forth nothing but dead lumps of fleſh. Therefore to be revenged of her father, ſhe had cauſed, ſecretly in the night, to take up her father's bones, and burn them. Melvil, p. 28.

Hertford, Elizabeth had cauſed them to be declared baſtards by a legal ſentence. Conſequently they could not pretend to the throne. As for the counteſs of Lenox's title, Mary had taken care to unite it with her own by her marriage with the lord Darnly. It was neceſſary therefore, either to call to the ſucceſſion ſome deſcendent from the females of the houſe of York, to which the queen and parliament would not have willingly agreed, or to nominate Mary Stuart to fill the throne after the queen. The combination was ſo ſtrong in the upper houſe, that ſome of the lords were of opinion it was not ſufficient to intreat the queen, but that ſhe ought to be obliged to marry, or in caſe of a refuſal, a ſucceſſor be declared by act of parliament, even againſt the queen's will [y]. At laſt, it was reſolved to ſend the lord-keeper Bacon, to beſeech her, in the name of the houſe, to chuſe a huſband, and to lay the reaſons before her [z].

The houſe of lords preſs the queen to marry. Camden. D'ewes, p. 105.

Things were managed with ſtill leſs temper in the lower houſe. It was openly maintained, that ſince the queen would not marry, ſhe ought to be conſtrained to appoint a ſucceſſor: that by neglecting ſo neceſſary a precaution, ſhe ſhowed that her pretended affection for her people was all diſſimulation, ſince ſhe preferred her own intereſt to the welfare of the nation: that ſhe could deny what was deſired of her, only out of fear of her ſucceſſor, which fear could be entertained by none but timorous princes or faint-hearted women [a].

The commons are ſtill more warm. Camden. D'ewes, p. 124, 128.

The queen took ſome time to return an anſwer to the lords, and ſeemed to be ignorant of, or overlooked, what paſſed in the houſe of commons. She was however extremely mortified, that her enemies had credit enough to turn both houſes of parliament againſt her, and to ſee thoſe whom ſhe had moſt favoured prevailed with to act ſo directly contrary to her intereſt. As ſhe knew very many of her ſubjects were not fully convinced of the juſtice of her title to the crown, ſhe plainly perceived, to appoint the queen of Scotland for her preſumptive heir, was really increaſing and ſtrengthening the right of that dangerous rival. Among the ſovereign

The queen's perplexity. Camden. D'ewes.

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[y] The earls of Pembroke and Leiceſter did openly, and the duke of Norfolk with more caution, profeſs this to be their opinion. But they made their ſubmiſſion, and obtained their pardon. Camden, p. 399.----Moſt of the lords and other great men in England, were then well affected to the queen of Scots, and kept a correſpondence with her, as may be ſeen in Melvil, p. 46, &c.

[z] This petition was preſented to the queen November 5. D'ewes, p. 104, 105.

[a] Theſe and other points were firſt moved in the houſe by Mr. Molineux; and were inſiſted upon by [illegible] and Monſon, great lawyers, with Dutton, Kingſmill, Wentworth, and others. Camden, p. 400. D'ewes, p. 124, &c.

princes, ſhe had no ally or true friend. On the contrary, ſhe could not doubt that the pope, France, and Spain, would readily aſſiſt to deprive her of the crown. Her whole dependence was upon the affection of her people, whoſe repreſentatives ſhe ſaw combined, as I may ſay, againſt her, to oblige her to take a ſtep ſo oppoſite to her true intereſt. It is not eaſy to gueſs what ſhe would have reſolved, if the lords had perſiſted in their demand, and been ſeconded by the commons. Till ſhe could more fully diſcover the intrigues which influenced the parliament, ſhe made uſe of an expedient which ſucceeded, delaying to take other meaſures, according as her enemies ſhould proceed. The expedient was, to order thirty of each houſe to come to her. [Theſe ſhe diverted by the moſt obliging expreſſions, mixed with a gentle reproof from their reſolution, and promiſed them to manage things, not only with the care of a prince, but the tenderneſs of a parent. And whereas the houſe had offered greater ſubſidies than uſual [b], on condition ſhe would declare a ſucceſſor, ſhe refuſed thoſe extraordinary grants [c], and accepted a ſmaller ſum, ſaying, "That money in her ſubjects purſe, was as "good as in her own exchequer [d]."

She ſends for thirty deputies from each houſe.
D'ewes, p. 103, 104.

The laſt day of the ſeſſion, ſhe made the following ſpeech to both houſes,] to let them know, or rather to diſguiſe, her intentions, and evade their requeſt.

Queen's ſpeech to them.
D'ewes, p. 116.

"MY lords, and others the commons of this aſſembly, "although the lord-keeper hath, according to order, "very well anſwered in my name, yet as a periphraſis, I "have a few words farther to ſpeak unto you. Notwith-"ſtanding I have not been uſed, nor love to do it, in ſuch "open aſſemblies; yet now (not to the end to amend his "talk) but remembring that commonly a prince's own

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[b] There is mention in the Journals only of a ſubſidy, and one tenth, and fifteenth. The bill for it was firſt read in the houſe of commons, October 28, and in the houſe of lords, on December 17, and for the ſecond and third times, on the 18th. See D'ewes, p. 121, 125, 126.

[c] The reaſon of this refuſal ſeems to be, that the declaration of a ſucceſſor, and the ſubſidy bill, were ordered by the houſe of commons to proceed together: ſo that the one could not be rejected without the other. See D'ewes, p. 124. She remitted only the third payment of the ſubſidy, as before rated, granted by parliament, to induce her to declare a ſucceſſor. See D'ewes, p. 131.

[d] Rapin miſtaking the thirty members ſent for by the queen from each houſe for ſo many deputies from the parliament, makes the queen ſpeak the following ſpeech to them, and not to both houſes, as ſhe did at the end of the ſeſſion. Had he happened to ſee the original ſpeech which is here inſerted, inſtead of the abridgment in Camden, he would have perceived his error. What is inſerted between the two crotchets, is ſupplied from Camden, in order to rectify Rapin's miſtake.

"words

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“ words be better printed in the hearers memory, than thoſe ſpoken by her command, I mean to ſay thus much unto you. I have in this aſſembly found ſo much diſſimulation, where I always profeſſed plainneſs, that I marvel thereat, yea two faces under one hood, and the body rotten, being covered with two vizors, ſucceſſion and liberty, which they determined muſt be either preſently granted, denied, or deferred; in granting whereof they had their deſires, and denying and deferring thereof (thoſe things being ſo laudable, as indeed to all men they are) they thought to work me that miſchief which never foreign enemy could bring to paſs, which is the hatred of my commons. But alas! they began to pierce the veſſel before the wine was fined, and began a thing not foreſeeing the end; now by this means I have ſeen my well-wiſhers from my enemies, and can, as me ſeemeth, very well divide the houſe into four. Firſt the broachers and workers thereof, who are in the greateſt faults: ſecondly, the ſpeakers, who by eloquent tales perſuaded others, are in the next degree: thirdly, the agreers, who being ſo light of credit that the eloquence of the tales ſo overcame them, that they gave more credit thereunto than to their own wits: and laſtly, thoſe that ſat ſtill, mute, and meddled not therewith, but rather wondered, diſallowing the matter; who, in my opinion, are moſt to be excuſed. But do you think, that either I am unmindful of your ſurety by ſucceſſion wherein is all my care, conſidering I know myſelf to be mortal? No, I warrant you; or that I went about to break your liberty? No, it was never my meaning, but to ſtay you before you fell into the ditch. For all things have their time; and although perhaps you may have after me one better learned, or wiſer; yet I aſſure you, none more careful over you; and therefore henceforth, whether I live to ſee the like aſſembly or no, or whoever it be, yet beware however you prove your prince's patience, as you have done mine.

“ And now to conclude, all this notwithſtanding (not meaning to make a Lent of Chriſtmaſs) the moſt part of you may aſſure themſelves, that you depart in your prince's grace.”

It is not eaſy to comprehend what the queen would have intimated to the parliament when ſhe ſaid, “ whether I live to ſee the like aſſembly or no.” For theſe are ambiguous words, which may be taken in various ſenſes. Beſides, they are put in where they have not much connexion with the preceding or following words. However, after this confuſed ſpeech, the parliament was immediately diſſolved. But this was only a palliative remedy, which was not capable of allaying the fermentation already raiſed among the people [e]. If it gave the queen time to take other meaſures, it afforded alſo her enemies leiſure more ſtrongly to erect their batteries. Very probably, the affair would have been debated again in the next parliament, if in the mean while the queen of Scotland had not loſt herſelf by her ill-conduct, and viſibly leſſened her party in England [f]. This is what I am going to ſhow, after cloſing the year 1566 with a brief account of the affairs of the Netherlands.

Affairs of the Low-Countries. Grotius. Strada.

After Philip II. had quitted theſe provinces in 1559, in order to reſide in Spain, the diſcontent of the nobles and people was grown to that height, that it was not poſſible the affairs of that country ſhould remain any longer in their preſent ſituation. This univerſal diſſatisfaction flowed from ſeveral cauſes. I. The people's belief, that the king had formed a deſign to aboliſh their liberties and privileges, and eſtabliſh an arbitrary power. II. The erection of the biſhopricks, which greatly leſſened the juriſdiction and revenues of the abbeys, in which many families were concerned. III. The inquiſition which was intended to be ſet up in theſe provinces, and which was little leſs abhorred by the catholicks than by the proteſtants themſelves. IV. The prohibition to aſſemble the ſtates. V. The king's project to extirpate the hereticks, who were now very numerous in the country. VI. and laſtly, The intereſt of the great men, who plainly ſaw how fatal to them the execution of the king's deſign would be. They had in vain for ſeveral years beſought their governeſs to aſſemble the ſtates, and prevent the calamities with which they

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[e] The queen about this time caſt one Thornton, a reader of law in Lincoln's-Inn, into the Tower, upon the queen of Scots complaint, that he had called her title in queſtion. Camden, p. 401.

[f] This laſt mentioned parliament, which was diſſolved on January 2, granted the queen a ſubſidy, and one tenth, and a fifteenth. The clergy granted at the ſame time a ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound, to be paid in three years.---The acts made in this ſeſſion were theſe: 1. An act declaring the making and conſecrating of biſhops within this realm to be good, orderly, and lawful. 2. That no man ſhall ſend any rams, ſheep, or lambs alive out of the realm, upon pain, for the firſt offence, of forfeiture of all his goods, and one year's impriſonment; and for the ſecond, of being declared a felon. 3. That cut-purſes and pick-pockets ſhall not have benefit of clergy. 4. Whereas there was but one ſheriff for Surrey and Suſſex, one for Eſſex and Hertfordſhire, one for Somerſet and Dorſet, one for Warwick and Leiceſter, one for Nottingham and Derby, one for Oxford and Berkſhire, it was ordered, that for the future (the year 1567 being the firſt) each of theſe counties ſhould have a ſheriff a-piece. See Statut.

Eliz. 1566.

foreſaw their country was ſoon going to be afflicted. Their requeſt was conſtantly rejected. This rigour had at length obliged the prince of Orange, count d'Egmont, count Horn, and ſeveral other lords, to withdraw from the council of ſtate, and write to the king, that cardinal de Granvelle had rendered himſelf ſo odious, that the worſt was to be feared, if he continued any longer in the Low-Countries. Philip not thinking proper to recall the cardinal directly, adviſed him however to withdraw. As ſoon as Granvelle was gone, the great men went and reſumed their places in the council.

Mean while, the inquiſition being univerſally abhorred, the people began to ſtir, and ſhow their reſolution to free themſelves from that yoke. The great men ſupported this reſolution with two motives: Firſt, becauſe they perceived the inquiſition muſt prove deſtructive of liberty. In the ſecond place, becauſe they were informed the king had taken terrible reſolutions againſt them, on account of what had paſſed about cardinal de Granvelle. Whereupon they formed a confederacy againſt the inquiſition, and Lewis count of Naſſau, brother to the prince of Orange, with four hundred attendants, preſented a petition to the governeſs. On this occaſion it was that the proteſtants received the name of Gueux or Beggars. The governeſs not having power to grant their requeſt, the proteſtants, of their own accord, took the liberty to preach publickly, and the governeſs was forced to ſuffer it, and at length to allow it expreſly. From that time, Philip conſidered the people of the Low-Countries as rebels, and they for the moſt part looked upon him but as an unjuſt and cruel ſovereign, who aſpired to be abſolute maſter of their eſtates, their bodies and their ſouls. I ſhall enter no farther into theſe affairs. It ſuffices to have briefly ſhown the ſpring of the troubles of the Netherlands, which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of ſometimes in the ſequel. I return to the affairs of Scotland, which more nearly relate to England[g].

1567.

Remarks on the tragical death of the king of Scotland.

I am now going to give an account of an event which has been rendered obſcure, as well by religious prejudices, as for the ſake of the prince of Scotland, whoſe birth I have mentioned. This prince coming to the crown of England after queen Elizabeth's death, thought it his duty to try to vindicate the queen his mother from the horrible crime ſhe was accuſed of during her life, I mean of murdering the king her huſband. In all likelihood, he made uſe of Camden's pen for that purpoſe.

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[g] This year, on the 7th day of June, the foundation of the Royal-Exchange in London was laid by ſir Thomas Greſham, knt. Hollingſh. p. 1209.

The queen is accuſed by ſome, and cleared by others.

It is agreed, that Henry Stuart king of Scotland, huſband of queen Mary, was aſſaſſinated the beginning of the year 1567. It cannot be denied, that this murder was committed by the earl of Bothwell, or his order; that the earl was then in great credit with the queen, and that ſhe married him a few months after the tragical death of the king. This, added to her averſion for the king, forms a ſtrong prejudice againſt her. On the other hand, almoſt all the Roman catholick writers who mention this murder, make it their buſineſs to juſtify the queen, and throw it on the earl of Murray. They ſeem to have taken this courſe with the more reaſon, as Camden a proteſtant author in his Annals of queen Elizabeth, has openly undertaken Mary's defence, and repreſented the earl of Murray as the author not only of the crime, but even of all the troubles which happened in Scotland, after the marriage of queen Mary with Francis II.

The neceſſity of clearing this fact.

It will be aſked perhaps, where is the neceſſity of clearing this fact in a hiſtory of England? I anſwer, there is an abſolute neceſſity, becauſe otherwiſe queen Elizabeth's conduct will be either inconceivable or miſunderſtood. The hiſtory therefore, as well as truth, requires a diſtinct knowledge of the foundation of queen Elizabeth's politicks, and of the real cauſe of the events which will be related hereafter. This fact is as the hinge on which all the affairs of England and Scotland turn for ſeveral years. They who, under colour of clearing it, have laboured to darken it as much as they could, were very ſenſible, how contrary the truth was to the idea they deſired to give of the affairs of this reign. So, to ſet it in a true light, it will be abſolutely neceſſary to follow a quite different courſe.

Camden.

To ſucceed in what I propoſe, I muſt largely treat of the affairs of Scotland. Some grave authors of an eſtabliſhed reputation have endeavoured to diſguiſe the facts they have related, by curtailing and altering them, by ſuppreſſing material truths, and ſuppoſing things which have not even the leaſt probability. To oppoſe to them a bare narration, containing only the naked truth, would not be the way to ſatisfy the reader, who would be ſtill at a loſs to know whom he ought moſt to credit. It is neceſſary therefore to prove what I advance, and in matter of facts there are no better proofs than the mutual connexion of theſe ſame facts, and the teſtimonies of unſuſpected perſons. But it is almoſt impoſſible to ſhew where the truth has been altered, without running into ſome reaſonings which indeed do not always ſuit with hiſtory, but which, on this occaſion, ſeem to me unavoidable.

Eliz. 1567.

Teſtimonies of three hiſtorians.

Three hiſtorians who may be conſidered as originals, have related what paſſed in Scotland during the reign of Elizabeth, namely, George Buchanan, William Camden, and James Melvil. Some remarks on theſe three authors will help to give the reader a true notion.

Buchanan.

Buchanan, a Scotchman and proteſtant, was a man of great learning, and much eſteemed by all the learned in Europe. If he had not penned the Hiſtory of Scotland, he would perhaps have been neither envied nor hated: but as in the recital of the frequent quarrels between England and Scotland, he does not always agree with the Engliſh hiſtorians, a prejudice is formed againſt him in England, as if he endeavoured to falſify whatever might be to the advantage of the Engliſh. This difference would have been little regarded by other nations, if what Buchanan ſays of queen Mary Stewart had not excited all the Roman catholicks in Europe againſt him. His aim was to ſhow, that queen Mary was the ſole cauſe of the troubles of Scotland, and particularly, the author of the king her huſband's death; and his hiſtory is full of circumſtantial facts, which have a viſible connexion and tend all to the end he propoſed. He does not cite teſtimonies to confirm what he ſays, becauſe he writ at the very time the things were tranſacted, or ſhortly after. On the other hand, he was Murray's creature, and counted revengeful. It is chiefly upon theſe prejudices that his hiſtory has been diſcredited, without however any expreſs endeavours to confute him in any material aſſertion.

Camden.

Camden, an Engliſh author and proteſtant, wrote the Annals of the reign of queen Elizabeth in the time of James I, ſon of queen Mary. He was eminent for his knowledge in the antiquities of England, and, if I miſtake not, he was Clarenceux king at arms. The Hiſtory of England is indebted to him for ſeveral good works, which have greatly ſerved to illuſtrate it. But it manifeſtly appears, that in writing the Annals of Elizabeth, his only aim was to vindicate the queen of Scots, under colour that the Hiſtory of Elizabeth cannot be compiled without a particular account of the affairs of Scotland. He ſpeaks extremely well of Elizabeth when Mary is not concerned. But in the places where the two queens muſt be neceſſarily put in oppoſition, he does it ſo artfully, that Elizabeth is ſhown to be in the wrong. It is not the ſame, where he can praiſe or excuſe Mary without wounding Elizabeth; for then he makes no ſcruple to repreſent Mary as a pattern of virtue. He entirely paſſes over in ſilence whatever may injure her reputation, or contents himſelf with con-

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ſulting what ſhe is accuſed of, by a bare and directly oppoſite narration, without alledging the leaſt proof. So, when a man reads the hiſtories of Camden and Buchanan, he would think theſe two writers are ſpeaking of two different queens, who reigned at the ſame time in Scotland. Buchanan's deſign was to blacken Mary's reputation, and Camden's, to vindicate or praiſe her. Wherefore, Camden, who wrote laſt, has taken care to warn his readers, that no credit is to be given to Buchanan, becauſe he was the earl of Murray's creature, a mercenary writer, and his works were condemned by the ſtates of Scotland. Nay, he pretends, that before his death he repented of his malice [h]; but, according to cuſtom, ſupports what he advances with no proof, neither does he take up Buchanan in any remarkable circumſtance, but only, as I ſaid, by giving a contrary account. Having thus removed the teſtimony of the Scotch hiſtorian, he adds, 'For his part, 'he propoſes, to the end both ſides may be heard, to relate 'the affair [the king's murder] without any mixture of love 'or hate, as far as he can come to the knowledge of it, from 'writings, publiſhed at the very time, but ſoon ſuppreſſed in 'favour to the earl of Murray, and in hatred to the queen, 'or from letters of ambaſſadors, and of other perſons worthy 'of credit.' It muſt be obſerved, that he cites in his Annals no paſſage from theſe ſuppreſſed writings, gives neither the titles nor authors, neither does he name the ambaſſadors, and perſons of credit, on whoſe teſtimony he builds his account. He alledges but one ſingle paper, which I ſhall ſpeak of in its place, and which carries all poſſible marks of forgery. Thus, after a caution not to believe Buchanan, who writ of what paſſed in his own time, and before his own eyes, he will have us believe him who did not write till above forty years after the event, upon his bare word and upon the teſtimony of perſons and books unknown [i].

After

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[h] Camden's words upon that point are very inconſiſtent. He ſays, "That "Buchanan often blamed himſelf with "tears in the king's preſence, for having employed his pen in too virulent "a ſtrain againſt queen Mary; and "wiſhed on his death-bed, that he might "live ſo long as to recall the truth of "that fact." Now, ſurely, if he had often blamed himſelf for this fact, he had time enough to recall the truth of it before he came to be on his death-bed. See Thuanus, Addit. ad Vol. III. p. 582.

[i] Many believe Camden writ nothing in his Annals about Scotland, but what was dictated to him, or enjoined by James I. We muſt therefore underſtand here by Camden, the real author of the Annals, whoever he be. Rapin. ---- Oſborn ſays, that Camden's lines were directed by king James, and he led rather to vindicate the honour and integrity of his mother, than to do right for a miſtreſs, that had from a ſchoolmaſter raiſed him to a capacity of being the firſt king at arms. Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, § 16.--- It is ſomething remarkable,

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Camden's account of the king's death.

After this preamble, he enters upon the ſubject, and, in order to relate the king's death, begins with a character of the earl of Murray, and repreſents him as a man of a boundleſs ambition, and aſpiring to the crown. It has been ſeen that this was the accuſation brought againſt him before Henry II. by the queen-dowager and the cardinal of Lorrain, and of which Melvil has fully cleared him. Camden adds, that, with this view, Murray did all he could to hinder the queen's marriage, and not ſucceeding, took up arms againſt her, and was at length forced to fly into England: that, during his abſence, by his letters and friends, he ſowed diſcord between the king and queen; and to hinder his condemnation, the earl of Morton, his friend, perſuaded the king to cauſe Rizzo, ſecretary for the French diſpatches, to be aſſaſſinated: that the king coming to a ſenſe of the heinouſneſs of the crime, conceived ſuch an averſion to Murray, that he reſolved to make him away; but that Murray having notice of it, was immediately reconciled to Bothwell, and determined with him to kill the king, in order to caſt the deed on the queen, ruin her in the affection of her ſubjects, and at the ſame time deſtroy the earl of Bothwell, and ſeize the government.

Remarks on this account.

This is the ſubſtance of the ſtory forged by Camden to juſtify the queen, and throw the murder of the king upon the earl of Murray. I call it a forged ſtory, becauſe indeed it is impoſſible to reconcile it with the hiſtory of Scotland, the principal circumſtances whereof this author has been pleaſed to omit. For inſtance, he ſays nothing of the favour Rizzo was in with the queen, or of his great credit at court, neither does he mention that princeſs's amours with Bothwell; and, yet in his very narrative, theſe two facts muſt be neceſſarily ſuppoſed. For how can it be conceived, that, to ſave the honour and eſtates of the earl of Murray, there was a neceſſity of aſſaſſinating a ſecretary for the French diſpatches, if this ſecretary had not been in great credit with the queen? Again, why muſt Murray deſtroy Bothwell, in order to uſurp

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markable, that the records of the criminal court, or juſticiary of Scotland, commonly called The Acts of Adjournal, are miſſing during the government of queen Mary, and alſo of her ſon king James, till after the trial and execution of the earl of Morton in 1581. In which records was the earl of Bothwell's trial, and the trials of ſome others of the regicides of king Henry Darnley. The records of the parliament of Scotland, held in Auguſt 1560, by appointment of queen Mary and her huſband Francis, wherein the authority of the pope was aboliſhed, and the proteſtant religion eſtabliſhed, are likewiſe miſſing; as were alſo thoſe of the parliament in December [illegible], wherein the acts made concerning the proteſtant religion were ratified, with ſeveral acts concerning queen Mary. Anderſon's Collect. Preface to the firſt Volume, p. 7, 8.

the government, if Bothwell had not been in poſſeſſion of it? It is very viſible, that otherwiſe Camden's account has neither coherence nor foundation. In ſhort, this author was not ignorant that the queen of Scots had been publickly accuſed of the king her huſband's death; that all Scotland and all England were full of it, and that it paſſed for a certain fact in both kingdoms. Can therefore facts publickly known, if I may ſo ſay, be overthrown forty years after, by a bare contrary account, without the leaſt proof of what is advanced? But to confirm what I have been ſaying with regard to Camden, I need only obſerve, that Melvil's Memoirs, penned before Camden's Annals, but which appeared not till long after, are entirely oppoſite to what that author has ſaid, and perfectly agree with Buchanan's hiſtory, a few circumſtances excepted.

Remarks on Melvil's Memoirs.

Melvil is the third author I am to ſpeak of. He was a perſon of diſtinction, who was employed in ſeveral embaſſies, and concerned in what paſſed at the court of Scotland. Nay, it appears in his Memoirs, that he was very much in the queen's favour, ſince ſhe choſe him to adviſe her about her behaviour, and tell her of her faults. A ſovereign can hardly give a ſubject greater marks of eſteem. If Buchanan has not mentioned him in his hiſtory, it was probably becauſe he loved him not. Melvil on his part has drawn in his memoirs a character of Buchanan, which, though it does juſtice to his ſenſe and great knowledge, gives no very advantageous idea of the qualities of his mind. This ſuffices to ſhow he has not copied that hiſtorian, and that they did not correſpond. He has writ what paſſed before his eyes, from the year 1563, when he returned to his own country, to the year 1594. Conſequently he cannot be ſaid to be ill informed. He may be ſtill leſs ſuſpected by the queen's friends, ſince it is plain in his memoirs, that he was always attached to the intereſts of that princeſs. Accordingly he ſpeaks of her every-where with great caution, contenting himſelf with briefly intimating ſome things which Buchanan has not ſcrupled to inſiſt upon more largely. He has not thought fit however to conceal the principal facts, becauſe theſe facts ſerve for foundation to his memoirs, which otherwiſe would have no connexion. He has not writ e[illegible]to juſtify or accuſe the queen, but purely for the inſtruction of his ſon in what paſſed in his own time. If we compare his Memoirs with Buchanan's Hiſtory and Camden's Annals, we ſhall ſoon be convinced it is impoſſible to reconcile them with what Camden ſays, but that on the contrary, they agree in the principal facts related by Buchanan.

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nan. All the difference is, Melvil has cleared many things which Buchanan did not well know; and on the other hand, Buchanan has enlarged much more upon every thing that can reflect on the queen, whereas Melvil very ſlightly touches upon ſuch paſſages. By that he ſhows he ſpeaks of them with regret, and ſo far only as to carry on the thread of his Memoirs.

After theſe remarks upon three hiſtorians, of whom two were cotemporaries, eye-witneſſes of what they relate, and agree together in the main without having writ by concert, and without one at leaſt being liable to be ſuſpected of diſguiſing the truth, and of whom the third writ forty years after, and is directly contrary to the two others, without ſupporting his ſtory with any teſtimony, or known author, I think I cannot be blamed if I take the two firſt for guides preferably to the laſt [k].

The queen orders the prince to be carried to Edinburgh. Buchanan. The king has a mind to withdraw into Spain. The queen careſſes him, and perſuades him to retire to Edinburgh. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 78. Spotiſwood. Thuanus.

Whilſt the king was taking remedies to expel the poiſon, the queen removed the young prince her ſon from Sterling, and ordered him to be carried to Edinburgh, though it was in the midſt of winter [l]. Shortly after ſhe heard the king had reſolved to withdraw into France or Spain, and that there was an Engliſh ſhip ready to receive him, as ſoon as he could bear the fatigue of the voyage. This precaution making her apprehenſive he would get away, and ſo break all her meaſures with Bothwell, ſhe expreſſed an intention to be reconciled to him. To that purpoſe, ſhe ſent ſeveral tender and affectionate letters to convince him of her ſincerity. At laſt, ſhe went to ſee him at Glaſcow [m], and ſo artfully managed him, that ſhe prevailed with him to return to Edinburgh in a litter. Melvil does not mention the queen's journey to Glaſcow, but neceſſarily ſuppoſes a reconciliation, ſince he ſpeaks of the king's voluntary return to Edinburgh [n]. As ſoon as he came there, he was lodged in a loneſome houſe [o], near the walls of the city, on pretence he would be diſturbed by the noiſe in the palace. For ſome days the queen made him frequent viſits, and even cauſed her own bed to be brought into a room underneath the king's. In a word, ſhe omitted nothing to perſuade him, ſhe did not bear him the leaſt ill will. At that time the earl of Murray, upon news that his wife was like to die of a miſcarriage, deſired leave to go and ſee her, and went away accordingly, notwithſtanding the queen's inſtances to the contrary. This circumſtance makes equally for Buchanan and Camden. Buchanan infers from it, that the earl of Murray had no hand in the king's murder, who was killed the night following, ſince he abſented himſelf the day before the deed [p]. Camden draws a quite contrary inference, ſaying the motive of his going away was to hinder his being ſuſpected. Buchanan and Melvil affirm, many knew there was a deſign to kill the king, but no man durſt warn him of it, becauſe he told all again to the queen, or to ſome of his ſervants who betrayed him. However, the earl of Orkney, half-brother to the earl of Murray, gave him notice of it, which he telling again to the queen, ſhe ſent for the earl of Orkney to examine him; but he denied in her preſence he had ever ſaid any ſuch thing [q].

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[k] In ſhort, it may be ſaid of theſe three hiſtorians, in regard to queen Mary, that Camden has ſcarce ſaid one word of truth, that Buchanan has ſaid all the truth, and more than the truth, and that Melvil has ſaid the truth, but not the whole truth.

[l] Pretending that the houſe where he was kept, was inconvenient, and Sterling a moiſt and cold place, where he ſhould catch cold. Buchanan. Melvil ſays nothing of this journey; but he ſuppoſes it afterwards, when he ſays, the queen delivered the prince to the earl of Marr, that the caſtle of Edinburgh might be taken out of his hands. Rapin.

[m] Attended only by the Hamiltons, and other enemies of the king. Buchanan.

[n] His words are, The king was afterwards brought to Edinburgh, and lodged in the Kirk-field, [illegible] place of good air, where he might beſt recover his health. But many ſuſpected that the earl of Bothwell had ſome enterprize againſt him, p. 78.

[o] Uninhabited for ſome years, Buchanan.

The earl of Murray leaves the court.
Buchanan.
Melvil.
Camden.
Barnſtaple.

Buchanan.
Melvil, p. 78.
Thuanus.

The tragical death of the king.
Buchanan.
Burnet, t. iii. p. 324, &c.
Barnſtaple.
Spotiſwood.
Thuanus.

Buchanan.

At length, the time appointed for the deed being come, the queen left the king to go and put to bed one of her women [r] who had been married that day. I omit numberleſs circumſtances whereby Buchanan inſinuates the queen was in the plot. Indeed thoſe circumſtances would be ſo many proofs, if they were confirmed by an unſuſpected author: but as Melvil ſays nothing of them, I chuſe to paſs them over in ſilence. However, the king was ſtrangled that night [s], with one of his ſervants who lay in his room. As ſoon as he was dead, his body was carried into a garden belonging to a neighbouring houſe, where his ſlippers were alſo brought. Then fire was ſet to ſome barrels of powder placed in the room where the queen's bed was, and the houſe was blown up. The people who came running in at the noiſe, were told at

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[p] Melvil ſays, that he was retired from the court ſeveral days before, p. 78.

[q] This advertiſement, ſays Melvil, moved the earl of Bothwell to haſte forward his enterprize; he had before laid a train of powder under the houſe where the king did lodge, and in the night did blow up the ſaid houſe with the powder; but it was ſpoken, that the king was taken forth, and brought down to a ſtable, where a napkin was ſtopped in his mouth, and he therewith ſuffocated, p. 78.

[r] Sebaſtian, one of her muſick. Buchanan.

[s] February 10, two hours after midnight. See Anderſon's Collect. tom. i. p. 36. Conaeus varies from this account in ſome circumſtances, but agrees with it in the main. See Jebb's Collect. tom. ii. p. 29.

firſt,

A report is ſpread that the earl of Murray had killed the king. Camden. Buchanan. Spotiſwood. Thuanus.

Bothwell is accuſed of it. Melvil, p. 78.

The king is buried near Rizzo. Buchanan.

firſt, that the violence of the gunpowder had thrown the king into the garden. But as his ſlippers were found by him, as his ſhirt was not ſinged by the fire, and as ſome black and blue marks were ſeen round his neck, the people were not ſo credulous. The ſame night it was rumoured about the city, that the earls of Morton and Murray had cauſed the king to be aſſaſſinated, and this report ſpread immediately as far as the borders of England. Camden infers from hence, that the earl of Murray muſt have been concerned in the murder, ſince he was preſently accuſed by the voice of the publick: but this voice of the publick conſiſted doubtleſs of ſome people who were ſuborned to ſpread the report. Melvil affirms on the contrary, it was whiſpered at court that Bothwell had cauſed the king to be murdered, and that he was ſtrangled with a napkin. He adds, 'I came to the door of the queen's chamber the next morning after the murther, and the earl of Bothwell ſaid, That her majeſty was ſorrowful and quiet, which occaſioned him to come forth. He ſaid, the ſtrangeſt accident had fallen out which ever was heard of, for thunder had come out of the ſky, and had burnt the king's houſe, and himſelf was found dead lying a little diſtance from the houſe under a tree. He deſired me to go up and ſee him, how that there was not a hurt nor a mark on all his body. But when I went up to ſee him, he had been taken into a chamber, and kept by one Alexander Durham, but I could not get a ſight of him.' Buchanan adds, the queen ordered the body to be brought to her on the wrong ſide of a bench, and after viewing it ſome time, without any ſigns of joy or grief, commanded it to be interred near Rizzo, in the ſepulchre of the kings [t]. It is ſtrange that Camden, who attempts to ſtrip Buchanan of all credit, ſhould not undertake to confute any of the circumſtances related by that hiſtorian, though they are many in number, and very diſhonourable to the queen.

Murray returns to court. Buchanan.

Scandalous behaviour of the queen.

The earl of Murray, though ſick, and notwithſtanding the rumour about him, came to court two days after, and appeared without fear. This ſhows he was in no dread of the accuſations of his enemies; and indeed he was never queſtioned for the fact [u]. The queen keeping her chamber but a few days, reſumed her uſual way of life, having always the earl of Bothwell with her.

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[t] Though the nobility there preſent had decreed to give him a magnificent burial. Buchanan.

[u] But Bothwell attempted to diſpatch him out of the way. See Buchanan, l. 18.

Mean while, the people murmured exceedingly that there was no enquiry concerning the king's death, of which they openly accuſed the earl of Bothwell. Theſe murmurs were ſo publick, that Bothwell could not help taking ſome ſtep to ſhow he was willing to clear himſelf. He went therefore in company with ſome friends to the earl of Argyle, chief juſtice of the kingdom, and requeſted him to make inquiſition concerning the murder of the king. Upon his requeſt, a proceeding was begun, and the depoſitions of ſeveral perſons were taken; but all was ſuppreſſed on a ſudden. The court was contented with offering a reward to any perſon that ſhould diſcover the authors of the king's death: but as all believed the queen and Bothwell guilty, no one was ſo bold as to accuſe them. It would have been very dangerous to take ſuch a ſtep [w]. However, libels and ballads were publiſhed, wherein Bothwell was ſtill accuſed. Whereupon he cauſed it to be fixed up in ſeveral places, that he would fight any perſon that ſhould dare to maintain the accuſation. He was anſwered by another paper, poſted up without a name, that his challenge was accepted, provided he would appoint a neutral place for the duel; but this came to nothing.

Bothwell tries in vain to clear himſelf.

Buchanan. Melvil.

Anderſon's Collect. t. ii. p. 36, 108, 135, &c.

Ib. p. 38, 43. Buchanan. Spotiſwood.

The queen perceiving at length that the murmurs and complaints of the people might be attended with ill conſequences, was deſirous of having the caſtle of Edinburgh in her hands, the cuſtody whereof was committed to the earl of Marr by the ſtates. The earl was unwilling to comply with the queen's deſire: but at length, imagining a civil war was at hand, he offered to deliver the caſtle, provided he was ſuffered to carry the young prince to Sterling, of which he was governor alſo. He thought it more advantageous to be maſter of the prince's perſon than of the caſtle of Edinburgh, and the queen agreed to the exchange.

The queen gets the caſtle of Edinburgh in her hands, and delivers the prince to the earl of Marr.

Buchanan. Melvil, p. 80, 81.

Hitherto people were contented with liberally publiſhing their ſuſpicions of Bothwell, without any adverſary appearing againſt him: but at laſt, the earl of Lenox finding the queen very ſlow to puniſh the crime lately committed, ſollicited her by letters for juſtice upon Bothwell, charging him with being the author of the king his ſon's murder. This letter threw the queen into great perplexity. She could not deny a father the ſatisfaction he demanded, eſpecially in a caſe concerning the death of a king who had been her huſband. I ſhall not relate here all her artifices to evade this proſecution, and to

The earl of Lenox demands juſtice for the king's death.

Buchanan. Camden. Anderſon's Collect. tom. ii. p. 40, &c. Spotiſwood.

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[w] Since, as Buchanan obſerves, the earl of Bothwell was to be the accuſed perſon, the judge, the examiner, and the puniſher too, l. 18.

get Bothwell acquitted, becauſe Buchanan, who has given the particulars, may be ſuſpected. I ſhall content myſelf with tranſcribing what Melvil ſays upon this ſubject.

Bothwell is acquitted. Melvil, p. 78. Spotiſwood. April 26, 27.

'Every body ſuſpected the earl of Bothwell, and thoſe who 'durſt ſpeak freely to others, ſaid plainly, that it was He. 'Whereupon he drew together a number of lords of his de'penders to be an aſſize, which cleared and acquitted him; 'ſome for fear, ſome for favour, and the greateſt part in ex'pectation of advantage. This way being aſſailed, he re'mained ſtill the greateſt favourite at court.'

This teſtimony of a man who cannot be ſuſpected of ſlandering her is very ſtrong againſt the queen. She not only could not part with a man publickly accuſed of the murder of the king her huſband, but even made him her prime miniſter and favourite. Though ſhe had believed him innocent, it was renouncing the laws of decency, which a woman ſeldom does, unleſs carried away by the violence of paſſion: but theſe are trifles in compariſon of what ſhe did afterwards [x].

Fruitleſs repreſentations to the queen about her marrying Bothwell. Melvil, p. 78.

The report of the queen's intending to marry the earl of Bothwell flying from the court over all the kingdom, the lord Herris came to Edinburgh. He took ſo ſeaſonable a time, that he accoſted the queen in Bothwell's abſence, and caſting himſelf at her feet, freely told her, it would be an everlaſting diſhonour to her, if ſhe married her huſband's murderer. The queen feigning a ſurprize, anſwered, ſhe did not know from whence he had that intelligence, and very coldly added, that hitherto her heart had dictated nothing to her in favour of Bothwell. A few days after, Melvil received a letter from England about the ſame thing, but expreſſed in much ſtronger terms than the lord Herris's remonſtrance, which he ſhowed to the queen, who ſaid it was a device of his own. Melvil aſſured her, the letter came from the perſon whoſe name was ſubſcribed, and contained nothing but what he himſelf had deſigned to repreſent to her as he was in duty bound. Thus the queen, in reſolving to marry Bothwell, ſinned not out of ignorance, ſince ſhe was fully informed of the people's opinion concerning the author of the king's death.

Ibid. p. 79.

The queen ſuffers herſelf to be carried off by Bothwell, who conducts her to Dunbar. Melvil, p. 79.

A few days after ſhe went to Sterling to ſee the prince her ſon. If Buchanan is to be credited, her intent was on ſome pretence to get him out of the hands of the earl of Marr, who plainly refuſed to deliver him. In her return to Edinburgh,

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[x] John Habroun, Talla, Dagleiſh, and Powry, were executed for the king's murther, January the 3d enſuing. See Buchanan's Detection.

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ſhe was met by the earl of Bothwell, with a company of armed men[y], who carried her away, and conducted her to Dunbar. Melvil, who was preſent, and was himſelf arreſted, ſays "Bothwell only took her majeſty's horſe by the "bridle,' and adds not a word which may inſinuate that the queen ſeemed ſurprized at this violence, or that ſhe offered to make the leaſt reſiſtance[z]. He ſays on the contrary, that captain Blachater who ſeized him, aſſured him all was done with the queen's own conſent.

Buchanan. Spotiſwood. Burnet.

Bothwell puts away his wife. Buchanan. Melvil. Spotiſwood.

When Bothwell came to Dunbar, he procured a divorce from his wife, daughter of the earl of Huntley, whom he had married but ſix months before. The divorce was decreed by two ſentences, one in the eccleſiaſtical, and the other in the civil court, and both at the ſuit of the counteſs of Bothwell. In the firſt trial, before the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, Bothwell was accuſed of a criminal commerce with a kinſwoman of his wife, and upon his confeſſion, the archbiſhop pronounced the ſentence of divorce[a]. In the ſecond, his wife accuſed him of adultery, and as he did not deny it, the marriage was annulled. He was forced to uſe theſe two means, by reaſon of the different rules the two courts obſerve, with regard to the cauſes for annulling a marriage. The proceſs was commenced and ended in leſs than ten days. In all appearance, the earl of Huntley, Bothwell's great friend, perſuaded his daughter himſelf to ſue for a divorce. This is Buchanan's account; but Melvil ſays, he cannot tell how nor by what law he parted with his wife, becauſe having been releaſed, he had left Dunbar. Hence it is plain at leaſt, he had not read Buchanan's Hiſtory, when he writ his Memoirs, nor did copy that hiſtorian, though they agree in the principal facts.

P. 80.

The queen's marriage with Bothwell. Buchanan. Anderſon's Collect. t. i. p. 87.

Bothwell being thus parted from his wife, carried the queen to Edinburgh, and the next day ſhe appeared in the courts of juſtice, and declared ſhe was entirely free. This was done to prevent an objection, which might be taken from her captivity, to null the marriage ſhe intended to contract with Bothwell. This marriage was ſo odious in all its circumſtances, that it was very difficult to find any pretence to leſſen the horror of it. The only method the queen and

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[y] Six hundred men, at Almon bridge. Buchanan.

[z] The queen, in her inſtructions to the biſhop of Dunblane, ſays, That the earl partly extorted, and partly obtained her promiſe to take him for her huſband. See Anderſon's Collect. tom. i. p. 99.

[a] Some ſay he had a bull to abſolve him from this inceſt. If ſo, he wou[illegible] not plead it, that he might give occaſion to the annulling of the marriage. Rapin.

Spotiſwood. Melvil, p. 80.

Bothwell could find, was to make the lords of the court complices of the ſame crime. To that end, Bothwell having invited them to dinner, preſented to them and cauſed them to ſubſcribe a paper, the purport whereof was, ‘That they ‘judged it was much the queen's intereſt to marry Bothwell, ‘he having many friends in Lothian and upon the borders, ‘which would cauſe good order to be kept. And then the ‘queen could not but marry him, ſeeing he had run away ‘and lain with her againſt her will.’ One of Camden's artifices, among many others, is to ſpeak of this paper or approbation of the great men in a very looſe manner, and alter it entirely, under colour of relating the ſubſtance. Moreover he ſpeaks of it before he relates the queen's rape, that the rape might be conſidered as a conſequence of the approbation of the great men, whereas it was juſt the contrary, as may be ſeen by the very writing in Melvil[b]. However the marriage was ſolemnized[c] after the manner of the proteſtants by the biſhop of Orkney, who was very ready to do ſo odious an office.

Melvil. ibid. Spotiſwood.

The queen and Bothwell cauſe a league to be ſigned by ſome lords. Buchanan.

Whatever ſuſpicion the queen had given of herſelf, by her neglect to puniſh the authors of the king's murder, there were ſome however who ſtill doubted whether ſhe was guilty. But when they ſaw her publickly eſpouſe the earl of Bothwell, hardly was there a man who durſt undertake her defence[d]. It was eaſy for her to perceive the change in the hearts of her ſubjects, ſo viſible was their diſcontent. For this reaſon, ſhe reſolved to ſtrengthen herſelf with the aſſiſtance of the great men, by forming a league with them for the defence of herſelf and new ſpouſe. All thoſe that depended on Bothwell readily ſigned the league; but herein lay not all the difficulty. There was another very conſiderable party which was to be gained, otherwiſe the league of the court would be of little power. To that end, the queen and Bothwell thought it neceſſary to begin with the earl of Murray, that he might influence all the reſt. The confederacy therefore was brought him to ſign. But he anſwered, that to oblige him to ſerve the queen, it was needleſs to make him ſign the paper; and for the earl of Bothwell, ſince the queen had deſired he would be

The earl refuſes to ſign it. Buchanan.

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[b] And yet the queen, in her inſtructions to the biſhop of Dunblane, makes this writing to have been ſigned before ſhe was carried away. See Anderſon's Collect. tom. i. p. 94, and 104.

[c] May 15, at the palace in Holyrood-houſe, by Adam Bothwell biſhop of Orkney. Melvil, p. 80.

[d] And people began to think, that the prince was in danger to be cut off by him who had ſlain his father;---for Bothwell boaſted, that if he could get him once in his hands, he ſhould warrant him from revenging his father's death. Melvil, p. 78, 81.

reconciled to him, he ſhould punctually obſerve whatever he had promiſed. However, fearing after this refuſal to be expoſed to the reſentment of the court, he deſired leave to withdraw to St. Andrew's; but perceiving the queen made ſome ſcruple, prayed her to permit him to paſs ſome time in France; to which ſhe readily conſented, and he departed within a few days[e]. Camden has taken care not to mention the reaſon of Murray's retiring into France: that very ill agrees with his ſcheme. For, had that lord aſſociated with Bothwell to kill the king, why ſhould he quit the court, at a time when, inſtead of having any thing to fear, he might have expected every thing from the great credit of his pretended friend?

He retires into France. Melvil, p. 80. Camden.

Mean while, all Scotland loudly complained that no vengeance was taken for the king's death, and at ſeeing the queen married to the man who was univerſally conſidered as the murderer. The king of France even writ to Du Crocq his ambaſſador, to ſignify his aſtoniſhment at it, and his letter was ſhown to ſeveral lords. In ſhort, the earls of Argyle, Morton, Marr, Athol, Glencarn, and the baron of Boyd, meeting at Sterling, ſigned a confederacy, the intent whereof was to bring the murderers of the king to condign puniſhment, and to cauſe the queen's late marriage to be diſſolved[f]. *They hoped to effect this the more eaſily, as they had room to believe the queen herſelf would not be ſorry to be compelled, conſidering the unworthy treatment ſhe had now received from her new ſpouſe. Melvil ſays, he heard her one day call for a knife to ſtab herſelf, not being able to bear his brutiſh uſage.*

A confederacy to puniſh the king's murderers, and diſſolve the queen's marriage. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 81, 82. Spotiſwood.

p. 81.

As the confederates did not queſtion that the people of Edinburgh would countenance their undertaking, they had projected to inveſt the city, that the queen and Bothwell, who were there without troops, might not eſcape. But Bothwell, having notice of their deſign, retired with the queen to Borthwick. They were purſued by the confederates; but it was in vain, the queen and Bothwell being now gone to Dunbar. Having miſſed their aim, the confederates marched to Edinburgh, where the gates were opened to them, notwithſtanding the endeavours of the earl of Huntley, the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, and the biſhop of Roſs to the contrary, who were even forced to withdraw into the caſtle, from whence ſir James Balfour, whom the queen had made gover-

The queen and Bothwell retire to Dunbar. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 82.

Edinburgh declares for the confederates. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 81.

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[e] Melvil ſpeaks not of this confederacy. He ſays only, that the earl of Murray retired into France, without ſhowing the reaſon. Rapin.

[f] And for that purpoſe aſſembled about three thouſand men together. Melvil, p. 82.

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nor, afforded them means to eſcape. He gave alſo the confederates to underſtand he would not give up the caſtle, but intended to ſtand neuter.

The queen and Bothwell march to Edinburgh. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 82.

Mean time, the queen and Bothwell drew together ſome forces at Dunbar with all poſſible diligence. But the confederates were extremely embaraſſed. They had no money: Balfour refuſed to give them any artillery or ammunition; and by reaſon of the ill ſucceſs of the enterprize of Borthwick, part of their troops had deſerted them. So, after ſeveral conſultations, they had almoſt reſolved to give over their projects, and return to their homes. The queen and Bothwell being informed of their condition, marched immediately towards Edinburgh, in hopes of ſurprizing them before they came to any reſolution. The news being brought to the confederates in the night, inſtead of flying they reſolved to meet the queen, and decide the affair by a battle. This reſolution ſtopped their enemies, who finding things take a quite different turn from what they expected, ſuffered them to paſs the Eſk without oppoſition, after which the two armies ſtood very near each other. Then it was the queen perceived her troops did not ſerve her heartily, and that but few of her officers and ſoldiers were willing to fight in her quarrel. The knowledge of this inſpiring her with great fear, ſhe deſired to ſpeak with William Kircaldie laird of Grange, one of the heads of the confederates, who commanded a ſmall body, more advanced than the reſt of the army. Kircaldie waiting on her, told her plainly, there was no hopes of agreement, unleſs ſhe would put away Bothwell, who was reckoned the late king's murderer, and moreover, was married to another woman; but on that condition, the confederates would honour and obey her as they ought. The queen aſking him, whether ſhe could rely upon his word, he returned to the confederates, and brought a full power to treat with the queen upon that condition. Whereupon Bothwell ſeeing no remedy, choſe to retire to Dunbar, and the queen put herſelf into the hands of Kircaldie, who conducted her to the confederate army. The heads received her with more reſpect than ſhe expected; but it was with great difficulty the ſoldiers were reſtrained, who cried out againſt her very irreverently. She was conducted that night to Edinburgh, and lodged in the provoſt's houſe, where a guard was ſet on her, ſo that ſhe was really a priſoner. It is likely, the heads were not yet fully determined what to do with her; but ſhe afforded them herſelf an occaſion to be reſolved. The very night ſhe came to Edinburgh, ſhe bribed one of her guard, and gave him a letter for Bothwell, full

The confederates go out to meet her. Buchanan.

She is afraid of being deſerted by her troops. Melvil, p. 83. Buchanan. Spotiſwood.

She capitulates with the lords;

and puts herſelf into their hands. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 83. Spotiſwood.

She is conducted to Edinburgh, and put into cuſtody; Melvil, p. 84.

and then ſhut up in Lochlevin. Camden.

full of tender and affectionate expreſſions, calling him, "her "dear heart," and promiſing never to forſake him. This letter falling into the hands of the confederate lords, made them reſolve to be more watchful over her, and afforded a pretence to ſhut her up in the caſtle of Lochlevin, under the cuſtody of the earl of Murray's mother.

Buchanan. Melvil. Spotiſwood.

The queen complained grievouſly of this uſage, and writ to Kircaldie, reproaching him that what had been promiſed her was not performed. Kircaldie anſwered, he had already upbraided the lords for the ſame; but they had ſhowed him a letter under her own hand, which had ſtopped his mouth. He ended his letter with ſaying, he could do nothing for her, but adviſe her to think no more of a man who was married to another, and accuſed of killing her huſband. The queen, as ſhe read the letter, ſhed a flood of tears.

A caſket of Bothwell's, with ſome papers is intercepted. Buchanan's Deteſt. Spotiſwood, p. 208.

But a thing which happened a few days after was ſtill more prejudicial to her. Bothwell coming to Dunbar, ſent a man to Balfour, governor of Edinburgh-caſtle, for a caſket which he had truſted with him. It was a ſilver caſket, preſented to the queen by Francis II. which ſhe had given to Bothwell. Balfour delivered it to the meſſenger; but if we may believe Buchanan, gave notice of it to the confederate lords, who took it from the bearer. However, it fell into their hands. They opened it, and found a great many love-verſes and letters, and among the reſt, ſome that contained the whole plot againſt the late king, and the manner it was to be executed [g]. But this was not all; Buchanan ſays, there were alſo three contracts of marriage between the queen and Bothwell, one of which was written in the queen's hand before the king's death. Another was written in the earl of Huntley's hand, in the interval between the king's death and the queen's third marriage [h]; and the laſt was a contract in form, made at the time of the nuptials. Probably, the two firſt were only draughts, ſuppoſing Buchanan ſpeaks the truth; for Melvil ſays nothing of the caſket or contracts. Camden ſays however, on another occaſion, that certain verſes and love-letters were produced againſt the queen; but mentions not the caſket ſpoken of by Buchanan.

Bothwell retires to the iſles of Orkney. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 84.

The queen's captivity, and the ſeizing of her papers, having made Bothwell ſenſible it would not be proper for him to be in Scotland, he retired to the iſles of Orkney [i], where he turned pyrate for ſome time, either for his ſubſiſtence, or to be revenged of the Scots.

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[g] Theſe letters were firſt publiſhed at the end of Buchanan's Detection; others have ſince been printed at London in 1726, by Mr. Edward Simmonds, under Mary's name, but do not agree with the former.

[h] Dated April 5. See Buchanan's Deteſt.

The queen is obliged to reſign the crown to her ſon. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 85. Camden. Spotiſwood. Hollingſh. p. 405.

p. 85.

Melvil. ibid. Camden, p. 405.

She is allowed to appoint a regent. She nominates Murray. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 85.

Buchanan. Hollingſh.

Mean while, the chiefs of the confederates conferring together upon their affairs, conſidered that if they ſhould put the queen again in poſſeſſion of the government, they could not rely on her promiſes, or be ſecure againſt her [k]. They concluded therefore, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to deprive her of the adminiſtration, and to that end ſent the earl of Lindſay [l], to perſuade her to reſign the crown to the prince her ſon. Camden ſays, to oblige her to this, ſhe was threatned to be brought to a publick trial for the murder of the king her huſband, for incontinency, and for breach of promiſe on the account of religion. And Melvil affirms, the earl of Lindſay had orders to threaten her, if he thought it neceſſary. The queen was ſtrangely ſurprized at this propoſition: but rightly judging, it was not in her power to deny what was demanded, and that an obſtinate refuſal might draw upon her worſe troubles, ſhe gave her conſent. She did it the more readily, as ſhe was privately told by ſome of the confederates, and Throckmorton the Engliſh ambaſſador, that whatever ſhe ſigned in priſon would not be of any force, but might be revoked when ſhe ſhould be at liberty. The confederate lords willingly agreed, ſhe herſelf ſhould nominate one or more regents, to govern the kingdom during the prince's minority. She appointed the earl of Murray, either of her own choice [m], or becauſe it was hinted to her that he was deſired for regent; and, in caſe he refuſed the office, ſhe ſubſtituted the duke of Chatelerault, the earl of Argyle, and ſome other lords [n]. Then, ſhe was made to ſign all the acts neceſſary for the reſignation of the crown; and notice being ſent to the earl of Murray, who was in France, the preparations were made for the inauguration of the new king, who was but a year old. The queen's reſignation was ſigned the

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[i] And from thence to the Schetland iſles. Buchanan.

[k] Lidington, and ſome others, were for reſtoring her to her authority on theſe terms, That the king's murderers ſhould be puniſhed; That care ſhould be taken of the prince's perſon; and that Bothwell ſhould be divorced from her, and religion eſtabliſhed. Others were, for her abdicating the kingdom in behalf of her ſon, and being ſent in perpetual exile, either in France or England. Others were of opinion, that ſhe ſhould be tried, and condemned to perpetual impriſonment, and her ſon crowned in her room. And others again, that ſhe ſhould loſe her crown and life together. Camden, p. 405.

[l] And the lord Ruthven. Spotiſwood, p. 211.

[m] Melvil ſays, ſhe deſired the lord Murray to be the firſt regent, p. 85.

[n] Matthew earl of Lenox, John earl of Athol, James earl of Morton, Alexander earl of Glencarn, and John earl of Marr. Camden, p. 405. Buchanan.

24th of June, and the young king was inaugurated the 29th of the ſame month by the biſhop of Orkney.

A party is formed for the queen. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 85.

Shortly after, ſome lords [o], who were not of the confederacy, met at Hamilton-caſtle, to conſult what was to be done at this juncture. The confederates having notice thereof, ſent James Melvil, author of the Memoirs, to know the reaſon of their being aſſembled. They replied, they could not but think it ſtrange, that the king ſhould be crowned without their being called to the ceremony, ſince they had no leſs zeal than the reſt of the lords for the good of their country, and they believed to have cauſe to fear there were ill deſigns againſt them, ſince ſuch important reſolutions had been taken without conſulting them; that therefore they were met, not with intent to offend any perſon, but only to provide for their own ſafety. Melvil ſays, the wiſeſt of the confederates were for admitting theſe lords to their conſultations, but the others reſolved to exclude them, and that this advice prevailed to the great detriment of the kingdom. Indeed, from this ſmall number of lords aſſembled at Hamilton roſe a party, which declared at length for the queen, and ſerved long to foment the troubles of the kingdom.

p. 86, 88.

Sundry motives of the confederates.

The chiefs of the confederates had not all the ſame views. Some acted only out of private intereſt, and made uſe of the preſent juncture to ruin their enemies. Others, in ſigning the confederacy, intended to remove the ſcandal which the queen's marriage had given, to get rid of Bothwell, to put the queen again in poſſeſſion of the government, and perhaps to limit her authority by means of the ſtates. Theſe knowing the earl of Murray was returning to Scotland [p], ſent James Melvil to inform him of the ſituation of affairs, and to exhort him to behave with great moderation, and above all things to avoid an entire rupture with the queen. They repreſented to him, that his intereſt required it, becauſe he would be much more maſter of his own party, ſo long as he left the queen ſome hopes, than if he reduced her affairs to ſuch a ſtate, that her enemies would have nothing more to fear from her. Murray perceived, that indeed ſuch a conduct would be advantageous to him, and promiſed to follow their advice. But he was no ſooner arrived than he ſuffered himſelf to be ſwayed by the violent men of his party, who perſuaded him to put affairs beyond the power of being ever reſtored. This is the repreſentation Melvil gives of the earl of Murray's conduct.

Melvil, p. 87.

The earl of Murray arrives, and ill treats the queen. Melvil, p. 87. Camden.

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[o] The lords Hamilton, Paſly, Fleming, Boid, John Hamilton biſhop of St. Andrew's, &c. Melvil, p. 85.

[p] He came to Edinburgh, Auguſt 1[illegible]. Spotiſwood, p. 211.

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A few days after his arrival, he waited on the queen, and inſtead of comforting her, as he had done formerly, when ſhe was under confinement at Edinburgh, he loaded her with reproaches. This had like to break her heart; for till then, ſhe was in hopes the earl of Murray would labour to reſtore her.

He is owned for regent. Buchanan. Camden. Melvil, p. 87.

He invites the Hamiltonians to come in; Buchanan. Spotiſwood. but they refuſe.

Mean while, the confederates praying him to accept of the regency, he ſeemed inclined to refuſe it, and deſired a few days to conſider of it: but this was all grimace, and at length he accepted it[q]. Before the ſtates, which had been convened in his abſence, met, he writ to the Hamiltonians, (for ſo were called the lords aſſembled at Hamilton) to deſire them to come and join with the reſt of the ſtates, in what ſhould be deemed neceſſary for the good of the kingdom: but they refuſed to come. An agreement was talked of ſome time, but there occurred inſuperable difficulties. Buchanan caſts the whole blame upon the Hamiltonians; and Melvil, on the contrary, upon the violent party of the confederates, with whom the regent was joined. All that can be conjectured is, that they who had procured the aſſembly at Hamilton, intended to ſerve the queen, and wanted only a pretence to declare, which the earl of Murray furniſhed them with, perhaps very imprudently. However, Murray not thinking fit to defer the convention of the ſtates, in expectation of an agreement with the Hamiltonians, which to him ſtill ſeemed more remote, the regency was confirmed by a decree, ſubſcribed by above two hundred lords and gentlemen of the greateſt diſtinction, as well catholicks as proteſtants.

Grange made governor of Edinburgh-caſtle. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 90. Spotiſwood.

The new regent's firſt care was to remove Balfour, who had rendered himſelf ſuſpected, from the government of Edinburgh-caſtle, and to confer it on the laird of Grange. Mean while, the Hamiltonians, at the head of whom was the earl of Argyle, loudly complained of their being neglected, and refuſed to acknowledge the earl of Murray for regent. It was eaſy to perceive, their aim on that pretence was to form a party for the queen. And indeed, ſome time after they met at Dunbarton, and ſigned an aſſociation, the intent whereof was to releaſe the queen, and replace her on the throne. Twelve lords[r], of whom the earl of Argyle and the biſhop of St. Andrew's were the chief, ſubſcribed the bond of aſſociation. But the earl of Argyle deſerted that party preſently after, and came to the parliament. This lord, who frequently changed ſides, did not remain long with the

Aſſociation in favour of the queen. Melvil, p. 88.

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[q] He was elected regent, Auguſt 20. Spotiſwood, p. 212.

[r] Eleven only. Melvil, p. 88.

party he had eſpouſed. As for the duke of Chateleraut, he was then in France about his own private concerns. The aſſociation was not at firſt very formidable to the regent; but it became ſo afterwards, becauſe all the malecontents of the king's party joined it by degrees, it not being eaſy for the regent to pleaſe all.

The regent takes poſſeſſion of all the fortreſſes.

Melvil, p. 90.

During the reſt of the year, the regent took into his hands all the ſtrong places of the kingdom, and beſtowed the offices and governments as he judged neceſſary for the preſervation of the publick peace. He took care, above all things, to cauſe juſtice to be adminiſtred punctually and impartially. Melvil blames him only for one thing, namely, his not being ſo diligent as he might have been in gaining the Hamiltonians. But it muſt be conſidered, Melvil himſelf manifeſtly leaned to that party. The queen valued and loved him, and conſequently it was natural to wiſh her reſtoration. He plainly ſhows in his Memoirs, that he heartily deſired ſhe might be replaced on the throne, which made him blame thoſe who oppoſed it.

The knowledge of the affairs of Scotland is ſo abſolutely neceſſary for underſtanding the motives of queen Elizabeth's conduct and politicks, that it is not to be thought ſtrange, that I have given ſo particular an account of what paſſed in that kingdom. The ſequel will juſtify, as I hope, this long digreſſion. I return now to the affairs of England.

Elizabeth demands Calais. April 28.

Camden. Speed, p. 838, &c.

France refuſes it.

The term for the reſtitution of Calais being expired, Elizabeth ſent into France ſir Thomas Smith ſecretary of ſtate, and ſir William Winter maſter of the naval ſtores, to demand that place of the king, according to the treaty of Cateau. But nothing was farther from the king of France's thoughts. He appointed commiſſioners to treat with the Engliſh ambaſſadors, as if it was to be conſidered again to whom that place was to belong, and as if the treaty of Cateau was to be reckoned as nothing. Michael Hoſpital chancellor, who was firſt commiſſioner, made on the occaſion a long ſpeech, of which it will be ſufficient to relate the ſubſtance, to ſhow how groundleſs were the reaſons with which he ſupported the refuſal of Calais. He ſaid,

"By the ſame right the Engliſh demand Calais, they may "as well claim Paris; for the one, as well as the other, was "won and loſt by arms [s].

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[s] There was an expreſs treaty for Calais; but there was none for Paris. Rapin.

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" The Engliſh plead a new title to Calais, whereas the " king of France's title is of the ſame date with the monarchy itſelf.

" Though the Engliſh had it in poſſeſſion above two hun- " dred years, yet the right was as much in the kings of " France, as were the dukedoms of Guienne and Normandy, " which the Engliſh detained a long time by force. And " therefore it could not be ſaid, the French had conquered " Calais and thoſe dukedoms, but only recovered what be- " longed to them.

" Preſcription of time is of no conſideration among " princes, but right always takes place, and by the law of " the Twelve Tables, the authority remains perpetual againſt " an enemy.

" Though the Engliſh undertook the late war for the ſake " of Calais, yet that place was not mentioned in the treaty " of Troye, and thereby they owned they had no farther " pretenſions to it.

" The clauſe inſerted in the treaty of Troye, relating to " the reſervation of rights, concerns only ſmall and inſigni- " ficant matters, and not the reſtitution of Calais, which is " an article of the greateſt importance.

" The pretended attempts of Francis II. in Scotland, could " by no means affect the right of Charles IX. his ſucceſſor. " Indeed, the very intentions of private perſons are in ſome " reſpects liable to the laws; but the caſe of princes is quite " different.

" The late king, in aiding the queen of Scotland his wife, " did no more than the Engliſh themſelves had done in " ſeizing Havre de Grace, under colour of keeping it for the " king. Moreover, they furniſhed the prince of Condé " with money, and therefore have forfeited their claim to " Calais.

" When it pleaſed God that the French ſhould recover " Calais, he ſet the natural bounds between the kingdoms of " France and England, according to the poet:

" *Et penitus toto diviſos orbe Britannos.*

" In a word, if any one had the aſſurance to propoſe to " the king the reſtitution of Calais, he would deſerve not " only death, but a worſe puniſhment, damnation."

The Engliſh ambaſſador's anſwer. Camden. Speed.

Smith replied, " he would not ſtay to ſhow the weakneſs " of the arguments alledged by the chancellor, becauſe he “could not believe the refuſing to reſtore Calais would in good earneſt be founded upon reaſons ſo little plauſible. There was a treaty made expreſly on this account, which the chancellor never mentioned, as if he had forgot, that upon this treaty, ſigned, ratified, and ſworn to by the king of France, the queen of England's demand was grounded. Neither did he intend to loſe time in combating maxims, which, if admitted, would render all treaties between ſovereigns of no effect: but would content himſelf with anſwering two objections, which were the moſt ſpecious. As for the treaty of Troye, he appealed to ſome of the commiſſioners, who were preſent at the concluſion of that treaty, whether it was not agreed that the reſtitution of Calais ſhould be compriſed in the general reſervation of rights, and that the reaſon which they alledged to hinder the town of Calais from being reſerved by name was, becauſe the eight years were not yet expired. As for Havre de Grace, the Engliſh made a peaceable entry, being invited by the inhabitants and the people of Normandy. In ſhort, as for the money lent to the prince of Condé, the king of France himſelf owned it was for his ſervice, ſince it was to pay the German ſoldiers, who threatened to ravage the kingdom.” But all theſe reaſons were to no purpoſe, France being reſolved not to part with Calais. I ſhall obſerve here by the way, that the chancellor of France did not uſe, in order to evade the reſtitution of Calais, the arguments taken from the treaty itſelf of Cateau, as he might have juſtly done, if that treaty were expreſſed in the terms, or after the manner mentioned by the French hiſtorians.

Elizabeth's reaſons to diſſemble.

It was not the chancellor's arguments that hindered Elizabeth from aſſerting her right to Calais, but the ſituation of her affairs, which permitted her not to enter into a war with France. Her intention was not to invade, but to defend and maintain herſelf on the throne, in ſpite of the endeavours of her enemies. This was her only care, during the whole courſe of her reign. Hence it was that ſhe ſometimes ſeemed willing to marry, though in all appearance ſhe had no ſuch deſire. The firſt ſhe decoyed with this hope was the archduke Charles of Auſtria, the ſame that was propoſed to the queen of Scotland by the cardinal of Lorrain. She carried her diſſimulation ſo far, as to ſend Thomas Ratcliffe earl of Suſſex in embaſſy to the emperor Maximilian, to ſettle the marriage articles, the emperor on his part having diſpatched count Stolberg to keep her in this good reſolution. The earl of Suſſex ſtaid five months at Vienna about the negotiation, go-

Camden.
Hollingſh.

The negotiation is broke off. Camden.
Remarks on this occaſion.
Elizabeth's policy.

ing thither under colour of carrying the emperor the Order of the Garter: But he was accompanied with the lord North, the earl of Leiceſter's creature, who was ordered by his patron to defeat the negotiation as much as poſſible, by tacitly hinting to the imperial court, that the queen had no deſign to marry, whatever ſhe pretended. The emperor found afterwards, that North was better informed than the ambaſſador, who, fearing the queen would eſpouſe the earl of Leiceſter, did his utmoſt to adjuſt all differences and remove the objections. The main difficulty was to find expedients upon the article of religion, which ſhould ſatisfy both courts. The emperor relaxed as much as he could, and the earl, on his part, did all that lay in his power to remove this obſtacle. They were now agreed, that the archduke ſhould have the title of king of England, and guardianſhip of the children, in caſe the queen died firſt. As to religion, after the emperor had often, but in vain, demanded the privilege of a publick church for the archduke, he conſented at length, that he ſhould be ſatisfied with a private chapel in ſome part of the royal palace, where no Engliſhman ſhould be admitted; and if his way of worſhip happened to give any offence, he ſhould forbear it for a time, and be preſent with the queen at the ſervice of the church of England. But this affair being debated in the council of England, the queen ſent the earl of Suſſex word, that ſhe could not admit even of this. So the negotiation was broke off, though without noiſe, with marks of eſteem and friendſhip mutually given by the emperor and the queen. By the way, this obſtacle concerning religion, was the means the queen always uſed to break off all the negotiations about her marriage. And therefore ſhe ever treated with catholick princes, becauſe ſhe was ſure of breaking off the negotiation whenever ſhe pleaſed. As for the proteſtant princes, who offered themſelves whilſt ſhe was of age to marry, ſhe took care to let them ſoon know, they had nothing to hope for. This behaviour confirms the ſuſpicion which had been always entertained, that ſhe had made a ſettled reſolution never to ſubmit to the matrimonial yoke, though her affairs obliged her ſometimes to pretend the contrary.

Embaſſy from Muſcovy. Camden.

This year arrived at London ambaſſadors from John Baſilowitz, grand duke of Muſcovy. Their publick commiſſion was, to confirm and renew the favours which the czar their maſter had granted to the Engliſh merchants, aſſociated by the name of the Muſcovy company. But with theſe ambaſſadors returned Anthony Jenkinſon an Engliſhman, who had made a long ſtay in that country, and was charged with ſome private inſtructions [t]. The Czar's deſign was to make with Elizabeth a league offenſive and defenſive, with a mutual obligation to afford each other a ſafe retreat, in caſe either ſhould be driven out of their dominions. This prince, who was a great tyrant, was willing to provide for his ſafety, being apprehenſive his ſubjects would not always ſuffer his tyranny. The queen returned him a doubtful anſwer, which he had no reaſon to be pleaſed with, and yet he granted two years after, to the Engliſh merchants, privileges which very much conduced to render their trade with Muſcovy flouriſhing.

Troubles in Ireland. Camden. Stow. Hollingſh.

About this time there were commotions in Ireland, occaſioned by the rebellion of Shan-Oneal, a lord of great intereſt in the north; but which ended with the death of the rebel, who was ſlain by his own people.

Death of the dutcheſs of Norfolk. Camden.

The duke of Norfolk, who was one of thoſe that were moſt in the queen's favour, loſt his dutcheſs this year [u], and by that means unfortunately ſaw himſelf in a condition to form projects which proved his deſtruction [w].

Affairs of the Low-Countries. Grotius. Strada.

The affairs of the Low-Countries were very much altered during this year. The great men were divided, and ſeveral had betrayed the common cauſe. The prince of Orange was withdrawn to his governments, count Horn to his own houſe, and count Egmont continued with the governeſs, who, improving the diſſention, revoked whatever ſhe had been forced to grant to the reformed. Then ſhe ſent for forces out of Germany, and raiſed ſome Walloon regiments. Shortly after Philip II. reſolved to ſend the duke of Alva into the Low-Countries with an army of native Spaniards, to chaſtiſe both the nobles and people. Whereupon the prince of Orange retiring into Germany, the duke of Alva entered the country at the head of his army without any oppoſition. At his arrival at Bruſſels, the dutcheſs of Parma put the government into his hands, and then the duke exerciſed cruelties which it is needleſs to relate, ſince they are univerſally known.

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[t] He took an accurate map of Ruſſia, and was the firſt Engliſhman who ventured through the Caſpian ſea, into the country of the Bactrians. Camden, p. 408.

[u] She was his third wife, with whom he had lived about a year. Her name was Elizabeth; ſhe was daughter of ſir Francis Leiburne, knight, and widow of Thomas lord Dacres of Gilleſland. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 276.

[w] This year alſo, in January, died doctor Nicholas Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York, often mentioned in this Hiſtory. Camden, p. 408. --- On June 8, ſir Thomas Sackville was created baron of Buckhurſt. Stow, p. 661.

Eliz. 1567.

The counts of Egmont [*] and Horn loſt their lives by the hand of the hangman, whilſt Montigny ſuffered the ſame puniſhment in Spain, and all the prince of Orange's lands were confiſcated.

Affairs of France. Mezerai. Thuanus. P. Daniel.

On the other hand, the court of France, under colour of fearing the duke of Alva, who was to paſs near the borders, levied ſix thouſand Switzers, with deſign to extirpate the Huguenots, whilſt the duke of Alva ſhould do the ſame in the Netherlands, purſuant to the agreement at Bayonne. It is eaſy to ſee, that in ſuch a juncture, Elizabeth could not attempt the recovery of Calais. It was ſufficient if ſhe could avert the flames which threatened England. Mean while, the prince of Condé, having with difficulty eſcaped the ſnares of the court, re-aſſembled the Huguenots by the admiral's help, and was very like to have ſucceeded in his deſign of carrying away the king at Meaux. After that diſappointment, he went and blocked up Paris. In ſhort, on the 10th of November was fought at the gates of Paris a battle, wherein the conſtable Montmorency was ſlain. This action not being deciſive, the prince marched to meet Caſimir count Palatine, who was bringing him an aid of three thouſand foot and ſix thouſand five hundred horſe. In September, La Noüe, one of the chief of the Huguenots, took Orleans. Thus all the neighbouring countries of England, namely, Scotland, France, and the Low-Countries, were in trouble and confuſion, whilſt the Engliſh, by the wiſe management of the queen, enjoyed a profound peace.

1568. Elizabeth concerns herſelf with the Huguenots of France. Camden.

It was however at the expence of her own, that Elizabeth ſecured the repoſe of her people. She had to fear both at home and abroad, and conſequently was obliged to attend perpetually as well to foreign as domeſtick affairs, in order to prevent the deſigns of her enemies. The ſtate of the Huguenots in France made her very uneaſy. Their enemies were likewiſe her's; and as there was little appearance of their withſtanding the catholicks, who were an hundred to one, and ſupported by the authority royal, ſhe was apprehenſive that, after their extirpation, the ſtorm would fall upon England. It was ſcarce to be doubted that the war, which was waging at once with the proteſtants of France and the Low-Countries was the effect of the mutual counſels of the French and Spaniſh courts, and that the deſtruction of the proteſtant religion was the principal object theſe two courts had in view. Elizabeth therefore thought it abſolutely neceſſary to let the king of France know, ſhe was concerned for the preſervation of the Huguenots, whatever reaſon ſhe might have to complain of their behaviour to her. To that purpoſe ſhe ordered Norris, her ambaſſador to Charles IX, to intercede earneſtly for them, and give to underſtand, ſhe knew her own intereſt too well to ſuffer them to be entirely ruined. Theſe threats from England, the reſolution of the Huguenots, and their aſſiſtance from Germany, produced a good effect and procured them a peace: but it was only a treacherous peace, wherein the court intended only to deceive them, and which for that reaſon was called afterwards the Lame Peace. Catherine de Medici knowing it would not be long before the war would re-kindle, reſolved to be beforehand, to prevent Elizabeth from aſſiſting the Huguenots. To that end ſhe began now to hint to the Engliſh ambaſſador a marriage betwixt Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou, who was but ſeventeen years of age. I ſhall ſpeak elſewhere of the ſequel of this project.

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[*] Charles Lamoral count of Egmont was beheaded at Bruſſels in the beginning of July. The French-ambaſſador, who was a private ſpectator of the execution, is ſaid to have writ to Charles IX. king of France, "That he had "ſeen that head ſtruck off, whoſe va-"lour had made France twice tremble." Alluding to the battles of St. Quintin and Graveling. The Flemings were ſo fond of him, that his execution made them loſe all patience. No offers from Philip could quiet them, and they never left purſuing their revenge, till they had entirely ſhook off the Spaniſh yoke. Strada. de Bell. Belg. l. 7.

Quarrel between Philip and Elizabeth. Camden.

At the ſame time, Philip II. ſhowed his ſpite againſt Elizabeth, by confining her ambaſſador [y] to a country village. On the other hand, ſir John Hawkins, an Engliſh merchant, who was gone to trade in the Bay of Mexico with five ſhips, by virtue of the treaty between Charles V. and Henry VIII, was inſulted by the Spaniſh fleet, which took and rifled three of his ſhips. Theſe outrages were very grievous to Elizabeth, eſpecially as the merchants loudly murmured, and were importunate for a war with Spain: But ſhe did not think proper then to ſhow her reſentment, for fear of being engaged farther than the ſituation of her affairs would permit. She had the more reaſon not to enter into a war of this nature, as at the ſame time the affairs of Scotland, which touched her more nearly, took a new turn and might be to her of very great conſequence.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 90. Camden. Spotiſwood.

Queen Mary was priſoner at Lochlevin; but that did not hinder her from having ſtill a ſtrong party conſiſting of all the catholicks, with thoſe that envied and hated the earl of Murray, or ſuch as were in credit about him. Indeed, moſt of thoſe men little regarded the queen, but thought ſhe could afford them a plauſible pretence to act againſt the regent, and

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[y] ---- Man. Camden, p. 410.

Grange purſues Bothwell, who eſcapes to Denmark, where he is thrown into priſon. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 84, 85.

it was this that cauſed them to declare for her. On the other ſide, in the regent's party itſelf, which was called the king's, there were ſome who were engaged in it purely to ruin Bothwell, whom they hated and feared. Theſe imagined, if they could get him out of the way, things would return to their proper channel, and the queen might marry ſome prince, who would cauſe Scotland to flouriſh again. Kircaldie, who was of this number, being informed that Bothwell was playing the pirate near the iſles of Schetland, equipped two veſſels, and reſolved to go in chace of him, believing all troubles would ceaſe with his death. He was ſo fortunate as to meet with him. He purſued and obliged him at length to run his ſhip aſhore, and eſcape to land in his boat: but his ſhip was taken with his ſervants, who, it is ſaid, gave information of many things concerning the late king's murder, which reflected on the queen. But there is no relying upon ſuch ſort of publick reports. Bothwell having the good fortune to eſcape, but not knowing which way to fly, reſolved at laſt to retire into Denmark, where he was taken up and thrown into priſon. He lived there ten years in extreme miſery, which turned his brains. Camden affirms, that before his death, 'he ſolemnly proteſted the queen was in no degree 'privy to the murder of the king her huſband [z].' But, according to cuſtom, this author does not ſay from whence he had this particular [a].

Several of the regent's party leave him. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 90. Spotiſwood.

Bothwell being no longer to be feared, all thoſe that had declared againſt the queen from their hatred to him, forſook the king's party, ſome privately, others openly. Lidington and the lord Boyd were amongſt thoſe who feigned to be ſtill attached to the regent, in order to have a fairer opportunity to do the queen ſervice. The earl of Argyle wavered for a time, but at laſt quitted the earl of Murray, and joined the other party.

The queen eſcapes out of priſon. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 90. Spotiſwood.

Mean while, the regent being gone to Glaſcow, heard a few days after that the queen had made her eſcape from Lochlevin [b], and was at Hamilton caſtle, but twelve miles from Glaſcow. This news quickly ſpreading, the lord Boyd, who was of the regent's council, forſook him immediately and went to the queen.

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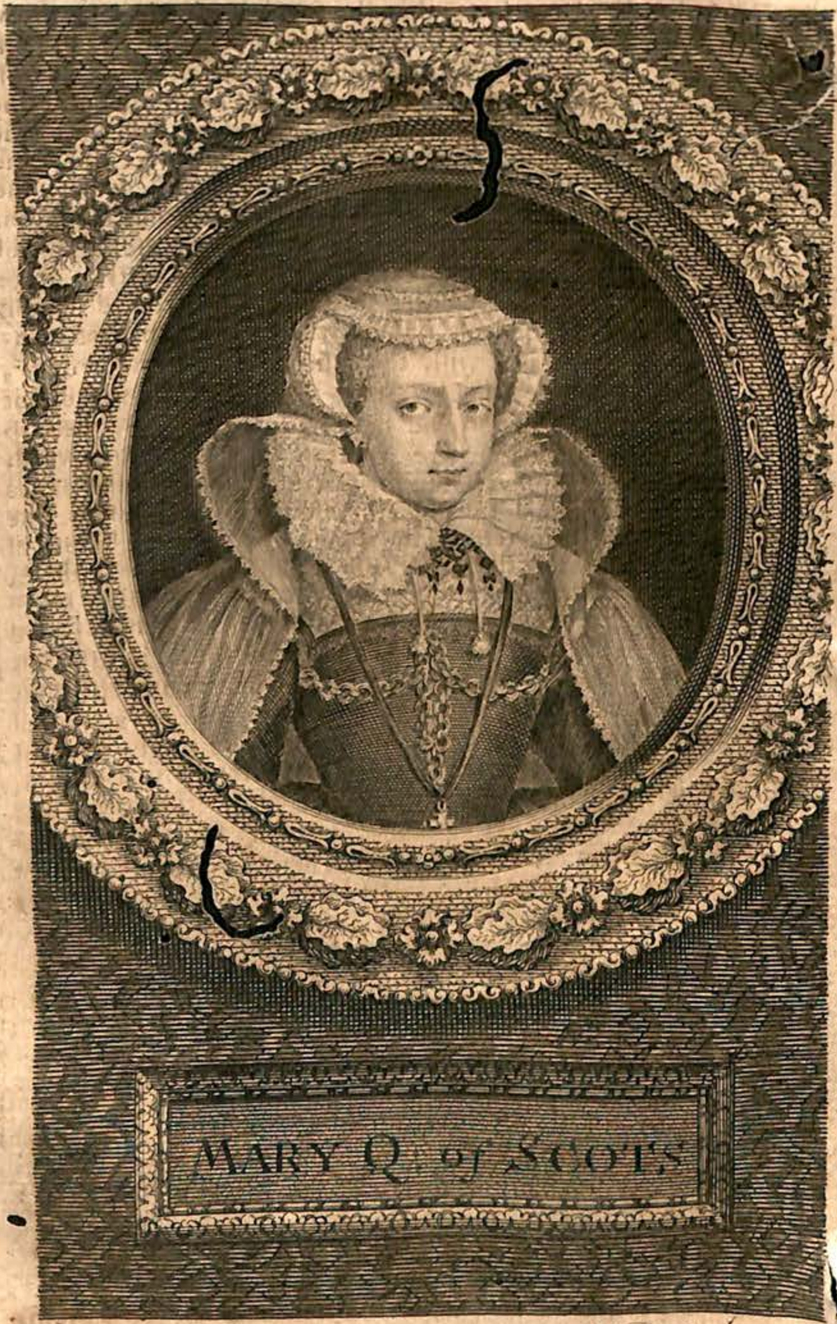
[z] Her conſenting to marry him ſo ſoon after her huſband's murder, carries with it a very ſtrong preſumption, which nothing but a direct proof can poſſibly overturn.

[a] By Bothwell, queen Mary had a daughter, who was a nun at Notre Dame de Soiſſons. Jebb's Collect. tom. ii. p. 610.

[b] On May 2. By the aſſiſtance of George Douglaſs, half-brother to the regent; whoſe mother was likewiſe thought to be concerned in it. Buchanan. Camden, p. 410.

The



MARY Q. of SCOTS

G. Vertue Sculp: 1729.

The regent was extremely perplexed, eſpecially as he learned at the ſame time, that the queen's friends were drawing people together from all ſides, and flocked to her in great numbers. This made him ſenſible he muſt either forſake the party, or try the fortune of a battle. He choſe the laſt, and aſſembling ſome forces, though in number very inferior to the queen's, he departed from Glaſcow, at the very time the queen was marching to give him battle. Melvil ſays, the queen's deſign at firſt was not to fight, having left Hamilton caſtle only to retire to Dunbarton, but that the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, and the reſt of the heads of the party [c], were for hazarding a battle, truſting to their numbers, and hoping to govern in the queen's name, when the regent was vanquiſhed. Be this as it will, the army, ſix thouſand ſtrong [d], advancing towards Glaſcow, met the regent who had but four thouſand men, and the battle began. It is needleſs to give a deſcription of it here [e]. It ſuffices to ſay in a word, the queen loſt the day, and, for fear of falling into the hands of her enemies, fled towards the borders of England. She choſe for her firſt retreat the houſe of Maxwell baron of Herris [f]; but a few days after, not thinking herſelf ſafe there, or in any other place of the kingdom, ſhe reſolved to retire into England. Upon the leaſt attention to what had paſſed hitherto between Elizabeth and Mary, and to the juſt reaſons they had to diſtruſt and conſider each other as real enemies, notwithſtanding their external demonſtrations of a mutual friendſhip, which was all diſſimulation, it will not be thought that Mary would have voluntarily taken refuge in England, had it been in her choice to retire elſewhere: but there was a neceſſity either of falling once more into the hands of the Scots her enemies, or of throwing herſelf into the arms of Elizabeth. Of the two dangers, one was near and infallible; the other was yet diſtant, and not ſo certain as to deſtroy all hopes of finding aſſiſtance in that queen's generoſity. However, ſhe ſent one of her ſervants, John Beton, to Elizabeth,

She marches againſt the regent.

Melvil, p. 90, 91.

Buchanan. Camden.

Battle wherein the queen is defeated.

She flies towards the borders.

Melvil, p. 91. Buchanan. Camden. Spotiſwood. Anderſon's Collect. tom. iv. p. 1, &c.

She goes into England, and ſends a meſſenger to Elizabeth.

Leſley's Negotiations, p. 10. Camden. Spotiſwood. Blackwood.

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[c] Chiefly the houſe of Hamilton. Some ſaid, that the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's intended to cauſe the queen to marry the lord Hamilton, in caſe they had obtained the victory. And the queen herſelf feared the ſame. *Melvil*, p. 91.

[d] Buchanan ſays, it conſiſted of about ſix thouſand five hundred fighting men, l. 19. On the queen's ſide, the earl of Argyle commanded the battle, and the lord of Arbroth the vanguard. *And on the other ſide, the regent led the battle, and the earl of Morton the vanguard. Melvil*, p. 91.

[e] *Melvil deſcribes this battle at large, (which was fought on May* 13. *Buchanan*, l. 19.) *The victory was owing to the conduct of the laird of Grange. See Melvil's Memoirs*, p. 91.

[f] Dundreven in Galloway. Blackwood, p. 231.

Eliz. 1568.

Elizabeth's anſwer. Leſley. Camden.

Mary arrives in England, May 17.

She writes to Elizabeth. Leſley. Camden. Anderſon, t. iv. p. 7, 19.

zabeth, to deſire her protection and leave to retire into England. Camden ſays, ſhe ſent by the ſame meſſenger a diamond, which ſhe had received from her as a pledge of her friendſhip, and of a promiſe to aſſiſt her to the utmoſt of her power, when there ſhould be occaſion. And yet this ſame author has inſerted, under the year 1582 of his Annals, a letter of Mary to Elizabeth, wherein it appears the diamond was ſent back before the battle of Glaſgow: beſides, though Elizabeth may poſſibly have added to her preſent of the diamond ſome tender and affectionate expreſſions, with ſome general promiſes, it is not likely ſhe intended to oblige herſelf ſo far as Camden would inſinuate. This is what I believe for ſeveral reaſons. Firſt, it is certain Elizabeth was never ſo well affected to Mary. Secondly, ſuch an engagement was directly contrary to her intereſt, which required not that ſhe ſhould be ſo careful of her rival's proſperity. Laſtly, no time can be aſſigned, when Elizabeth was under any neceſſity to carry her diſſimulation to that height. Camden adds, Elizabeth ſent word to Mary by Beton, that ſhe would give her all the proofs of friendſhip which could be expected from a ſiſter. But as I have often hinted, it is not always ſafe to rely wholly on the teſtimony of this author [g]. However, before this anſwer arrived, Mary fearing to be diſcovered in her retreat, took boat [h] and came to Wirkinton in Cumberland, attended only by the lords Herris and Fleming, and a few ſervants. The ſame day ſhe writ to Elizabeth, acquainting her with her arrival in England. She told her in the letter, that having eſcaped out of priſon, and intending to go to Dunbarton, her enemies came againſt her to diſpute her paſſage [i], and defeated her army: that this misfortune obliged her to quit her kingdom, where ſhe could not be with ſafety, to come and implore her protection, and ſhe intreated her to cauſe her to be conducted to her preſence. She ſaid alſo in the ſame letter, 'That her enemies, after murdering her 'ſervant before her face, had committed a new crime, which 'they pretended to charge her with, though themſelves had 'plotted it, as appears by a writing under their own hands 'and ſeals.' It is this doubtleſs which gave Camden occaſion to ſay under the year 1567, that the earls of Murray and

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[g] Camden's account is confirmed by Leſley's Negotiation, from whence it is viſibly taken, and on whoſe credit it entirely reſts. See Anderſon's Collect. tom. iii. p. 10, &c.

[h] She got into a fiſher-boat at Kirkcudbright, with eighteen or twenty perſons. Spotiſwood, p. 217. Anderſon's Collect. tom. iv. p. 2, &c.

[i] The contrary appears by the teſtimony of Melvil above-mentioned. Rapin.

Morton bound themſelves by a writing to ſupport Bothwell when he ſhould have killed the king [k]. If this writing, which never appeared, were really true, it would evidently follow that Mary was not ignorant of Bothwell's being author of the king her huſband's murder, ſince ſhe knew Murray and Morton had promiſed to ſcreen him: but it is not likely ſhe would have made ſuch a confeſſion to Elizabeth. Beſides, ſuppoſing that Mary's letter was ſuch as Camden repreſents it, ſhe does not name the earl of Murray. She only imputes to her enemies the crime ſhe herſelf was accuſed of. We ſhall ſee hereafter how ſhe maintained what ſhe had advanced, and after what manner ſhe made her defence.

Elizabeth refuſes to ſee Mary till ſhe has juſtified herſelf.

Camden. Walſingham's Negotiations. Norris's Inſtructions. Anderſon's Collect. t. iv. p. 4, 7, &c.

Elizabeth being informed the queen of Scots was in England after the loſs of a battle, ſent ſir Francis Knolles to comfort her, and ordered her to be lodged at a gentleman's houſe, where ſhe was treated as a queen. After that, ſhe was conducted to Carliſle [l]. Here Mary writes a ſecond letter, according to Camden, intreating her either to admit her to her preſence, or give her leave to depart elſewhere. Camden ſays, 'That Elizabeth was touched with compaſſion [m], becauſe the queen of Scots offered to debate her cauſe before her, and engaged to prove her adverſaries guilty of the crime they unjuſtly loaded her with.' But this hiſtorian ſtretches a little too far what Mary ſaid in her letter, ſince ſhe did not offer to prove her adverſaries guilty, as indeed ſhe never attempted it. There is not a ſingle word in Camden's Annals concerning the queen of Scots, but what muſt be guarded againſt. We are going to ſee Elizabeth's compaſſion for this queen. She ſent her word, that as ſhe ſtood charged by the voice of the publick, with being privy to the murder of the king her huſband, or at leaſt with not enquiring after the murderers, and with keeping ſtill in her ſervice, and in her very houſe, ſuch as were accuſed of being accomplices, ſhe could not ſee her till ſhe had cleared herſelf of ſo heinous an accuſation, and deſired to know in what manner ſhe intended to juſtify herſelf.' Whereupon it was agreed, that Elizabeth ſhould hear her defence, and protect her if innocent. It is very probable or rather certain, that herein Elizabeth in-

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[k] The words in Camden are: "They "went ſo far as to charge me with a "new pretended crime, and ſign this "accuſation with their own hands." Which words don't ſeem to give Camden occaſion to ſay, as Rapin here imagines.

[l] And June 16, was removed to Bolton, a houſe belonging to the lord Scroop, warden of the weſt marches. Anderſon's Collect. tom. iv. p. 6.

[m] Camden's words are, She ſeemed at leaſt touched, (for who can dive into the hearts of princes, of which they who are wiſe always keep the key) with a hearty ſenſe of, &c.

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tended only to gain time, and have a pretence to detain her till ſhe had determined what was to be done, which her council was at no ſmall loſs to know.

Sundry opinions in the council about Mary. Camden.

There were on this occaſion ſeveral ways to be taken, and each had its difficulties. But, as it is very uſual in the councils of princes, the ſtar by which the miniſters and counſellors were guided, was not juſtice or equity, but the queen's ſafety. In much the ſame caſe Henry IV. ſtayed the king of Scotland's eldeſt ſon, who was afterwards king himſelf, under colour that he was come into his dominions without his leave; and that prince was detained till the reign of Henry VI. It cannot be denied, that a ſovereign has power to ſeize a foreign prince, who enters his territories without a ſafe-conduct. But there are caſes wherein ſtrict right becomes the greateſt injuſtice. Such was that of Henry IV. with regard to the prince of Scotland: but in Mary's caſe, the circumſtances appeared ſtill more favourable. It was a woman, vanquiſhed by her own ſubjects, whoſe violence ſhe feared, and who, far from being ſuſpected of any ill deſign againſt England, was come only for refuge, and to implore the protection of a queen, her near relation, who had always affected to give her marks of her friendſhip. So, to conſider the queen's fault only as a ſort of breach of the law of nations, ſhe did not deſerve to be detained in captivity. But, as I ſaid, it is not always by theſe maxims that ſovereigns are guided. The point in debate in the Engliſh council was, not to ſearch for what was moſt conſonant to juſtice or generoſity, but what was moſt advantageous [n]. The various courſes therefore which might be taken with reſpect to the queen of Scots were examined, in order to chuſe the moſt beneficial to Elizabeth. The firſt was to reſtore her to the throne, for an example, that ſubjects ſhall not expel their ſovereigns with impunity. But though this was what Elizabeth ſhould have done as a ſovereign, yet other more particular conſiderations hindered her from endeavouring to reſtore and render more powerful, a queen whom ſhe juſtly looked upon as a dangerous rival. For the ſame reaſon it was to be feared, if ſhe ſent her back to Scotland, though without ſuccours, her faction would revive; and one victory, which was not impoſſible, might render her abſolute. In that caſe ſhe might recall the French into Scotland, and purſue the execution of the projects formed in France, in the reign of Francis II. her huſband. On the

Camden. Anderſon's Collect. t. iv. p. 34, &c. 102, &c.

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[n] It was at firſt reſolved in the Engliſh council, to uſe the queen of Scots well, and reſtore her to her crown and country, as is ſhewn by biſhop Burnet, Hiſt. Ref. tom. ii. p. 417.

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other hand, if ſhe were ſent over to France, there was no certainty that ſhe would not return to Scotland. Beſides, if the king of France and the princes of Lorrain were maſters of her perſon, it was very likely they would make uſe of her name to invade England, and the pope and king of Spain join with them. There was no way therefore but to keep her in England, either free or in priſon: but to leave her at liberty was running a manifeſt hazard. Her title to the crown of England would draw to her court all the catholicks and diſaffected perſons in the kingdom, as well as the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, to aſſiſt her with their counſels. That if, being abſent, ſhe had been able to form a ſtrong party in England, how much more might her preſence render the ſame party more numerous and powerful. It is certain, though Elizabeth and her miniſters pretended to think it very ſtrange Mary ſhould claim the crown of England, they knew however the grounds of her title, and that many people were convinced it was even more lawful than the queen's. Finally, in detaining her in priſon, there was no queſtion Elizabeth would incur the indignation of all Europe by ſuch a ſeverity, the motives whereof would not be generally known. This was however the courſe which Elizabeth took, by the advice of her council, and without doubt by her own inclination. It is certain, beſides the reaſons of ſtate which induced her thereto, ſhe was alſo moved by a perſonal jealouſy of the queen of Scots, who was handſomer and younger than herſelf, though ſhe was very far behind her in other reſpects. However, to colour in ſome meaſure the rigour which was to be uſed to the queen, Elizabeth reſolved to appear extremely concerned for her misfortune, and very deſirous to be convinced of her innocence, that ſhe might afterwards give her a powerful aſſiſtance without fear of reproach: but, withal, ſhe took a reſolution to delay the methods to be uſed for that purpoſe, till time and opportunity ſhould afford room for other meaſures. From thenceforward ſhe conſtantly refuſed to hear thoſe who ſpoke againſt the queen of Scots; but then ſhe was not ſorry that divers accuſations were publickly ſpread againſt her, that it might not be thought ſtrange the affair could not be cleared in a ſhort time. So Camden had reaſon to ſay, Elizabeth ſeemed touched with a ſenſe of the queen of Scotland's misfortune, and openly deteſted the behaviour of the Scots. But it does not follow, theſe were her real ſentiments. Her aim being only to prolong the affair, under colour of labouring the juſtification of her priſoner, it was not proper ſhe ſhould by her diſcourſes declare herſelf a party againſt her.

Elizabeth reſolves to detain her. Camden.

Elizabeth's policy.

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She ought rather to ſhow ſhe inclined to her ſide. Mary herſelf was long deceived by this policy. She imagined Elizabeth really intended to ſerve her: but, diſcovering the artifice at laſt, ſhe reſolved to take ſuch meaſures as furniſhed her enemy with a plauſible pretence to detain her in priſon. I will venture to affirm, this is the true key of the affair; which will never be well underſtood, if we ſtand to what is ſaid by the hiſtorians of either ſide.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in England, the earl of Murray called a parliament at Edinburgh, to get thoſe condemned who had taken up arms againſt the king in favour of the queen. The oppoſite faction ſeeing they were like to be oppreſſed by the decree of the ſtates, uſed all their endeavours to prevent their aſſembling. They even demanded aid of the French, who reſolved to ſend an army into Scotland, under the conduct of Martigues. In the mean time, the queen's friends met at Glaſcow, to conſult how to hinder the ſeſſion of the parliament, but as they could not agree, the earl of Argyle withdrew to his houſe. The earl of Huntley, more fiery than the reſt, aſſembled ſome troops, and poſted himſelf at Perth, to alarm the regent, till the arrival of the French ſuccours. But the civil war which rekindled in France, obliging the king to keep the forces deſigned for Scotland, the earl of Huntley was conſtrained to retire. This reſource failing, the queen's friends applied to Elizabeth, repreſenting to her, that the regent, by an unſeaſonable ſeſſion of a parliament, was going to drive the principal lords of Scotland to deſpair, and offered to take her for umpire of their differences with the regent. This offer was very grateful to Elizabeth, becauſe ſhe could thereby render herſelf miſtreſs of the affair, and prolong it as ſhe pleaſed. She therefore let Murray know, he would oblige her in deferring the parliament, till ſhe was better informed of the reaſons which had induced the Scots to deprive their queen of the government of the kingdom. But he deſired to be excuſed, and held the parliament on the day appointed. Buchanan pretends, Lidington, who feigned to be attached to the regent, managed it ſo by his intrigues, that the ſtates reſolved to puniſh only ſome of the moſt guilty, and that this indulgence was a great means to ſtrengthen the queen's party. The parliament breaking up, the regent raiſed an army to purſue thoſe who were condemned. He reduced ſeveral places to the obedience of the king, and very probably would have over-run the whole kingdom, if the court of England had not interrupted the execution of his deſigns.

Buchanan.

Elizabeth takes great advantage of the troubles of Scotland. Buchanan. Camden. Spotiſwood.

She becomes umpire of the differences between the two parties. Buchanan. Camden.

Elizabeth found ſo great an advantage in becoming umpire of the affairs of Scotland, that ſhe took care not to loſe the preſent opportunity without improving it. To compaſs her ends the more eaſily, ſhe plainly intimated, that ſhe believed the queen of Scots innocent; that ſhe herſelf was concerned in the quarrel, which all ſovereigns ought to eſpouſe; and that it was their intereſt to chaſtiſe rebellious ſubjects, who might give a dangerous example to others. In a word, ſhe ſo artfully diſguiſed her ſentiments, that the Scotch queen's friends, blinded by theſe appearances, perſuaded the unfortunate queen to offer to appoint commiſſioners to defend her cauſe before Elizabeth, and ſo fell into the ſnare Elizabeth had laid for her. She had no ſooner made this imprudent offer, but Elizabeth writ to the earl of Murray, that the proceedings of the Scots in depoſing their queen, were ſo extraordinary, that ſhe could not approve them, unleſs they ſhowed by very good reaſons, that they could not have done otherwiſe. That if their queen were innocent, ſhe thought herſelf bound by all ſorts of conſiderations to protect her, and reſtore her to the throne, but was willing, before ſhe came to any reſolution, to hear what they had to ſay in vindication of their conduct. That therefore ſhe deſired the regent would ſend ſome well-informed perſons to York, where ſhe would order commiſſioners to hear what the Scots had to alledge againſt their queen. That it was neceſſary he ſhould in perſon clear himſelf of the crimes he was accuſed of. In ſhort, ſhe gave him to underſtand, ſhe ſhould take his refuſal as an authentick proof of Mary's innocence. Elizabeth muſt have talked very high, to oblige the regent to take ſo extraordinary a ſtep. Beſides, it was no leſs neceſſary to keep by that means the queen of Scots in the belief, that Elizabeth ſought only to cauſe her to come off honourably, for fear ſhe ſhould revoke the conſent ſhe had given. Elizabeth's real aim was to have a pretence to detain the queen of Scots till the affair ſhould be cleared, well knowing ſhe ſhould not want means to prolong it as ſhe pleaſed. Beſides, how much ſoever ſhe pretended not to be fully informed, ſhe knew enough to judge that the Scots would bring good evidence againſt Mary, and thereby furniſh her with a very natural excuſe, to require a farther examination. All this was extremely agreeable to the ſcheme ſhe had laid, and afforded her means to ſilence the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, who preſſed her continually in behalf of the captive queen. She told them, ſhe intended to aſſiſt Mary with all her forces, and reſtore her to her former dignity; but that decency required the queen

She deſires the regent to ſend deputies into England. Buchanan. Camden. Anderſon's Collect. t. iv. p. 17, 18.

ſhould firſt be cleared, in the eyes of the publick, of the crime ſhe was charged with, and that all poſſible expedition was uſing to make her innocence appear.

The regent is determined to go himſelf. Buchanan, Melvil, p. 93. Camden.

The earl of Murray was very much at a loſs what anſwer he ſhould return to Elizabeth's ſummons. It was dangerous for a regent of Scotland to put to arbitration an affair already decided by the parliament, and diſhonourable to anſwer before a foreign power. But, on the other hand, he could ſupport himſelf only by the aſſiſtance of England; how much leſs, if Elizabeth ſhould reſolve to reſtore Mary to the throne? Beſides, he was afraid his refuſal would be conſtrued as a ſign he miſtruſted the juſtice of his cauſe. So, after conſulting his friends upon ſo nice a point, he reſolved to go himſelf to York with eleven deputies, who were appointed to aſſiſt him [o]. Theſe were, James Douglas earl of Morton, Adam biſhop of Orkney, Robert commendator of Dumfermling, and Patrick lord Lindſay. Mary nominated the lords Herris, Levingſton, Boyd, Gavin commendator of Kylwyning, John Gordon of Lochinvarr, James Cockburne of Skirling, knt. and the biſhop of Roſs. Elizabeth commiſſioned Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk, Thomas Ratcliff earl of Suſſex, and ſir Ralph Sadlor [p], to hear what both parties had to ſay, whether for and againſt. All theſe lords came to York on the ſame day the 4th of October.

Melvil, p. 93. Anderſon's Collect. tom. iv. part 2. p. 34, 35. Buchanan. Camden. Spotiſwood.

In order to underſtand fully what paſſed at the conference of York, and at another afterwards at Hampton court, it will be neceſſary to know what is ſaid upon the occaſion in Melvil's Memoirs. Without this key, there is no comprehending any thing by Buchanan's account, and ſtill leſs by Camden's, who endeavoured rather to darken than clear the affair. What Melvil relates is a ſecret, equally unknown to Buchanan and Camden.

Account of a private affair which paſſed at the conference of York. Buchanan.

Very likely the duke of Norfolk, who had loſt his dutcheſs laſt year, had now formed the project of marrying the queen of Scots, before he repaired to York. At leaſt, it may be affirmed, the duke was Mary's principal friend in England. For which reaſon he accepted the commiſſion of preſiding at the York conference, only to hinder the ſucceſs Elizabeth ex-

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[o] *Melvil* names ſeventeen, including no doubt all thoſe who attended the regent. He was himſelf of this number. Rapin. —— As were alſo ſecretary Lidington, Macgil, a famous civilian, George Buchanan. And on the queen's ſide, the lord Fleming, ſir Robert Melvil, brother to the author of the Memoirs, &c. See Melvil, p. 93. Rapin was miſtaken in the names of the Scottiſh deputies, but his miſtake is here rectified out of the original commiſſions extant in Anderſon's Collect. tom. iv. part 2, p. 34, 35.

[p] Chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaſter. Spotiſwood, p. 219.

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pected, and to break her meaſures. However ſecret the queen's project was, the duke of Norfolk, it ſeems, had entire knowledge of it, courtiers having uſually a wonderful ſagacity to diſcover what the prince would keep moſt private. Nay, it is ſaid, he had ordered the earl of Weſtmoreland, Melvil, p. 99. Buchanan. his lieutenant in the preſidentſhip of the north, to kill the earl of Murray when he came upon the borders, and ſeize all his papers, in order to deſtroy the proofs he was bringing againſt the queen of Scots, but altering his mind, had revoked the order. In the beginning of the conference, he ſtarted ſeveral incidents to retard the concluſion of the affair in debate. But at laſt, perceiving all his endeavours would Melvil, p. 94. Buchanan. Camden. avail only for a delay of a few days, he opened his mind to Lidington, who, though ſuſpected by all the king's party, had attended the regent as deputy and ſecretary of ſtate. The duke told this lord, that he could not imagine what had induced the Scots to come and accuſe their queen before Engliſh commiſſioners; that they greatly diſhonoured their nation, and would one day be reſponſible for it. Lidington replied, he was very glad to find him of this opinion; that for his part, he had done his utmoſt to hinder the regent from taking this ſtep; that Kircaldie had done the ſame, but to no purpoſe: and if he had accompanied the regent, it was only in hopes to ſucceed better in England, and deſired him to talk with the regent, and try to diſſuade him from accuſing the queen. The duke of Norfolk knowing by this, the earl of Murray's proceedings were not approved by all his party, and that even remonſtrances had been made to him upon this occaſion, hoped by ſpeaking to him himſelf to prevail with him in ſome meaſure. He talked with him therefore in private, and repreſenting to him what he had before ſaid to Lidington, added, he was much miſtaken, if he imagined Elizabeth intended to give ſentence upon the difference he and his party had with the queen of Scots; but that her ſole aim was to make them ſubſervient to her own ends: that if he Spotiſwood. deſired to be convinced of this, he had only to require a promiſe under her own hand, to give ſentence as ſoon as the proofs ſhould be produced, and to ſupport the king of Scotland's party, in caſe the queen his mother was found guilty. He added, the queen would never give any ſuch promiſe in writing, and thereby demonſtrate ſhe ſought only to amuſe them. In ſhort, he ſo managed the regent, that before they parted, they agreed, that when he was called upon to produce his evidences, he ſhould demand a previous engagement from the queen, ſuch as the duke had ſuggeſted to him. The earl

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of Murray imparted this agreement to none but Lidington and ſir James Melvil, who liked it extremely.[q]

Melvil, p. 95. Buchanan.

At the next meeting, the regent being preſſed to give in his proofs againſt the queen of Scots, replied, as he had agreed with the duke of Norfolk, to the great ſurprize of the hearers, except thoſe who were in the ſecret. It was reſolved therefore to write to the queen, to inform her of this new and unexpected difficulty, and to know whether ſhe would give the regent of Scotland the engagement he demanded. Her anſwer was, ſhe thought it very ſtrange her word could not be taken, but that a writing under her own hand ſhould be required, and prayed the earl of Murray to ſend two deputies to acquaint her with his reaſons. The regent choſe for this purpoſe Lidington[r], and Macgil, to the great amazement of the reſt of the deputies, who could not conceive that he ſhould truſt with ſuch a commiſſion ſecretary Lidington, of whom the whole party were ſo jealous.

Leſley's Negotiations. Anderſon's Collect. tom. iv. part 2. p. 97, &c.

Shortly after, the queen deſired the regent to come himſelf to London with the other deputies[s], to which he conſented. When they were arrived, ſhe appointed other commiſſioners to confer with them, namely, ſir Nicholas Bacon, Cecil, the earl of Leiceſter, the lord high-admiral[t], and ſir William Sadler[u]. Probably, ſhe ſuſpected the duke of Norfolk of ſome prevarication, and this ſuſpicion was not groundleſs. She earneſtly wiſhed, upon ſeveral accounts, to have in her hands the proofs intended to be uſed in ſupport of the accuſation againſt the queen of Scots. Firſt, to ſilence ſuch as murmured at her not endeavouring to reſtore that princeſs. And indeed it was manifeſt, if Mary were guilty of the crime laid to her charge, ſhe was unworthy of her protection. Secondly, having theſe proofs in her power, ſhe would not only have the management of the affair, but might alſo cauſe all delays to be conſidered as ſo many favours to Mary, who, in all appearance, would not dare to preſs her to give ſentence. Spite and jealouſy might poſſibly be a third reaſon, Elizabeth being ſecretly pleaſed with her rival's ſhame. In the firſt conferences at Hampton court, the Engliſh commiſſioners were very urgent with the earl of Murray, to give in his proofs againſt the queen of Scots. He anſwered, it was with extreme reluctance that he could reſolve to accuſe the queen his ſiſter, and ſhould never proceed to that extremity, unleſs it were for the real good and welfare of all Scotland: that therefore he required the queen of England's written promiſe, to protect the king, in caſe the queen his mother were found guilty.

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[q] And, in the preſence of Lidington, it was agreed between the regent and Murray, and the duke of Norfolk, that the regent ſhould in no ways accuſe queen Mary; and that the duke ſhould obtain to him the queen's favour, with a confirmation of the regency. Melvil, p. 95.

[r] Rapin, by miſtake, calls him all along earl of Lidington, whereas he was but laird Lidington.

[s] The reaſons of the conferences being removed to London, were, a ſuſpicion entertained by queen Elizabeth againſt ſome of her own commiſſioners; as alſo, that the Scottiſh deputies were over ſlow, and loth to enter into the grounds of the cauſe. Leſley's Negotiations, p. 24.

[t] Edward Fynes, lord Clinton and Saye.

[u] Together with the duke of Norfolk, and the earls of Arundel and Suſſex. They met at the Painted Chamber at Weſtminſter. Anderſon's Collect. tom. iv. part 2. p. 97. Leſley's Negotiations, p. 28.

Melvil, p. 96. Buchanan. Anderſon, tom. iv. part 2. p. 44, 55.

The affair ſtanding thus, and the earl of Murray ſtill perſiſting in his demand, the earl of Morton happened to be informed of his agreement with the duke of Norfolk, by ſome one whom Mary had truſted with the ſecret [w]. Then it was, Morton came to know the true motive of the regent's conduct, which hitherto ſeemed to him incomprehenſible, ſince he refuſed to accuſe the queen, though he was come into England for that very purpoſe. He imparted the ſecret to ſome of his collegues, and they reſolved to acquaint ſecretary Cecil with it. What paſſed afterwards between Cecil and the earl of Murray is not known; but it may be conjectured by what followed, that Murray ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed with to act quite contrary to his engagement with the duke of Norfolk.

Melvil, p. 96. Ibid,

At the firſt meeting after this diſcovery, the Engliſh commiſſioners demanding that the proofs againſt the queen ſhould be given in, and the regent refuſing it, all the Scots, except Lidington, were for producing them. Then Wood, ſecretary to the regent, pretending a zeal for his maſter, ſaid, it was not from a ſpirit of cavil, as ſome thought, that the regent would not give in the accuſation, but becauſe the queen of England refuſed the promiſe required: that this promiſe being given, he would immediately deliver the accuſation and proofs which he had all ready; and with that, he took the papers out of his boſom, and ſhowed them to every body. But whilſt he was holding them up, the biſhop of Orkney eaſily ſnatched them out of his hand, and gave them to the Engliſh commiſſioners. It is evident, Murray had been gained by Elizabeth's miniſters, and took this method only to ſave in ſome manner his promiſe to the duke of Norfolk. With this key it will be eaſy to underſtand what Buchanan and Camden

Ibid.

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[w] The duke of Norfolk had by a ſecret hand advertiſed the queen, and ſhe again told it to one of her familiars, who advertiſed the earl of Morton thereof, Melvil, p. 96.

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ſay about the York conferences, which I ſhall but juſt mention, becauſe as theſe two hiſtorians were ignorant of the duke of Norfolk's ſecret intentions, and the motives of the regent's conduct, what they have related cannot be of much ſervice towards clearing this part of the hiſtory.

Account of the York conference, according to Camden and Buchanan. Spotiſwood. Leſley's Negotiat. Anderſon's Collect. tom. iv. part ii. p. 52.

At the York conferences, Mary's deputies were heard firſt. They proteſted[y], that the preſent proceedings ſhould not be prejudicial to the rights of Scotland, ſince queen Elizabeth had no power to meddle with the affairs of that kingdom. Then they ſet forth at large the injuries received by the queen of Scots from her own ſubjects; and craved Elizabeth's aſſiſtance to recover her throne. The earl of Murray anſwered, That Bothwell was author of the king's murder: That he carried away the queen with her own conſent, and publickly married her: That afterwards ſhe reſigned the crown to the prince her ſon: That the reſignation was confirmed by the ſtates, and it was not in his power to alter what the ſtates had ratified. Mary's deputies replied, That the queen's marriage with Bothwell was not a ſufficient reaſon to depoſe her, becauſe Bothwell was legally acquitted: That beſides, it was manifeſt, Bothwell was only a pretence uſed by the rebels to act againſt the queen, ſince they might have taken him if they had pleaſed; but they let him eſcape, becauſe the queen alone was what they aimed at. Then they made appear, that the reſignation of the crown was extorted by force, ſince it was not in the queen's power to refuſe it.

Camden.

Both parties being heard upon theſe general points, the Engliſh commiſſioners declared, they could not admit of the proteſtation againſt the queen's being a competent judge, by reaſon of her right of ſovereignty over the kingdom of Scotland. As to the regent's anſwer, they ſaid, the queen having commiſſioned them to hear what the deputies of Scotland had to ſay againſt their queen, they could not allow the determination of the ſtates to be valid, becauſe the queſtion was to know, whether they had juſt grounds to determine in the manner they had done, which could not be known till the reaſons, on which their determination was built, were examined. Then they appointed the 7th of October to examine the proofs.

Buchanan.

Melvil, p. 94.

At this ſame meeting[z], the duke of Norfolk, who ſought only to gain time, required that the regent ſhould do homage to the queen for the kingdom of Scotland. But Lidington anſwered for him, and aſſirmed, the kingdom of Scotland owed no homage to England; that if the kings of Scotland had formerly done any, it was only for the earldom of Huntington and ſome other lands, which were ſince fallen into the hands of the Engliſh [a].

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[y] Their proteſtation, dated October 7, is extant in Anderſon's Collect. tom. iv. part ii. p. 49.

[z] It was on the firſt day of the meeting. See Melvil, p. 94.

Between this and the next meeting, on the 7th of October, it was that the earl of Murray made the forementioned agreement with the duke of Norfolk. Lidington opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech directed to the regent and deputies of Scotland, telling them, 'That whereas it appeared, by the authority granted by the queen of England to her commiſſioners, that her whole deſign was to engage the Scots to throw a blemiſh on the reputation of their king's mother, they would therefore do well to conſider carefully beforehand, what hazard they expoſed themſelves to, and how they would draw upon themſelves the reſentment of the queen, her relations, and friends, and the indignation of all Europe, ſhould they impeach her of a crime which muſt ſtain her honour, and in ſo publick a manner, before the Engliſh, the profeſſed enemies of Scotland: what account would they be able to give their king when he came of age, of a charge ſo bold and diſhonourable to the king, to his mother, and to the whole nation? He therefore, for his part, thought it neceſſary to wave ſo ſcandalous an accuſation; or if they would proceed, it was requiſite, at leaſt, that the queen of England ſhould expreſly engage to defend them againſt ſuch as ſhould hereafter give them any diſturbance upon this account.' He concluded, with ſaying, 'That he thought it his duty to give them this advice, as he was ſecretary of Scotland.' Camden.

It is eaſy to perceive, that the drift of this ſpeech was to give the regent an excuſe to drop the accuſation, according to his agreement with the duke of Norfolk. He was come from Scotland on purpoſe to accuſe the queen, being provided with all the proofs he intended to uſe: but by the duke of Norfolk's ſuggeſtion, had altered his mind. It was neceſſary therefore to find a pretence for this change, and this pretence Lidington furniſhed him with, by laying before him ſuch plauſible reaſons. Camden and Buchanan were at a loſs for the reaſon of the earl of Murray's ſudden change. Camden p. 414. would inſinuate, that the engagement he demanded of Elizabeth was only a cavil, to hide his miſtruſt of the juſtice of his cauſe. He ſays, the Engliſh commiſſioners preſſed him very much

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[a] He added, "The kingdom of Scotland was freer than England itſelf had been lately, when it paid St. Peter's penny to the pope." Molvil, p. 94.

Eliz. 1568.

much to give proofs of the accuſation, which as yet appeared to be founded only upon a few letters from the queen, ſo much the more ſuſpicious, as Lidington had privately intimated, he himſelf had often counterfeited her hand. But I believe Camden would have been puzzled to prove, that any of the articles of the accuſation were examined at York. Buchanan, who knew as little of the ſecret as Camden, though he was one of the Scotch deputies [b], pretends, the regent, purely out of conſcience, ſcrupled to accuſe his ſiſter before foreigners.

Hampton-court conference. Anderſon's Collect. tom. iv. part ii. p. 97, &c.

The York conference breaking off, and being, as I ſaid, removed to Hampton-court [c] before new commiſſioners, the regent, or Wood his ſecretary, ſuffered the accuſation, with the proofs, to be ſnatched out of his hand. Which done, a day was appointed for the Scots to inlarge upon their proofs. The regent agreed to it, and demanded that Mary's deputies ſhould be preſent, that they might urge their objections, and matters be more fully cleared [d]. But when the day came, Mary's deputies produced a formal revocation of their commiſſion, and an exception againſt the Engliſh commiſſioners, unleſs the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors were joined with them. Mary demanded farther, that the earl of Murray ſhould be ſent to priſon, affirming, ſhe could convict him of being author of the king's murder.

Camden.

This revocation, juſt at the critical time, when the proofs againſt Mary were going to be examined, gave occaſion to ſuſpect, ſhe thought herſelf unable to anſwer to the purpoſe. Whilſt ſhe was made to hope that matters would not come to the producing and examining the proofs, ſhe had left a full power with her deputies. But as ſoon as ſhe found Elizabeth, inſtead of ſerving her as ſhe expected, ſought to bring to light what was capable of diſhonouring her, ſhe believed it abſolutely neceſſary to avoid ſuch an examination. For that reaſon, ſhe revoked the commiſſion to her deputies, excepted againſt the Engliſh commiſſioners, and required an impoſſible condition, knowing the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors would not receive a commiſſion from Elizabeth, and that the queen would not ſuffer them to be concerned in the affair. In ſhort, ſhe did not offer to prove the earl of Murray guilty of the king's death, till ſhe had revoked the power of thoſe who were to have accuſed him in her name. All theſe things give occaſion to believe, ſhe dreaded the event of this examination, though by her letters to Elizabeth, it ſhould ſeem, ſhe moſt earneſtly deſired to have an opportunity to make her innocence appear before her.

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[b] He was only one of thoſe that accompanied them. See above, p. 85.

[c] The conference was held at Weſtminſter, November 25, 26, 29, 30. December 1, 6, 8, 9; and at Hampton-court December 3, 14, 15, 16. See a full and curious account of it in Anderſon's Collect. tom. ii. part ii. p. 101, &c.

[d] On November 6, the accuſation againſt queen Mary was produced; and indeed it was very home and expreſs. "It is certain, and we boldly and conſtantly affirm, (ſays the regent, and the reſt of the deputies) that as James, ſome time earl of Bothwell, was the chief executor of the horrible and unworthy murther, perpetrate in the perſon of the late king Henry of good memory, father to our ſovereign lord, and the queen's lawful huſband; ſo was ſhe of the foreknowledge, counſel, device, perſuader, and commander of the ſaid murder to be done, maintainer and fortifier of the executors thereof, by impeding and ſtopping of the inquiſition and puniſhment due for the ſame, according to the laws of the realm, and conſequently by marriage with the ſaid James, ſometime earl of Bothwell, univerſally eſteemed chief author of the abovenamed murder." To this the queen's commiſſioners replied, by charging that accuſation with falſhood; by aſſerting, that ſome of the accuſers were privy to, nay, the firſt inventors of, the conſpiracy for the death of the late king, as was made manifeſt before ten thouſand people at the execution of ſome of the principal offenders; and laſtly, by refuſing to proceed, unleſs queen Mary was admitted to anſwer for herſelf. See Anderſon's Collect. tom. iv. part ii. p. 126, 127, 129, 130, 145, &c.

Elizabeth's policy.

Elizabeth did not much trouble herſelf about theſe acts. Her deſign was not to judge the queen of Scots, but to draw from her accuſation and the proofs, a pretence to detain her till the affair ſhould be fully cleared, being reſolved never to think it ſufficiently explained either for or againſt, but to teſtify however ſhe ſhould be very glad to find her innocent. I ſay only to teſtify, for certainly ſhe was pleaſed to have in her hands proper proofs to ſhow, upon occaſion, that ſhe could not juſtify her. She acted this part a good while.

Examination of the proofs. Decem. 3. Buchanan. Anderſon's Collect. tom. iv. part ii. p. 149, 169. p. 150, 174. Decem. 8.

In fine, though Mary had excepted againſt the Engliſh commiſſioners, they proceeded however to the examination of the proofs. The earl of Murray produced the confeſſions of thoſe who were executed for being concerned in the king's murder. Then he read the decree of the ſtates, confirming the queen's reſignation of the crown to the king her ſon. After which, he produced the fatal caſket, which Bothwell would have taken from the caſtle of Edinburgh, and ſhowed the letters, verſes, and contracts before mentioned. This is what Buchanan, who was preſent, atteſts [c]. But Camden, without deſcending to any particulars, contents himſelf with ſaying, “ The earl of Murray endeavoured to prove her “ guilty of her huſband's murder, by conjectural proofs and

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[c] Theſe letters and verſes are to be found at the end of Buchanan's Detection, and in The tragical Hiſtory of Mary queen of Scots, which is little more than a French tranſlation of the Detection; together with the contracts and depoſitions of the witneſſes. Rapin.

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"circumſtances, by ſome few affidavits, by certain love-"letters and verſes writ, as he affirmed, with the queen's "own hand. But theſe letters and verſes were little re-"garded, there being no name or date to them."

Buchanan's Hiſtory was publiſhed when Camden writ his Annals. The firſt atteſts, that in the caſket were found letters containing the whole conſpiracy againſt the king, and the queen's rape, beſides the contracts. Camden inſiſts upon ſome letters and verſes, and even inſinuates they were forged. Had he writ firſt, he might have ſuppoſed his aſſertions would not be queſtioned. But as he wrote forty years after Buchanan, he ought, in my opinion, either to have poſitively denied or explained the facts related by that hiſtorian. And therefore, as he does not confute them, it is plain he had nothing material to object to them. He farther adds, Murray gave the commiſſioners a book of Buchanan's, intitled, The Detection, wherein was a particular account of the king's death, with the vouchers: but that it found little credit with the commiſſioners, 'becauſe the author was a mercenary writer.' As to the confeſſions of thoſe that were put to death, he ſays in another place, that all declared the queen innocent with their laſt breath. Here he owns, the depoſitions of theſe ſame people were produced againſt her, but anſwers them not. He adds however, that Elizabeth was very well pleaſed that theſe accuſations had ſullied the queen of Scot's reputation [f]. But if the commiſſioners gave no credit to the proofs of the accuſers, as he would inſinuate, Mary's reputation could not be ſullied, but on the contrary, ſhe would have been fully cleared [g].

p. 414.

Elizabeth will not decide the matter. Anderſon's Collect. tom. iv. part ii. p. 144, &c.

The examination being ended, Elizabeth forbore to decide either for or againſt, as ſhe had reſolved. Mean while, as Mary's friends were endeavouring to raiſe troubles in Scotland, and the regent's preſence was neceſſary, Elizabeth took occaſion to defer the concluſion of the affair till a more convenient time. Thus ſhe obtained her deſires, that is, a pretence to detain Mary till the affair was more fully cleared, and withal, proofs which would very probably hinder the queen and her friends from ſolliciting a deciſion. Buchanan affirms, ſhe cauſed the Scotch deputies to be told, that thus far ſhe did not ſee any thing blameable in the conduct of the Scots. Camden ſays, on the contrary, ſhe abhorred their inſolence. Melvil adds, ſhe acquainted Mary, that ſhe believed her wrongfully accuſed, and could not enough deteſt the inſolence of her accuſers; nor ſhould the accuſation be ever made publick. The difference between Camden and Melvil is, that Melvil relates this only to ſhow to what height Elizabeth carried her diſſimulation; but Camden pretends to infer from thence, ſhe believed her innocent. After all, the accounts of theſe three authors may be equally true, becauſe Elizabeth's ſcheme was to leave the affair undetermined, and put both parties in hopes of her favour. Buchanan ſays, before the conference ended, Murray offered to clear himſelf of the king's murder before Mary's deputies: but that they thought proper to drop their accuſation[h]. They could hardly do otherwiſe, for though they might have hoped to convict him, their commiſſion was revoked.

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[f] Melvil ſays, that Elizabeth was very well ſatisfied with the advantage ſhe thereby received. Firſt, ſhe thought ſhe had matter to ſhow, wherefore ſhe detained the queen, when ſhe was challenged by the foreign ambaſſadors. Then ſhe was glad of the queen's diſhonour. She alſo ſent immediately to the queen [illegible]omfort her, praying her to look on herſelf in a better caſe, though for a while reſtrained of her liberty, than to be in Scotland, among ſo unworthy ſubjects, who had accuſed her falſely and wrongfully, as ſhe was aſſured; that ſhe would neither be judge, nor give out any ſentence thereupon, nor ſhould any part of the ſaid falſe accuſation be made known by her, or her council to any. Melvil, p. 97.

[g] The Memoirs of the ſtate of France in the reign of Charles IX. may be conſulted upon this occaſion, printed in octavo at Middlebourgh, 1579, tom. i. p. 81---144.

Camden, p. 415.
Melvil, p. 97.

Though, according to Melvil, Elizabeth ſaid ſhe would not ſee the earl of Murray any more, ſhe had however ſeveral private conferences with him. In theſe conferences it was, that he informed her of all that had paſſed between him and the duke of Norfolk[i], and ſhowed her letters from Mary, which had been intercepted in Scotland, wherein ſhe complained in very harſh terms, of the treatment ſhe received ſince her coming to England. Moreover, ſhe hinted to her friends, that they ſhould not be diſcouraged at what had paſſed at York and Hampton-court, and that ſhe expected a powerful aid from a certain place which ſhe would not name. Theſe letters, added to what was diſcovered at the ſame time, that the pope was labouring to raiſe a rebellion in England, by means of Ridolfi a Florentine merchant, and to Lidington's frequent conferences with the duke of Norfolk[k], who was become very ſuſpected, obliged Elizabeth to order the queen of Scots to be removed to Tutbury-caſtle[l].

Murray diſcovers to the queen what had paſſed between him and the duke of Norfolk.
Melvil, p. 99.
He ſhows ſome intercepted letters.
Buchanan.
Camden.
Plots diſcovered.
Mary is removed to Tutbury.
Camden.

The duke of Norfolk was ſo exaſperated againſt the earl of Murray, that he had reſolved to have him murdered in his return to Scotland. But Throckmorton having reconciled them, the duke deſiſted from his deſign. Melvil affirms, Murray promiſed Elizabeth to ſend her the letters the duke ſhould write to him, and that he performed his promiſe [m].

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[h] According to Buchanan, they were compelled ſingly and ſeverally to confeſs, that they knew nothing of themſelves, why Murray, or any of his, ſhould be accuſed of the king's murder, lib. 19.

[i] She had been informed of it before, by means of the earl of Morton. Melvil, p. 97, 98.

[k] At York. Camden, p. 415.

[l] In Staffordſhire, where ſhe was committed to the cuſtody of George Talbot earl of Shrewſbury. Camden, p. 415.

Melvil, p. 98.

Affairs of France. Thuanus. Mezerai. Camden.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in England, the French court was thinking of executing their deſign of carrying away by force the prince of Condé from his houſe at Noyers. The peace granted to the Huguenots was only to amuſe them. Happily for the prince, he had notice of it time enough to eſcape to Rochelle. This ſtratagem failing, the perſecution againſt the Huguenots was renewed with greater fury than ever. The king forbid them the exerciſe of their religion, and baniſhed all their miniſters. Whereupon they ſued for aid to Elizabeth, who ſent them a hundred thouſand crowns of gold, with a good train of artillery. She ſaw plainly this was a conſequence of the councils held at Bayonne, and that if ſhe ſuffered the Huguenots to be oppreſſed, the flames would ſoon reach England. What confirmed her in this opinion was, that the duke of Alva proceeded in the ſame manner in the Low-Countries, and plainly ſhowed, he intended utterly to deſtroy the proteſtant religion in theſe provinces, and make the king abſolute. The prince of Orange had brought an army from Germany to try to ſtop the execution of this deſign; but for want of money to pay it, was forced to retire among the Huguenots of France. This accident compelling many Flemiſh families to fly to England for refuge, the queen gave them leave to ſettle in ſeveral good towns, where they contributed very much to cauſe trade to flouriſh [n].

Elizabeth aſſiſts the Huguenots. Camden.

Grotius. Camden.

Abundance of Flemings ſettle in England. Camden.

Quarrel between Elizabeth and Philip II. Camden.

About the cloſe of the year an accident happened, which occaſioned a quarrel between the queen, the king of Spain, and the duke of Alva. The Genoa merchants, and ſome others of Italy, having a great ſum of money in Spain, and reſolving to ſend it into the Low-Countries [o], obtained a paſſport of the king of Spain, and put the money on board ſome veſſels of Biſcay. Theſe ſhips being attacked in their paſſage by French pyrates, did with great difficulty eſcape into Plymouth,

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[m] Melvil ſays, that after their reconciliation, Murray diſcovered every thing to the queen, eſpecially his deſign to marry the queen of Scots, and to give his daughter to the young king of Scotland. The duke had cauſed the queen to give to Murray, who was in great want of money, two thouſand pounds, for which ſum he became ſecurity, and was afterwards forced to pay it. Melvil, p. 99.

[n] They ſettled at Norwich, Colcheſter, Sandwich, Maidſtone, and Southampton, which turned to the great advantage of England; for they were the firſt that brought into the nation the art of making bays and ſays, and other linnen and woollen cloths of the like kind. Camden, p. 416.

[o] To raiſe a bank there. Camden, p. 416.

mouth, Falmouth, and Southampton. As ſoon as the queen had notice of it, ſhe ordered the magiſtrates of thoſe places to treat the Spaniards civilly, and aſſiſt them in caſe the pyrates attempted any thing againſt them. The Spaniſh ambaſſador telling her the money belonged to the king his maſter, obtained leave to have it landed. His deſign was to carry it by land to ſome port nearer the Low-Countries. But, at the ſame time, cardinal de Chatillon, who was then in England [p], informed the queen that the money belonged to ſome merchants, and that the duke of Alva was to ſeize it to help him to carry on the war. This was alſo confirmed by other people. So, to deprive the duke of Alva of this ſupply, ſhe took the money by way of loan, and gave ſecurity for the payment. Some time after, the duke of Alva demanding the money, the queen replied, ſhe would punctually return it, as ſoon as it appeared by good proofs that it was the king of Spain's. Upon this refuſal, the duke ſeized the effects of the English, and ſent the owners to priſon; and the queen did the like by the Flemings. A few days after, ſhe iſſued out a proclamation upon the occaſion, which the Spaniſh ambaſſador anſwered in print. But this did not ſatisfy him; he diſperſed very inſolent libels, containing grating reflections upon the queen's reputation [q]. For this he was kept under a guard for a day or two. The queen complained to the king of Spain of his ambaſſador's inſolence; but could obtain no ſatiſfaction [r].

Dec. 29. Stow.

Jan. 6.

1569.

Plot againſt Cecil, and the occaſion thereof. Camden.

This difference between the queen and Philip II. was quickly followed by a diſturbance at court. Among all Elizabeth's miniſters and counſellors, there was not one ſo heartily attached to his miſtreſs's intereſt as Cecil, who was ſecretary of ſtate. All the reſt had their private views, to which they ſtrove to adapt the queen's and the nation's intereſts. But Cecil minded only the queen's, and was in great favour with her. Therefore to him chiefly ſhe imparted her moſt ſecret thoughts, with reſpect to the government of the ſtate. Several privy-counſellors were engaged in the queen of Scots party; that is, they wiſhed the crown of England was ſecured to her, in caſe Elizabeth died without iſſue. They were of opinion, it was a thing agreeable to equity, juſtice, and the laws of the land; and pretended it was the only way to prevent the troubles which might happen after the queen's deceaſe. But Elizabeth thought, that when they conſidered the publick advantages, they did not ſufficiently attend to her ſafety. Mary did not pretend only to be Elizabeth's preſumptive heir: it was well known her pretenſions reached much farther, and that many were perſuaded her title was preferable to the queen's. If therefore ſhe was appointed Elizabeth's ſucceſſor, it could be only in virtue of her birthright, [illegible] not in conſequence of Henry VIII's will, where ſhe was not ſo much as named, whereas many thought Elizabeth derived her title ſolely from thence. So, in taking this courſe, the titles of the two queens would have been put in oppoſition, very much to Elizabeth's diſadvantage. Conſequently her fear was, this nomination would increaſe the number of Mary's friends, and in the end endeavours would be uſed to ſet her on the throne before the time appointed. All who were diſpleaſed with the government thought the nation would get by the change. The catholicks heartily wiſhed it, and amongſt the proteſtants themſelves, there were many to whom it was indifferent which queen was on the throne, becauſe they made no great conſcience of conforming to all the changes which might be made in religion, as was the caſe more than once. It was therefore of great moment to Elizabeth, to hinder Mary from being nominated to ſucceed her. So, ſhe could not but have a great regard for thoſe whom ſhe ſaw ſincerely attached to her private intereſt. Among theſe Cecil was the chief, and it was he alſo whom Mary's friends conſidered as her moſt dangerous enemy, and the rather, as he had frequently ſhown his inclination to the houſe of Suffolk, before the death of the dutcheſs of that name. This was the real motive of a plot laid in the beginning of the year 1569, to ruin that miniſter. The duke of Norfolk, the marquiſs of Wincheſter, the earls of Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Arundel, Pembroke, Leiceſter, and others [s], entered this ſort of conſpiracy. They accuſed Cecil of being the cauſe of the queen's detaining the Spaniſh money, and by that of her running a manifeſt riſk of a war with Spain, which could not but be very prejudicial to trade. They flattered themſelves, that upon this charge the queen would ſend the ſecretary to priſon, and then they made no queſtion they ſhould find ways enough to effect his ruin.

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[p] He came to England, September 13, this year. Stow, p. 662.

[q] Under the fictitious name of Amadis Oriana. Camden, p. 417.

[r] This year, a new Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible was publiſhed at London. It was done by the biſhops of Exeter, St. David's, Worceſter, Wincheſter, Norwich, Ely, and other learned men, and is commonly called the Biſhop's Bible. See Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Parker, and his Annals.----This year alſo, on December 30, died the learned Roger Aſcham, who was for ſome time tutor to queen Elizabeth, and her ſecretary for the Latin tongue. Camden, p. 416.

Camden.

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[s] Particularly ſir Nicholas Throckmorton. Camden, p. 417.

But the queen being too quick-ſighted not to ſee into their aim and the motive of their plot, commanded them ſilence in ſuch a manner, as deſtroyed all their hopes of ſucceſs either then or for the future. We ſhall ſee preſently with what view they projected to deprive the queen of this miniſter.

The queen ſupports her miniſter.

The ſudden quarrel between the queen and the king of Spain, obliging the Engliſh merchants to ſend their effects to Hamburgh, the duke of Alva prohibited all commerce with England. Then he appointed certain ſpies in all the ſea-ports, to give him information of thoſe that acted contrary to the prohibition. Of [illegible] number was one Story an Engliſh Roman catholick, who was very buſy in diſcovering the private trade ſtill driven by ſeveral perſons with the Engliſh, notwithſtanding the prohibition: but his diligence coſt him dear[t]. Some time after, being drawn on board a veſſel, which he was told had brought over Engliſh goods and heretical books, he was carried to England, where he languiſhed in priſon ſome years, and at laſt was condemned to die.

Story an Engliſhman is carried away by force from the Low-Countries. Camden. Strype's Ann.

The Engliſh merchants met with no better treatment in Spain than in the Netherlands. Philip ordered all their effects to be ſeized, by way of repriſals for the money ſtopped in England. But this did not ſatisfy him. To be more fully revenged of Elizabeth, he endeavoured to bribe the duke of Norfolk to raiſe a rebellion in England, and the earl of Ormond to do the ſame in Ireland; but theſe two lords diſcovered it to the queen. On the other hand, though there was no war proclaimed between England and Spain, the Engliſh, on pretence of the injury done to their countrymen, fell upon all the merchant-ſhips belonging to the Spaniards. They did ſo much damage to Philip's ſubjects, by theſe continual cruiſings, that the queen, fearing to be involved in a formal war, was forced to reſtrain them by proclamation.

A ſort of war between England and Spain. Camden.

Whilſt the Engliſh trade ſuffered in Spain and the Netherlands, it was like to be quite loſt in Muſcovy, by the avarice of the Engliſh merchants, who had angered the czar. But the queen ſpeedily ſent thither ſir Thomas Randolph, who ſo managed the czar, that he obtained divers privileges for the Ruſſia company[u]. Shortly after, the czar ſent an ambaſſador to

Elizabeth makes an alliance with the czar. Camden.

Aug. 27. Stow. Hollingſh.

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[t] He had practiſed with one Beſtall, a conjurer, againſt the queen's life, and had given the duke of Alva directions how to invade England. Camden.

[u] The czar granted them an exemption from all cuſtoms, with leave to vend their manufactures through his whole dominions, and to tranſport them into Perſia and Media by the Caſpian ſea, the merchants of other nations being not permitted to trade beyond Moſcow. And now did the Engliſh venture to tranſport their goods in boats made of one entire tree, up the river Dwina,

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to the queen, to offer a perſonal alliance. Tho' it was no great honour to be allied with a prince ſo notorious for his cruelties, ſhe thought proper however, for the benefit of her ſubjects, to make a treaty with him, mutually promiſing to afford one another refuge, in caſe either ſhould be dethroned.

Project of a marriage between the duke of Norfolk and the queen of Scots. Camden. Leſley's Negotiat. Buchanan.

Whilſt Elizabeth was treating with the Ruſſian ambaſſador, plots were forming in England, which might have proved fatal to her, had they not been prevented. Some of the queen of Scots chief friends, the ſame who would have deſtroyed Cecil, had projected to marry her [illegible] the duke of Norfolk. The earl of Leiceſter himſelf was [illegible] the plot; but in all appearance, it was only to be let into the ſecret, and diſcover every thing to the queen. It is hardly to be doubted, that they who undertook this affair, were ſet to work by the duke of Norfolk himſelf, tho' he let his friends proceed, without appearing in it himſelf. The occaſion or pretence of the project was this: 'twas ſaid, Elizabeth intending never to marry, the queen of Scotland might happen to eſpouſe a foreign prince and a papiſt, in which caſe the proteſtant religion would be liable to great danger, ſince it was not impoſſible that the young king her ſon ſhould die before her. It was therefore neceſſary to think betimes of marrying Mary to a proteſtant huſband, that ſhe might be reſtrained, in caſe ſhe ſhould attempt any thing againſt religion, when ſhe came to the crown of England. It was ſaid further, no Engliſh lord was more worthy of this honour than the duke of Norfolk, who was a ſincere proteſtant. But to curb the duke's ambition, in caſe he ſhould think of carrying it too far, it was reſolved he ſhould give his daughter in marriage to the king of Scotland, that he might be concerned in the young prince's preſervation. Such was the project, which did not ſeem to have any thing criminal, eſpecially as it was agreed, it ſhould not be executed without the queen's approbation. But very probably, the managers of this affair had farther views. For, if they intended only the good and welfare of the kingdom, why did they deſire to hide their deſigns from the queen, till they had ſo well taken their meaſures, that it ſhould be impoſſible for

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Dwina, as far as Wologda. From thence in ſeven days by land to Yeraſtaw, and then thirty days and nights down the river to Aſtracan, by the Wolga, where they uſed to build their ſhips. From Aſtracan, they croſſed the Caſpian ſea, and made their way through the vaſt deſerts of Hyrcania and Bactriania, to Teverin and Caſbin, cities of Perſia, in hopes at length to diſcover Cathay. But by reaſon of the war between the Turks and Perſians, and the robberies committed by the Barbarians, the Londoners were diſcouraged from purſuing this glorious enterprize. Camden, p. 417, 418.

her to hinder the execution? But however, without ſtaying to examine whether it was the earl of Murray that firſt inſpired the duke of Norfolk with the thoughts of this marriage, as Camden affirms contrary to all appearance[w], the queen of Scots was informed of the project by the biſhop of Roſs, who was very diligent in all her concerns. At the ſame time, ſhe was promiſed to be reſtored to the throne of Scotland, and declared preſumptive heir to Elizabeth, on the following terms.

p. 419. Leſley's Negotiat.

That as to the ſucceſſion to the crown of England, ſhe ſhould attempt nothing [illegible] prejudice of queen Elizabeth and her iſſue.

That ſhe ſhould conſent to a league offenſive and defenſive between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland.

That ſhe ſhould confirm the eſtabliſhment of the proteſtant religion in Scotland.

That ſhe ſhould pardon ſuch of her ſubjects as had acted or appeared in arms againſt her.

That ſhe ſhould revoke the aſſignment of her right to the kingdom of England, which ſhe had made to the duke of Anjou, the king of France's brother.

That ſhe ſhould marry the duke of Norfolk.

Terms of the marriage. Camden, p. 420.

Mary very readily accepted the offer with the conditions annexed, all but the league, which ſhe ſcrupled at a little, becauſe ſhe was willing, before ſhe entered into it, to conſult the French king. She denied ſhe had made any aſſignment to the duke of Anjou, and yet offered to procure his renunciation, if required, for the greater ſecurity.

Camden.

It is eaſy to perceive, the propoſers of theſe terms had taken great care to ſcreen themſelves from the law, ſince they ſeemed very juſt in themſelves, and advantageous to both kingdoms. But they ſuppoſed the reſtoration of Mary to the throne of Scotland, and her nomination to ſucceed to the crown of England. This was to be done firſt, and then the execution of what ſhe promiſed on her part, was left to her honour. It was in this the artifice conſiſted.

As ſoon as Mary's conſent was gained, ſeveral lords and gentlemen were ſounded, who not perceiving the venom of

The project is carried on. Camden.

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[w] Melvil ſeems to ſay the duke mentioned it firſt, p. 98.--But Leſley affirms, that the earl of Murray firſt ſet it on foot, or at leaſt promoted it ſtrenuouſly. By comparing Camden with Leſley's Negotiations, it plainly appears, that what the former relates about Mary queen of Scots, is moſtly taken from the latter. See Leſley's Negotiat. p. 34, &c.

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the project, approved it, but with this proviſo, that nothing ſhould be done without the queen's conſent.... It was alſo communicated to the kings of France and Spain, who were very well pleaſed with it, though it be evident, they would have had no reaſon to be ſo, if they had believed the conditions would be punctually performed. The proceedings of thoſe who had framed ſuch a project, without conſulting the queen, plainly ſhew, their deſign was to put the affair in ſuch a ſtate, that it ſhould not be in her power to hinder the execution, when propoſed to her. The duke of Norfolk thought himſelf ſo ſecure of ſucceſs, that the earl of Northumberland having acquainted him that Leonard Dacres intended to carry away the queen of Scots [x], he deſired the earl to hinder it, being apprehenſive ſhe would be conducted into Spain.

Elizabeth is informed of it. Camden.

This affair paſſing through ſo many hands, and being hardly any longer a ſecret, the duke of Norfolk juſtly feared the queen would be offended that ſhe was not informed of it, and therefore, not to incenſe her more, he deſired the earl of Leiceſter to ſpeak of it to her. Leiceſter promiſed to do it the firſt opportunity, and yet delayed it from day to day, ſo that all knew it, except the queen, who, it is likely, feigned ignorance. However, ſhe was willing to give the duke occaſion to diſcloſe his ſecret, by telling him one day [y], "to beware upon what pillow he laid his head;" but he pretended not to underſtand what ſhe meant, chuſing rather that the earl of Leiceſter ſhould ſpeak to her firſt, becauſe he thought him his friend [z]. But it is ſaid, the earl had acted in this affair only to ruin him, becauſe he conſidered him as a dangerous rival in the queen's favour. However, the court being at Titchfield, the earl of Leiceſter feigns himſelf very ill, and the queen going to ſee him, he ſhowed ſigns of fear and trouble, which ſhe eaſily perceiving, aſked him the reaſon. Then begging her pardon, for having ſo long concealed from her a ſecret which he ought to have told her, he diſcovered all that had paſſed concerning the duke of Norfolk's marriage with the queen of Scots. After which, the queen called the duke into a gallery, and taxing him with imprudence and raſhneſs for attempting the marriage, without vouchſafing to impart his deſign to her, commanded him to deſiſt from the project.

She commands the duke not to think of the marriage. Camden.

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[x] She was then in confinement at Whinfield in Derbyſhire, in the cuſtody of the earl of Shrewſbury. Camden, p. 420.---Where it ſeems ſhe uſed to bathe herſelf in wine. See Strype's Ann. tom. i. p. 575.

[y] At Farnham in Surrey, where ſhe was on her progreſs. Camden, p. 420.

[z] Cecil, who was told all by Leiceſter, adviſed the duke to ſpeak to the queen himſelf. Camden, p. 420.

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He promiſes to deſiſt.

project. The duke owned ſuch a propoſal had been made to him, and he had conſented to it; but ſhowed himſelf ſo regardleſs of it, that he told the queen, his revenues were not much leſs than thoſe of the whole kingdom of Scotland, drained by civil wars; and that when he was at his tennis court in Norwich, he thought himſelf as good as ſome kings. In ſhort, he promiſed the queen to think no more of the marriage. Mean while, as afterwards he perceived ſhe did not look upon him with the ſame eye as before, that the earl of Leiceſter was againſt him, and the courtiers ſhunned him, he withdrew from court, without taking his leave of the queen, and came to London. The ſame day the biſhop of Roſs [a], ſuing for the enlargement of the queen of Scots, Elizabeth in great diſguſt, told him, that his miſtreſs had nothing to do but to reſt ſatisfied, unleſs ſhe had a mind to ſee thoſe, on whom ſhe moſt relied, ſhorter by the head.

Camden.

He returns thither again.

He is ſent to the Tower, Octob. 11. Camden. Stow. Hollingſh.

His accomplices are diſgraced.

This affair being entirely divulged, the queen endeavoured by all ways to get information of ſuch particulars as might have eſcaped the earl of Leiceſter's knowledge. As ſhe knew the duke had frequent conferences with the earl of Murray, ſhe ſent ſir George Carey [b] into Scotland, to deſire him to acquaint her with what he knew of the matter. Mean while the duke being privately warned by a meſſage from the earl of Leiceſter, that a reſolution was taken to ſend him to the Tower, retired into Norfolk. But repenting of this haſty ſtep, which might render him ſuſpected, he returns to court, after writing to the queen to beg her pardon, and to his friends, to intreat them to ſpeak to the queen in his behalf. Some days after, the queen received letters from Scotland [c], informing her of ſome things which had not come to her knowledge, and which made her ſign a warrant to ſend the duke of Norfolk to the Tower. Then the biſhop of Roſs, who acted as the queen of Scots ambaſſador, was examined, and Ridolfi the Florentine was delivered to the cuſtody of ſir Francis Walſingham.' The lord Lumley was arreſted, the earl of Pembroke was confined to his own houſe, and all the reſt who were concerned in the project of the duke of Norfolk's marriage, were baniſhed the court, except the earl of Leiceſter. The earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland made their ſubmiſſion to the earl of Suſſex, lord preſident of the north. All theſe lords endeavoured to excuſe themſelves, by declaring they had approved the project of the duke's marriage, on the expreſs condition it ſhould not be conſummated without the queen's conſent.

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[a] Camden ſays, it was the Spaniſh ambaſſador, p. 420.

[b] The lord Hunſdon's ſon.

[c] Brought by the abbot of Dunfermling; wherein ſhe received information, that the duke had been practiſing with the earl of Murray at Hampton court, to favour and aſſiſt his marriage, &c. See Camden, p. 321.

Conſpiracy and rebellion in the north. Camden. Stow. Hollingſh. Strype's Ann.

Elizabeth did not think fit to publiſh all ſhe knew of this affair, wherein the prime lords of the kingdom were concerned. Beſides, ſhe had received, ſome time ſince, advice of a conſpiracy ready to break out, and conſequently it might be very dangerous to uſe too great a ſeverity at ſuch a juncture. The earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, both very powerful in the north, had held together ſeveral conferences, of which the queen had no[illegible] and which cauſed her to order them to repair to court. They made ſome dilatory excuſes, but the queen ſent them a more expreſs order, to put them under a neceſſity of relinquiſhing their enterprize, or engaging in an open rebellion, before they had taken proper meaſures. This ſecond order produced the effect ſhe expected. The two earls knowing themſelves guilty, and not daring to truſt to the queen's mercy, took up arms and drew ſome forces together [d].

The rebels publiſh a manifeſto. Camden. Strype's Ann. Thuanus.

The rebels deſign was to free the queen of Scots, though they mentioned her not in their manifeſto. They ſaid only, their intent was, 'To reſtore the religion of their forefathers, 'remove evil counſellors from the queen, and cauſe juſtice 'to be done to the duke of Norfolk, and the other lords 'now in priſon, or under diſgrace.' At the ſame time they writ circular letters to the catholicks, inviting them to come and join with them, But moſt ſent the letters they received to the queen [e], whether they were not willing to diſturb the peace of the realm, or were diſcouraged by the duke of Norfolk's impriſonment. Mean while, the rebels coming to Durham, burn all the Engliſh Bibles and Common-Prayer books, and openly ſay maſs. Then they marched to Clifford moor, where they took a muſter, and found their army amounted to four thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe. Their chief deſign was to free the queen of Scots, in order to ſet her at their head; but upon the firſt news of this rebellion, ſhe was conveyed to Coventry [f], a ſtrong city in the middle of the kingdom, not to be taken without a formal ſiege, for

Stow. Hollingſh.

Mary is removed to Coventry. Camden. Leſley's Negotiations.

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[d] One Nicholas Morton, a prieſt, was the great incendiary, who had been ſent from the pope to pronounce queen Elizabeth an heretick; and therefore to have forfeited her right to her crown and kingdom. Camden, p. 422.

[e] With the bearers thereof. Camden, p. 422.

[f] And committed to the cuſtody of the earls of Shrewſbury and Huntington. Ibid.

which the rebels were by no means prepared. Beſides, in marching thither, they would have gone into a country where the inhabitants were not their friends.

[illegible]ean time, forces were levying for the queen in ſeveral parts. The earl of Suſſex had now ſeven thouſand men [g], the lord Clinton was at the head of twelve thouſand, and the earl of Cumberland, with the lord Scroop, were near Carliſle with a good body of troops, beſides the garriſon which they had thrown into that city. So the rebels, finding their number not increaſe, thought proper to retire to the borders of the north [h], where they took Bernard caſtle, but preſently after fearing to be ſurrounded, diſperſed themſelves. The earl of Northumberland concealed himſelf at Harclaw in Scotland [i]. The earl of Weſtmoreland eſcaped into the Netherlands, where he ſpent the reſidue of his days, living upon a ſlender penſion allowed him by the king of Spain. The rebels being thus diſperſed, ſome were hanged for an example [k]. Forty others, who were fled out of the kingdom, were convicted of high treaſon and outlawed, and their ſentence was confirmed by the next parliament. Of this number were, Charles Nevil earl of Weſtmoreland, Thomas Percy earl of Northumberland with his counteſs, and Egremond Ratcliff brother to the earl of Suſſex [l]. The queen pardoned the reſt, who did not fly out of the land. Some time before this rebellion, the duke of Alva ſent to the queen Ciapine Vitelli, a famous captain, to demand the money which had been ſtopped. But his commiſſion was ſo limited, that he was forced to write to the duke of Alva for a more ample power. The real deſign of this embaſſy was to have in England an experienced leader to command the rebels, and the forces the duke of Alva was to ſend over. Lamothe governor of Dunkirk, diſguiſed like a ſailor, had already ſounded the ports, as he himſelf confeſſed afterwards. But the queen broke all theſe meaſures by compelling the two heads of the rebels to take up arms ſooner than they had reſolved.

The rebels diſperſe themſelves, and the earls fly away.
Camden.
Stow.
Hollingſh.
Leſley's Negotiat.

Some are puniſhed.
Camden.
Thuanus.

Others pardoned.
Camden.
Thuanus.

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[g] And was accompanied with Edward earl of Rutland his lieutenant, the lords Hunſdon, Evers, and Willoughby of Parham. Camden, p. 422.

[h] Firſt to Raby, the chief ſeat of the earl of Weſtmoreland, and then to Hexham, and Naworth caſtle. Ibid.

[i] The occaſion of his revolt was, a ſuppoſed wrong done him by the queen, in granting away from him a rich copper mine, found upon his eſtate. Ibid.

[k] Threeſcore and ſix were executed at Durham, and ſeveral at York and London. Ibid. p. 423.

[l] As alſo Edward Dacres of Morton, John Nevil of Leverſege, J. Swinborne, Thomas Markenfeld, Chriſtopher Nevil, Richard, Chriſtopher, Marmaduke, and Thomas Norton, Robert and Michael Tempeſt, George Stafford, and about forty more of noble extraction. Ibid.

This

Dacres's rebellion. Camden. Stow. Hollingſh.

This rebellion was quickly followed by another, of which Leonard Dacres, a gentleman of the north [m], was the head. He had ſome buſineſs at court, which he was ſolliciting when the firſt rebellion broke out. Upon the news, he went [illegible] offered his ſervice to the queen, who accepted it, becauſe ſhe knew he had a great intereſt in the northern parts. Having received a commiſſion from the queen to raiſe forces, he ſent to the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, that the troops he ſhould raiſe by virtue of his commiſſion ſhould be at their ſervice. He even put them in hopes of foreign ſuccours, as certain ambaſſadors at London had aſſured him. His chief deſign was to carry away the queen of Scots; but he was diſappointed by her being ſent to Coventry. So, finding himſelf at the head of three thouſand men, after taking ſome caſtles [n], he reſolved to expect the lord Hunſdon, who was marching towards him with the garriſon of Berwick [o]. The battle was fought near the little river Gelt. Dacres behaved very gallantly, but being vanquiſhed, fled into Flanders, where he died. The queen pardoned all his followers.

He is defeated, and flies into Flanders, February 22. Hollingſh.

Commotions in Ireland. Camden. Thuanus.

At the ſame time there were commotions in Ireland, in which it appeared the king of Spain was concerned, ſince he had diſpatched thither Juan Mendoza, an officer, to foment them. But they were eaſily allayed [p].

The duke of Norfolk remains in priſon.

It is uncertain whether the duke of Norfolk was concerned in the late rebellion in England. Several circumſtances made againſt him. Firſt, as moſt inſurrections neceſſarily require ſome preparations, it might be thought the rebels were getting ready at the very time the duke of Norfolk and his friends were preparing every thing to obtain the queen's conſent to the projected marriage. In this expectation, he had hindered Dacres from attempting to free the queen of Scots, as he had intended. Secondly, all the motions of the rebels tended to Mary's deliverance, and moſt of her friends were diſcouraged when they heard the duke of Norfolk was in the Tower.

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[m] Second ſon to William lord Dacres of Gilleſland. The cauſe of his diſguſt was this: his brother's ſon dying young (on May 17, this year. Stow, p. 663.) a great eſtate fell to his nieces, who were contracted, by the duke of Norfolk their father-in-law, to two of his ſons. He entered a ſuit againſt his nieces, and the cauſe going againſt him, he fell to plotting, and attempted to reſcue the queen of Scots, though in vain. Camden, p. 423.

[n] Greyſtock, Naworth, and other caſtles. Ibid.

[o] Which conſiſted only of fifteen hundred horſe and foot. Hollingſhead, p. 1213.

[p] They were raiſed by Edmund and Peter Botelers, brothers of the earl of Ormond, who, being ſent over, perſuaded his brothers to lay down their arms. Camden, p. 423.

Laſtly, the rebels themſelves ſaid in their manifeſto, they had taken up arms to releaſe him. But, on the other hand, it is certain this lord was never called to an account, and the queen [illegible] contented with keeping him in priſon till September the next year. Hence, it ſeems, it may be inferred, there was no proof againſt him. But perhaps the queen did not think it adviſeable to let the people know the firſt lords of the realm were concerned in the conſpiracy.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Anderſon's Collect. tom. ii. part 2. p. 196. Spotiſwood. Thuanus.

I left, about the end of the laſt year, the earl of Murray in England, where he had acted ſeveral and very oppoſite parts. Upon his arrival in Scotland, he aſſembled all the lords of the king's party at Stirling [q], to communicate what he had done in England, and his conduct was approved.

The duke of Chatelerault was come from France to London, a little before the earl of Murray's departure. He forthwith demanded queen Elizabeth's aid and protection to obtain the regency of Scotland, being the young king's neareſt relation. But the queen knew her intereſt too well to fall into ſuch a ſnare, and to favour a lord, whoſe conduct had ever been very equivocal, and who, in all appearance, had not imbibed at the court of France favourable notions of the king's party. The duke not being able to obtain his deſire, let the earl of Murray depart, and came not to Scotland till ſome time after him. He brought a patent from queen Mary, wherein it appeared, that, by a new and unheard-of right, ſhe had adopted him for her father, and, as ſuch, committed to him the regency of the kingdom. The earl of Murray, hearing the duke aſſumed the title of regent in virtue of this patent, immediately aſſembled an army to compel him to ſubmit to the government, reſolving no other authority but the king's ſhould be acknowledged in Scotland. Since the queen's defeat and flight, her party was grown ſo weak, that the duke of Chatelerault was unable to reſiſt. All his dependance was upon the good ſucceſs of the project which was then forming in favour of the duke of Norfolk, after which he did not queſtion to gain the advantage of the earl of Murray. But as it was not in his power to haſten the execution of the project in England, he was forced to confine himſelf to the endeavouring to gain time by propoſing an agreement. He plainly perceived the way of arms could not be ſucceſsful in his preſent circumſtances. He ſet therefore his friends to talk with the regent, and it was agreed, he ſhould come to Glaſgow, acknowledge the king's authority, and renounce the queen's; for which ſome advantages he had required were granted him. Notwithſtanding the agreement, he raiſed freſh difficulties to attain his end. But the regent, not being ſatisfied with all his evaſions, began to march with his army to attack him. Then the duke having no other refuge, was conſtrained to go to the regent with the lord Herris. A few days after, the regent having aſſembled at Glaſcow the lords of the king's party, it was reſolved that a proclamation ſhould be publiſhed, offering to all who had hitherto refuſed to own the king's authority, to receive their ſubmiſſions and reſtore them to the enjoyment of their lands. But the earls of Argyle and Huntley would not accept of theſe terms, being extremely diſpleaſed at the duke of Chatcleraut's putting himſelf into the hands of the earl of Murray. At the ſame time, queen Mary writ letter upon letter to her friends, exhorting them to ſtand firm, and giving them hopes of a ſpeedy and happy revolution in her affairs. She was then in expectation of the ſucceſs of the projects concerning her marriage with the duke of Norfolk.

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[q] On February 12. Anderſon, tom. iv. p. 196.

The regent's proclamation not meeting with the expected ſucceſs, and no one appearing to accept the offered favour, he departed for Edinburgh, carrying with him the duke of Chateleraut and the lord Herris. He had delayed thus long to preſs them to make their ſubmiſſion to the king, becauſe he was deſirous it might be a general affair. But at laſt, finding the queen's friends were in no haſte to make their ſubmiſſion, he reſolved to incite them by the duke of Chateleraut's example, who was the head of the party, and ſummoned him to perform the agreement made at Glaſcow. The duke ſeeing himſelf preſſed, ſought excuſes, ſaying he did not mean to treat for himſelf alone but for the queen's whole party, and therefore could do nothing without the concurrence of the other lords and the queen's approbation. Whereupon the regent aſking him what he intended to do if the queen approved not the agreement of Glaſcow? He replied, that he believed himſelf bound to nothing. The circumſtances of the duke of Norfolk's plot, the ſucceſs whereof he expected every moment, made him think it not very dangerous to talk thus. However, the regent finding himſelf thus amuſed, ſent him and the lord Herris priſoners to the caſtle.

The duke of Chateleraut ſent to priſon

Buchanan.
Spotiſwood.
Camden, p. 418.
Leſley's Negotiat.

This is Buchanan's account of the occaſion of the duke of Chateleraut's impriſonment, an account which the circumſtances of affairs renders very probable. But Camden and his followers have been pleaſed to ſay only, the regent having ſummoned at Edinburgh the lords of both parties to labour an agreement, the duke of Chateleraut and the lord Herris firſt repaired thither, and were ordered to priſon. In this manner has Camden maimed and disfigured the Hiſtory of Scotland, to give ſome colour to his invectives againſt the earl of Murray. I am going to relate another inſtance, either of his prejudice or unfaithfulneſs. I have reſerved it till now, though it be not its proper place, becauſe it would have been impoſſible to convince the reader of my aſſertion, if he was not firſt informed of what has been ſaid concerning the affairs of the queen of Scots; I hope I ſhall be pardoned this ſort of digreſſion.

Camden, after a very brief account of the murder of king Henry Darnly in the year 1567, and an inſinuation that the earl of Murray was the real author of it, ſays, that Murray earneſtly preſſed the queen to marry the earl of Bothwell, to which ſhe conſented at laſt, after much difficulty. Then he immediately adds,

"I ſhall willingly inſert here what George earl of Huntley "and the earl of Argyle, who were the principal lords of "Scotland, proteſted ſoon after, as I have taken it from an "original ſigned with their own hands, which they ſent to "queen Elizabeth."

Camden, p. 404.

'Foraſmuch as the earl of Murray and others, to colour 'their rebellion againſt the queen, whoſe authority they uſurp, 'do openly ſlander her, as guilty of the murder of her huſ'band; we do publickly proteſt and witneſs theſe things fol'lowing. In the month of December [1], 1566, when the queen 'was at Craigmillar, Murray and Lidington acknowledged 'before us, that Morton, Lindſay and Ruthven ſlew David 'Rizzo, with no other intent than to ſave Murray, who was 'at that very time to be proſcribed. 'Therefore, that they 'might not appear ungrateful, they greatly deſired, that Mor'ton and the reſt who were baniſhed for Rizzo's murder, might 'be recalled. But this they ſaid could not be done, unleſs the 'queen were divorced from her huſband, which they pro'miſed to accompliſh, would we but give our conſent. After'wards Murray promiſed to me [Huntley] that my antient in'heritance ſhould be reſtored to me, and I ſhould be an ever'laſting favourite with the exiles, if I would but countenance 'the divorce. Then we applied to Bothwell for his conſent

Anderſon's Collect. tom. iv. part 2. p. 188.

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[1] Or thereabouts, in the copy in Anderſon, tom. iv. p. 188. Camden has very much contracted or curtailed this proteſtation.

alſo.

Eliz. 1569.

‘ alſo. And laſtly, we came to the queen; and Lidington, ‘ in the name of us all, earneſtly intreated her to reverſe the ‘ baniſhment of Morton, Lindſay, and Ruthven. The king's ‘ faults and offences againſt the queen and the realm, he aggravated with very great bitterneſs; and showed how much it ‘ concerned the queen and ſtate, that the divorce ſhould be ‘ made out of hand, it being impoſſible for the king and queen ‘ to live together in Scotland with ſafety. She anſwered, ſhe ‘ had rather withdraw for a time into France, till her huſband ſhould be ſenſible of the errors of his youth, being unwilling any thing ſhould be done to her ſon's prejudice, or her ‘ own diſhonour. To this Lidington replied, We who are of ‘ your council will look to that. But I command you, ſays ſhe, ‘ to do nothing that may blemiſh my honour, or offend my ‘ conſcience. Let the thing remain as it is, till God pleaſes ‘ to provide a remedy from above: that which you imagine ‘ will be for my good, may, I fear, turn to my heart. To ‘ which Lidington ſaid, Pleaſe to leave matters to us, and you ‘ ſhall find nothing will be done but what is juſt, and what ‘ the parliament will approve of. A few days after, the king ‘ happening to be murdered in an execrable manner, we do ‘ from the inward teſtimonies of our conſciences, hold it for ‘ certain, that Murray and Lidington were the authors, contrivers, and abettors of this regicide, whoever were the ‘ actors.’

This proteſtation, as may be eaſily obſerved, ſquares exactly with Camden's deſign in his Annals of queen Elizabeth, namely, to clear the queen of Scots from the crime of murdering the king her huſband, and to accuſe the earl of Murray. But withal, it is directly contrary to the teſtimony of Melvil, an eye-witneſs, who, in his Memoirs, ſays not a ſingle word which can give occaſion to ſuſpect the earl of Murray was thought guilty of the murder. If this proteſtation therefore be true, Melvil's Memoirs muſt be only a heap of fables, which no man of ſenſe will ever believe. But to ſhow that this writing is counterfeit, it will be proper to examine it particularly, and make ſome remarks which will diſcover the forgery.

Camden begins with ſaying: ‘ I ſhall willingly inſert here what George earl of Huntley, and the earl of Murray, who were the principal lords of Scotland, proteſted ſoon after.’

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This ſoon after muſt have been two whole years at leaſt, as I ſhall demonſtrate hereafter.

'As I have taken it from an original ſigned with their own hands.'

Camden has not ſet theſe two lords hands to the writing, it may be, becauſe he did not know in what order they were to be placed. In a certificate however, one would think the ſignature is a material thing[s].

'Which they ſent to queen Elizabeth.'

Suppoſing the truth of this proteſtation, it could not be ſent to queen Elizabeth till the latter end of the year 1568, at the very ſooneſt, when the earl of Murray went to York to accuſe the queen before the Engliſh commiſſioners. This remark diſcovers Camden's artifice, who deſignedly neglecting to date the writing, places it in his Annals the beginning of the year 1567, immediately after the king's murder, as if at that very time Murray had been accuſed of killing that prince; whereas it was not till after the queen's flight into England, that ſhe thought of caſting the crime upon him. It was not therefore out of pure negligence that Camden avoided dating the proteſtation.

'Foraſmuch as the earl of Murray and others, to colour 'their rebellion againſt the queen, whoſe authority they uſurp, 'do openly ſlander her as guilty of the murder of her huſ'band.'

The earl of Murray cannot be ſaid to uſurp the queen's authority till after he was declared regent, or the queen to accuſe him publickly of killing the king, till the York conference, or rather till that of Hampton court, that is, in October of November 1568. Now at that time the two factions were both formed. Murray was head of the one, and Huntley of the other. So, ſuppoſing this writing not to be forged, what opinion can a man have of the atteſtation of one ſworn enemy againſt another? As to the earl of Argyle, Buchanan affirms, he was retired a little before to his own houſe; ſo that it is not probable he ſhould join with the earl of Huntley to frame this certificate at the time it muſt be ſuppoſed to be drawn. If it was dated, we might ſpeak of it with more certainty.

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[s] This proteſtation is in Mr. Anderſon's Collections, tom. iv. part 2. p. 188, &c. but it is taken from a copy, without either hands or date. — However, it is to be obſerved, that in the ſame collection there follows an anſwer of the earl of Murray's, to the aforeſaid proteſtation, wherein he ſays, "In "caſe any man will ſay and affirm, that "ever I was preſent when any purpoſes "were holden at Craigmillar in my au"dience, tending to any unlawful or "diſhonourable end; or that ever I ſub"ſcribed any band there, or that any "purpoſe was holden about the ſub"ſcribing of any band by me to my "knowledge, I avow they ſpeak wick"edly and untruly; which I will main"tain againſt them as becomes an honeſt "man, to the end of my life; only "thus far the ſubſcription of bands by "me is true. That indeed I ſubſcribed "a band with the earls of Huntley, Ar"gyle, and Bothwell, at the beginning "of October, in the year 1566, which "was deviſed in ſign of our reconcilia"tion, in reſpect of the former grudges "and diſpleaſures that had been among "us: whereunto I was conſtrained to "make promiſe before I could be ad"mitted to the queen's preſence, or "have any ſhew of her favour, and there "was never any other band, made or "ſubſcribed, nor yet propoſed to me in "any wiſe, before the murther of the "late king." Anderſon, ibid. p. 194, 195.

'We do openly proteſt and witneſs theſe things following.

'In the month of December 1566.'

This way of beginning argues it was now ſome time ſince the things they are going to mention were tranſacted.

'When the queen was at Craigmillar, Murray and Lidington acknowledged before us, that Morton, Lindſay, and Ruthven ſlew David Rizzo, with no other intent than to ſave Murray, who was at that very time to be proſcribed.'

I have already made appear by the teſtimony of Melvil, that the earl of Murray, far from owning that Rizzo was killed on his account, would not join with the party of the murderers, but remained conſtantly attached to the queen. Beſides, the earl of Argyle, author of this proteſtation, was then a fugitive as well as Murray, and was no leſs to be condemned than he. And yet he ſpeaks here of this affair, as if he were a ſtranger to it, though he was the moſt conſiderable of thoſe who were to be baniſhed; and though Melvil affirms, it was for his and the others ſake, who had taken up arms againſt the queen, Murray excepted, that Rizzo was murdered.

'Therefore, that they might not appear ungrateful, they greatly deſired that Morton, and the reſt who were baniſhed for Rizzo's murder, might be recalled.'

What has Lidington to do here, when he was never concerned in Rizzo's affair? and wherein conſiſted his ingratitude, if the exiles were not recalled?

'But this, they ſaid, could not be done unleſs the queen were divorced from her huſband.'

Rizzo was killed by the king's order, and in his preſence, and ſolely, according to the author of the proteſtation, to ſave the earl of Murray. The point was to get the murderers recalled, who had been baniſhed for this murder committed by the king's' order, and theſe exiles cannot be recalled by the queen, the only perſon offended, unleſs ſhe is divorced from the king. Let this conſequence be well examined, and it will never be thought that the earls of Huntley and Argyle were ſo weak as to reaſon in ſo wretched a manner. In December 1566 [†], that is, about the time of the prince's baptiſm, the king was looked upon as a cypher, and expoſed to all ſorts of inſults from the queen.

'Which they promiſed to accompliſh, would we but give 'our conſent.'

At that time the earl of Murray had no credit at court. It was Bothwell that ruled all. I don't know how it ſtood then with Lidington. However, Murray and Lidington are repreſented here as the perſons that were to be the chief agents in accompliſhing the queen's divorce, and as wanting for that purpoſe only the bare conſent of the earls of Huntley and Argyle. This is by no means probable.

'Afterwards Murray promiſed to me [Huntley] that my 'antient inheritance ſhould be reſtored to me, and I ſhould 'be an everlaſting favourite with the exiles, if I would but 'countenance the divorce.'

The author of the proteſtation has confounded the times. Murray having then no power, could not make any ſuch promiſe to the earl of Huntley. None but Bothwell was able to make and perform it. Beſides, it is not likely the queen, when ſhe recalled the earl of Huntley, who was condemned to die, ſhould ſtill detain his antient inheritance which had been confiſcated.

'Then we applied to Bothwell for his conſent alſo.'

This confounds the whole hiſtory of Scotland. Murray and Lidington are made authors of the project of the queen's divorce, and the earl of Bothwell as one who is only to give his conſent; though it is certain he had then an abſolute ſway over the queen, who married him very ſoon after.

'And laſtly, we came to the queen, and Lidington, in the 'name of us all, earneſtly intreated her to reverſe the baniſhment 'of Morton, Lindſay, and Ruthven. The king's faults 'and offences againſt the queen and the realm, he aggravated 'with very great bitterneſs; and ſhowed how much it concerned 'the queen and ſtate, that the divorce ſhould be made 'out of hand, it being impoſſible for the king and queen to 'live together in Scotland with ſafety.'

Can it be conceived, that to induce the queen to pardon men who had killed her favourite in her preſence, and by the king her huſband's expreſs order, there ſhould be occaſion to aggravate the king's faults, and demonſtrate to the queen, that ſhe muſt be divorced from him?

[†] Rapin has it here and elſewhere September, which, I ſuppoſe, is a miſtake; for it is December in Camden, from whom he takes this proteſtation. King James was chriſtened December 15, 1566.

'She anſwered, ſhe had rather withdraw for a time into 'France, till her huſband ſhould be ſenſible of the errors of 'his youth, being unwilling any thing ſhould be done to her 'ſon's prejudice, or her own diſhonour.'

The author of this proteſtation repreſents the queen, in December 1566, as being under oppreſſion, and ſpeaking of retiring into France till the king ſhould be pleaſed to amend his errors. This ſuffices to ſhow that the whole is a forgery; for it is not likely the earls of Huntley and Argyle ſhould talk in this manner.

'To this Lidington replied, We who are of your council 'will look to that. But I command you, ſays ſhe, to do no'thing that may blemiſh my honour, or offend my conſcience. 'Let the thing remain as it is, till God pleaſes to provide a 'remedy from above: that which you imagine will be for my 'good, may, I fear, turn to my hurt.'

The artifice of theſe words which the queen is made to ſpeak, conſiſts in this: The queen having commanded all theſe lords to do nothing with reſpect to her divorce, Murray and Lidington found no other way to get the exiles recalled, but by cauſing the king to be murdered. As if the king alone was an invincible obſtacle to the recalling of the baniſhed lords, who killed Rizzo by his orders, and in his preſence. I confeſs this reaſoning appears to me incomprehenſible.

'A few days after, the king happening to be murdered in 'an execrable manner.'

What has been juſt related paſſed in December 1566, according to the proteſtation, and the king was killed in February 1567, that is, two months after. Now can it be ſuppoſed, that the earls of Huntley and Argyle could poſſibly be ſo miſtaken, as to call two months a few days?

'We do, from the inward teſtimonies of our conſciences, 'hold it for certain, that Murray and Lidington were the au'thors, contrivers, and abettors of this regicide.'

The inference the author of this paper would draw, that the earls of Murray and Lidington were the contrivers of the king's murder, from their having projected the queen's divorce, appearing to him without doubt liable to ſtrong objections, he ſeems to give it up in part, when he grounds it wholly upon the inward teſtimony of Huntley's and Argyle's conſciences.

'Whoever were the actors.'

It was notorious that Bothwell was the contriver of the king's murder, and Camden himſelf makes no ſcruple to own it, joining however the earl of Murray with him. But the author of the proteſtation durſt not name him, becauſe it was giving a ſenſible wound to the queen's honour, who within a few months married the murderer.

I ſhall only add one remark, which to me ſeems deciſive to demonſtrate the forgery of this paper. Lidington was never accuſed but in this writing only, of being concerned in king Henry's murder [u]. On the other hand, ſo far was he from being conſidered as an enemy to the queen, that he was rather very much ſuſpected by the young king's and the earl of Murray's party, and not without reaſon. What Melvil ſays of him, and of the occaſion of the York and Hampton-court conferences, is a clear evidence that he continued in the regent's party, only to have opportunities to ſerve the queen. Buchanan confirms Melvil's teſtimony, in a book, intitled, The Camelion, wherein he pretends to ſhow, that Lidington betrayed the young king's party, and in his hiſtory he drops many the like expreſſions againſt him. Now, how can it be thought, that the earls of Huntley and Argyle, heads of the queen's party, ſhould be ignorant that Lidington was privately labouring for them? If they knew it, 'tis by no means likely that at the very time when Lidington was at York or Hampton-court, and frequently conferring with the duke of Norfolk to hinder the earl of Murray from accuſing the queen, theſe two chiefs of the party ſhould publickly accuſe their ſecret friend of being author of the king's murder; eſpecially as there was not the leaſt ground for ſuch a charge. But very poſſibly, the author of the proteſtation was ignorant of Lidington's ſecret practices, and ſeeing him among thoſe who attended the regent at York, imagined he might ſafely join them together in the ſame accuſation.

But however, though this proteſtation be as true as it appears to be counterfeit, it cannot ſerve for proof to ſupport what Camden advances concerning the earl of Murray, becauſe it will be ſtill true, that it came from one of his moſt mortal enemies. I return to what paſſed in Scotland during the year 1569.

The regent has advice of Norfolk's deſigns.

Melvil, p. 100. Buchanan. Spotiſwood.

Shortly after the duke of Chatelerault's arreſt, the regent convened the chief of the nobility at Perth, to communicate

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[u] Here Rapin is miſtaken. Melvil expreſly ſays, "That captain Crawford "was directed to accuſe Lidington before the privy-council of Scotland of "the late king's murther, and being "accuſed of ſo odious a crime, he was "committed to ward," p. 100. The ſame is atteſted by Buchanan, l. 19. and Spotiſwood, p. 232. But Melvil obſerves, in the ſame page, that he and ſir James Balfour were wrongfully purſued, only by the malice and envy of their enemies for their offices.

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to them certain letters he had received, upon which it was neceſſary to conſult together. The firſt was from a friend in England [w]; to give him notice of the conſpiracy in favour of the duke of Norfolk to eſpouſe the queen of Scots, telling him withal, the conſpiracy was in ſuch a ſtate that all the forces of Great Britain were not capable of preventing its ſucceſs; and adviſing him therefore to think in time of his own affairs.

Mary deſires her marriage with Bothwell may be nulled. Buchanan. Spotiſwood.

The ſecond letter was from queen Mary, and directed to the ſtates of Scotland. It was to deſire, that the validity of her marriage with the earl of Bothwell might be examined, adding, if there appeared any eſſential defect in it, ſhe would very willingly conſent it ſhould be diſſolved. As Bothwell was ſtill alive in Denmark, it was neceſſary his marriage with the queen ſhould be annulled, before ſhe could eſpouſe the duke of Norfolk. For this reaſon ſhe wanted the ſtates of Scotland to get it diſſolved, pretending only to give her conſent to, though ſhe could not proceed without it.

Queen Elizabeth's demands to the ſtates of Scotland for Mary. Buchanan. Camden. Spotiſwood.

The third letter was from queen Elizabeth to the ſame ſtates, to demand one of theſe three things in favour of Mary. The firſt, "That ſhe ſhould be reſtored to the throne as "formerly." The ſecond, "That ſhe ſhould reign jointly "with the king her ſon." The third, "That ſhe might "live in Scotland, with ſuch honours as ſhould not be preju"dicial to the king's authority." Camden, who agrees in this with Buchanan, will have it, that theſe demands of Elizabeth are to be conſidered as the effect of her compaſſion for the queen of Scots. But where was the compaſſion, to propoſe to the ſtates three things ſo diſproportionate, and to leave the choice to them? She knew the two firſt would be rejected, and though the third ſhould be accepted, many difficulties would occur before it could be ſettled. Thus what Camden conſiders as an effect of Elizabeth's pity, was in truth only a conſequence of the project ſhe had formed to prolong the affair, under the ſpecious colour of favouring her priſoner.

No anſwer is ſent to Mary's letter. Buchanan.

The Scotch lords aſſembled at Perth, thought Mary's letter ought not to be anſwered, becauſe ſhe addreſſed to the ſtates as if ſhe was ſtill their queen, which they would not allow. She did what ſhe could to remove this difficulty; but all her endeavours ſerved only to confirm them the more in their reſolution. They were far from being willing to facilitate the queen's marriage with the duke of Norfolk, by cauſing

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[w] Sir Nicholas Throckmorton. Spotiſwood, p. 230.

Bothwell's to be nulled. Mary, who did not know they were ſo well acquainted with her ſecrets, complained very much of their ſcrupling to diſſolve a marriage, which had ſerved them for a cloke to take up arms againſt her. But her complaints were little regarded.

Anſwer of the Scotch lords to Elizabeth. Buchanan. Thuanus.

As to Elizabeth's demands, the lords reſolved to reject the two firſt, and accept the third, if Mary would be ſatisfied with it, and ſent their anſwer to the court of England by a young gentleman. But Elizabeth, who only ſought to gain time, writ to them, that ſhe deſired a perſon of more conſideration to be ſent to confer with her about ſo weighty an affair. For this reaſon the lords deputed Robert Pitcairn.

The regent orders Lidington to be arreſted; Melvil, p. 100. Buchanan. Spotiſwood.

Whilſt Pitcairn was on his way, the regent perceiving the queen's faction daily grew ſtronger, by the hopes which the duke of Norfolk's project gave the whole party, thought it neceſſary to ſecure Lidington's perſon. This lord, by feigning to be attached to the king's party, ſerved the queen to the utmoſt of his power, and as he was a man of great ſenſe and parts, did much more prejudice to the regent by outwardly embracing his ſide, than if he had openly declared for the queen. So, the regent having on ſome pretence drawn him to Sterling, ordered him to be apprehended, and ſent priſoner to Edinburgh[x]. But Kircaldie coming unexpectedly with part of the garriſon of the caſtle, reſcued him[y], promiſing to ſee him forth-coming when it ſhould be required. This notable proceeding rendered Kircaldie very ſuſpicious to the king's whole party[z].

who is reſcued by Kircaldie. Melvil. Buchanan.

Mean while, the duke of Norfolk being ſent to the Tower, without effecting any thing of his projects, all Mary's deſigns, as well in Scotland as England, vaniſhed into air. Shortly after, the earls of Huntley and Argyle were reconciled to the regent, and ſubmitted to the king's authority. By that the queen's faction was in a manner extinguiſhed for ſome time. This ſhows how much queen Mary and her adherents relied on the duke of Norfolk. I ſhall cloſe this year with

Mary's faction grows weak in Scotland. Buchanan.

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[x] He was accuſed of having had a hand in the late king's murder, as is obſerved above. Buchanan, lib. 19.

[y] He counterfeited a warrant under the regent's hand, by virtue of which the laird of Grange was delivered into his hands. Buchanan; and Spotiſwood, p. 232.

[z] Melvil ſays, Kircaldie reſcued Lidington, with the conſent of the king's party, which is not very likely. Melvil was an intimate friend and great admirer of the laird of Grange. Rapin.-- Melvil ſays, the regent ſent Grange word, the lords had forced him to take up Lidington againſt his will, and therefore Grange reſcued him, thinking, if he was arreſted againſt the regent's will, the regent would be glad of it. And if the regent were diſſatisfied at what he had done, it would be a certain token of his diſſimulation. Melvil's Mem. p. 101.

a brief account of what paſſed in France and the Netherlands.

Affairs of France. Mezerai. Thuanus. P. Daniel.

The war continued in France during the whole year 1569. On the 13th of March was fought the battle of Jarnac, wherein the prince of Condé was killed. D'Andelot the admiral's brother did not long ſurvive him. Some time after, the duke of Deuxponts led an army into France to the aſſiſtance of the Huguenots, but died there in June, leaving the command of the army to count Mansfeldt, who joined the admiral. With this reinforcement the admiral laid ſiege to Poictiers, but was forced to raiſe it in September. In October, the Huguenots loſt the battle of Moncontour. This defeat obliged the admiral to ſend for a ſpeedy aid from Elizabeth, who lent him money upon the queen of Navarre's jewels, which were ſent to her in pawn. She alſo permitted a company of a hundred gentlemen-volunteers to be raiſed, to ſerve in the army of the Huguenots [a]. The campain ended with the taking of St. Jean d'Angeli, which the king became maſter of before the end of October.

Camden.

Affairs of the Low-Countries. Grotius. Strada.

The duke of Alva ſtill continued his oppreſſions in the Netherlands. He had ſet up the inquiſition, and ordered the council of Trent to be received, as well as the new biſhops, whoſe juriſdiction had been hitherto rejected. The bloody council ſtill acted with fury. The privileges of the cities, univerſities, provinces, were delivered to the king's mercy. In a word, the duke of Alva ordered the hundredth part of the revenues to be paid to the king; after that, the twentieth part of the real, and the tenth of the perſonal eſtates, every time they were ſold. Some of the magiſtrates of the towns having the boldneſs to appeal to the king from theſe ordinances, were ſeverely puniſhed. In ſhort, theſe provinces being now conſidered by the Spaniards but as a conquered country, all were driven to deſpair [b].

1570. The earl of Northumberland is ſeized in Scotland. Buchanan. Camden. Leſley.

The beginning of the next year 1570, the earl of Murray having notice that the earl of Northumberland was concealed in Scotland, found means to ſeize him, and committed him to priſon at Lochlevin. Camden ſays, he offered to deliver this lord to Elizabeth, in exchange for the queen of Scots; but this is not likely. Mary was better guarded in England than ſhe could be in Scotland, and Murray was not ignorant of Elizabeth's reaſons never to releaſe her.

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[a] They were commanded by Henry Champernoon, with this motto on his colours, "*Finem det mihi virtus.*" Amongſt the volunteers was Walter Raleigh, a very young man, who now firſt began to be taken notice of. Camden, p. 423.

[b] This year, in September, died Edmund Boner, late biſhop of London, and was buried on September 8, in St. George's church-yard in Southwark. He is commonly reported to have been a baſtard; but Mr. Strype affirms, that he was aſſured in 1695, by the late baron Lechmere, that Boner was born at Hanley in Worceſterſhire, of one Boner, an honeſt poor man, in a houſe called Boner's Place to this day, a little cottage of about five pounds a year, purchaſed of biſhop Boner by the ſaid baron's great grandfather. See Strype's Ann. tom. i. p. 574, 575.

The earl of Murray is aſſaſſinated. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 102. Thuanus.

A few days after, Murray was ſhot through the body by one of the family of Hamilton, who pretended it to be only in revenge of a private injury. But it ſoon appeared to be by the direction of the queen's faction[c]. On the morrow, the Scots and the Carrs, great friends of the queen[d], entered England in arms, and deſtroyed the borders with fire and ſword. As they had no private reaſon to make this incurſion, it is eaſy to perceive, they were encouraged by the heads of the queen's faction, who were willing to try to give a new turn to affairs. Their ſcheme was this.

Some Scots ravage the Engliſh borders. Buchanan. Spotiſwood. Camden.

Motives of this invaſion. Buchanan. Thuanus.

The queen's faction was ruined, and without any likelihood of being ever able to riſe again, becauſe the earl of Murray could be always ſure of aſſiſtance from England in caſe of neceſſity. Wherefore the heads of that faction[e], who had ſubmitted to the king againſt their wills, formed new projects. They conſidered the ſtrict union between England

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[c] It was done by James Hamilton, nephew to the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, who, after the battle of Langſide, had been ſentenced to be hanged. But eſcaping, by ſurrendering his eſtate, which he endeavoured in vain to recover, he vowed revenge, which he accompliſhed at Linlithgow, on the 23d of January 1570, upon the regent, who was moſt innocent, and had reſtored him to liberty. The regent, it ſeems, was told of it, and yet would not be at the pains to ſearch the houſe. The murderer eſcaped into France, where, it is ſaid, he was offered a great reward to aſſaſſinate admiral Coligni, but refuſed to do it, ſaying, though he had, to his ſorrow, revenged his own juſt grievances, he would never commit murder for reward. Buchanan. Thuanus, lib. 46. Melvil, p. 103.---Thus fell the regent, "the good regent," as Melvil calls him, who adds, "for ſo he was, and "will ever deſervedly be called. He "was at firſt of a gentle nature, well "inclined, good, wiſe, and ſtout. In "his firſt upriſing, his hap was to light "upon the beſt ſort of company. He "was religiouſly educated, and devoutly "inclined." So that Buchanan relates, he cauſed always, after dinner and ſupper, a chapter of the Bible to be read in his houſe. "Above all his virtues, "which were not a few, he ſhined in "piety towards God, ordering himſelf "and his family in ſuch ſort, as it did "more reſemble a church than a "court," ſays Spotiſwood, p. 233. Melvil, p. 103. Thuanus highly extols him for his courage, juſtice, humanity, and other virtues, in theſe words,---Dum viveret, ſciſſo factionibus regno, ſiniſtris rumoribus ab aemulis laceratus, ſed poſtquam mortuus eſt, veris laudibus etiam ab inimicis laudatus, qui & praeſentiam animi in periculis, felicitatem in praeliis, in jure dicundo aequitatem, morum gravitatem cum liberalitate & humanitate ſumma conjunctam praedicabant, lib. 46.

[d] Walter Scot, and Thomas Carr, or Ker, of Farniheſt, entering England, the next night after the earl of Murray's murder, ravaged all places with greater cruelty than was uſed in former times, on purpoſe to engage the two kingdoms in a war. Buchanan, lib. 28. Spotiſwood, p. 234.

[e] The Hamiltonians, particularly the biſhop of St. Andrew's. Buchanan.

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and Scotland, as a ſtrong fence againſt all their enterprizes in favour of Mary, and therefore reſolved to break it at any rate. To ſucceed, they deemed it neceſſary before all things, to aſſaſſinate the earl of Murray, that the kingdom might for ſome time be in a ſort of anarchy, as it happened indeed. That done, they hoped, by provoking the Engliſh on their borders, they ſhould excite them to a revenge on all the Scots without diſtinction; that this would revive the old enmity between the two nations, and ſo all Scotland would be united againſt England; that then ſuccours might be ſafely ſent for from France and Spain, and the project be reſumed of invading the borders of England, whilſt the catholicks ſhould on their part act within the kingdom. The lord Seaton's embaſſy to the duke of Alva, and the pope's bull, of which I ſhall preſently ſpeak, plainly ſhow this was their intent, though Camden is pleaſed to conſider the invaſion of the Engliſh borders as a mere caprice of the Scots and Carrs.

Lidington is ſet at liberty, and labours for the queen. Buchanan.

Immediately after the earl of Murray's death, Kircaldie releaſed Lidington, who uſed all his art to hinder the king's party from proceeding to the election of a new regent. He intimated, that Scotland would never be in peace, unleſs a regent were choſen who ſhould be approved by the two parties, and conſequently it was neceſſary to aſſemble the great men of both ſides, that they might agree together. In what he ſaid there was the appearance of good. But he knew it would be difficult to get all the great men together in one place, and though they ſhould meet, they would never agree upon the choice. However this ſerved to gain time, in the expectation that queen Elizabeth, by reſolving to revenge the injury ſhe had received, would drive all the Scots to deſpair, and unite them all againſt her. He ſucceeded in the firſt part of his deſign, and by his intrigues managed it ſo, that the election of a regent was deferred. But he was not ſo happy in the other part of his project. Elizabeth and her council were too wiſe to fall into the ſnare. On the contrary, the more they found that endeavours were uſed to unite all the Scots in one party, the more they judged it neceſſary to keep them divided, nothing being ſo advantageous to Elizabeth as to foment confuſion and diſcord in that kingdom, till ſhe could take other meaſures.

Elizabeth avoids the ſnare laid for her.

She complains of the violators of the peace, but not of the whole nation. Buchanan.

To that purpoſe ſhe ſent Randolph into Scotland, to complain of the inroad made into England. But inſtead of laying the fault upon the whole nation, as the authors of the invaſion expected, ſhe ſaid withal by her ambaſſador, ſhe was very ſenſible, thoſe who governed Scotland were not concerned in the inſult on the Engliſh, and therefore ſhe was willing to diſtinguiſh the innocent from the guilty. That ſhe demanded however a ſuitable reparation, and if they who were at the helm could not procure it for her, ſhe offered them the aſſiſtance of her forces. That in caſe they refuſed it, ſhe would ſend an army into Scotland, not to attack the whole nation, but to puniſh ſuch only as wantonly, and without provocation, had inſulted the Engliſh. As it was then a time of anarchy, there being no regent yet, the giving the ambaſſador an anſwer was put off till May, when the ſtates would be aſſembled. Randolph inſiſted not upon a ſpeedy anſwer[f]. He contented himſelf with exhorting the Scots to peace and concord, whilſt he privately laboured to cheriſh their diviſions, and hinder their union. This is what Melvil clearly ſhows in his Memoirs. Mean while, Elizabeth prepared an army, which ſhe intended to ſend into Scotland, as well to revenge her ſubjects as to ſupport the king's party, and cauſe a regent to be elected, who ſhould not be againſt the intereſt of England.

Melvil, p. 105. Spotiſwood. Camden.

Melvil, p. 105.

Libels publiſhed in Scotland againſt Elizabeth, who avoids the ſnare.

Buchanan.

Though the heads of the queen's faction ſaw Elizabeth did not fall into their ſnare, they endeavoured however to provoke her, and incenſe her againſt the whole nation, by libels and ſlanders which they took care to publiſh. But all their artifices were not capable of making her alter her courſe. Mean while, her army, which was to be commanded by the earl of Suſſex, was preparing with all poſſible expedition.

Buchanan. Thuanus. Spotiſwood.

In the mean time, Mary's adherents taking courage ſince the earl of Murray's death, held frequent councils upon the ſituation of their affairs. Their aim was to gain time, in expectation of the ſuccours which Verac the French envoy[g], put them in hopes of. They expected likewiſe an aid from the Netherlands, and as theſe ſuccours could not be ready ſo ſoon as they wiſhed, they endeavoured to amuſe the king's party by propoſals of agreement; but theſe conſtantly refuſed to conclude any thing before the aſſembly of the ſtates.

Grange ſets his priſoners at liberty.

Melvil, p. 105.

In this interval, the laird of Grange releaſed the duke of Chatelerault, the lord Herris, and the reſt of the priſoners, and thereby the queen's party was conſiderably ſtrengthened. It muſt however have been ſtill very weak, ſince it could act but by negotiations. Be this as it will, the heads of that party

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[f] He was put off till the firſt of May. Buchanan.

[g] Thuanus calls him Verac, and ſpeaks of him as one ſent by the Guiſes, and not by the king of France. The Engliſh and Scots call him Virac, and mention him as the French king's envoy. Rapin.

Mary's party holds an aſſembly of the ſtates, and try in vain to take Edinburgh. March. Buchanan. Spotiſwood.

party reſolved to meet at Linlithgow [h], by the name of the ſtates, ſince, there being no regent, they thought they had as much right to convene the ſtates as the other party. In this aſſembly they vainly ſought means to engage England to break with the whole Scotiſh nation. Elizabeth was too much upon her guard to be eaſily ſurprized. At laſt perceiving they could not ſucceed, they believed it neceſſary for their ſafety to try to become maſters of Edinburgh. But as this could not be effected by force, they deſired the magiſtrates of Edinburgh to permit them to hold their aſſembly in the city. This was readily granted; but the inhabitants kept ſo ſtrict a watch, that the project of the queen's adherents was fruſtrated. Mean time, there were ſundry negotiations between the two parties which came to nothing.

The Engliſh army approaches. Buchanan. Spotiſwood. Elizabeth accepts of being umpire between the two parties, Camden. ſaving however the puniſhment of the authors of the invaſion.

Preſently after, upon news of the earl of Suſſex's being come to Berwick, the aſſembly of Edinburgh broke up. The heads had now ſent deputies to Elizabeth, to try to divert the impending ſtorm, and to gain time till the arrival of the French ſuccours. They even offered to make her umpire, and were ſo well ſeconded by the French ambaſſadors, that ſhe readily conſented to be mediatrix between the two parties. But ſhe pretended, the affair for which ſhe ſent an army into Scotland, had no relation to the differences between the two parties, for it was only to chaſtiſe the violators of the peace, who were owned by neither party, without however either being able to procure her any ſatisfaction. So the earl of Suſſex received no counter-orders. When that general was come to Berwick, the duke of Chateleraut ſent Melvil, to know whether he intended to join one of the parties, or endeavour their reconciliation. Melvil ſays in his Memoirs, that in his conferences with the earl of Suſſex, he found the earl had orders indeed to favour the king's party, but would not quite diſcourage the queen's [i]. He infers that his chief aim was to continue the troubles in Scotland, which is very likely.

Elizabeth's deſigns. Melvil, p. 105. p. 106.

The earl of Suſſex enters Scotland. April 17. He puniſhes the violators of the peace. Camden. Melvil, p. 104, 105. Buchanan. Stow. Hollingſh.

The Engliſh army entering Scotland in April, ravaged the lands of the Scots and Carrs, and of thoſe who were concerned in the late incurſion into England [k]. Camden ſays, in this expedition were burnt above three hundred houſes, and about fifty caſtles. Melvil adds, the earl of Suſſex aſſaulted and took the caſtles of Hume and Falſt, belonging to the lord Hume, to oblige him, who had hitherto remained in a ſort of neutrality, to declare for Mary's party, leſt the balance ſhould incline too much to the king's ſide. This conjecture is grounded upon the project formed by the queen's faction, to unite all Scotland, and upon Elizabeth's intereſt to prevent ſuch an union.

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[h] On April 9. Buchanan.

[i] He alſo declared to Melvil, that he looked upon the queen of Scotland and the prince her ſon, as true heirs to the crown of England. Melvil, p. 105.

[k] The lord Scroope, warden of the Weſt-marches, entering alſo Scotland, April 18, burnt and deſtroyed as far as Dunfriſe. There was razed, overthrown, and burnt by the Engliſh, in this expedition, above three hundred towns and villages, ſays Stow, p. 666.

The ſtates called in the king's name meet. Buchanan.

The beginning of May, the ſtates ſummoned in the king's name met at Edinburgh. Their chief care was to depute Robert Pitcairn to Elizabeth to beſpeak her favour, and acquaint her, they were ready to chuſe a regent to her liking.

Siege of Glaſcow. Buchanan. Spotiſwood. Hollingſh. Camden.

Whilſt Pitcairn was on his way, Mary's adherents beſieged the caſtle of Glaſcow, which made a braver defence than they expected. The earl of Suſſex having notice of it, detached ſir William Drury, governor of Berwick, with a thouſand foot and two hundred horſe. At their approach, the beſiegers retired, and diſperſed themſelves in the mountains. Mean while, Drury being joined by a body of Scotch royaliſts, ravaged the lands of the Hamiltons, and took the caſtle of that name, belonging to the duke of Chateleraut.

Elizabeth requires a ſuſpenſion of arms. Buchanan.

In the mean time, Pitcairn returning from England, reported to the ſtates, that Elizabeth thought it very ſtrange, that ſince Murray's death ſhe had not been informed of the poſture of affairs in Scotland; that her ignorance in that reſpect had kept her in ſuſpence, concerning the courſe ſhe was to take: that at length, tired with continual ſollicitations, ſhe had conſented that a conference ſhould be held between the two parties, wherein ſhe was very willing to act as a mediatrix, provided they would both refrain from violent methods, and leave things as they were: that ſhe deſired therefore the ſtates to obſerve this condition, and defer the election of a regent till the ſucceſs of the conference ſhould be known. This demand very much embarraſſed the ſtates. They could remain no longer without a head, and yet durſt not diſoblige the queen of England, who alone was able to ſupport them. Wherefore they reſolved to elect an Inter-rex, who could be revoked without any conſequence, and the choice fell upon the earl of Lenox, then in England. Shortly after, they received a letter from Elizabeth, acquainting them with her conſent that they might chuſe a regent, and recommending to them the earl of Lenox, who was inſtantly choſen.

The ſtates chuſe an Inter-rex. The earl of Lenox is made regent. Buchanan. Camden.

Mean while, the earl of Huntley receiving from Spain money and ammunition, took the field, and ſtored the caſtle of Brechin. Shortly after, the earl of Lenox arrived in Scotland, and when the ſtates broke up, reſolved to recover that caſtle,

The regent takes Brechin, and diſperſes Huntley's troops. Camden.

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Melvil, p. 107. Spotiſwood.

caſtle, which was of ſo great importance. He aſſembled for that purpoſe his forces at Linlithgow, and demanded arti[illegible] and ammunition of Grange, governor of the caſtle of Edinburgh, who refuſed them, on pretence he would not be inſtrumental in ſhedding the blood of his countrymen. Grange was properly of the queen's party, but had other views than the reſt of her friends. His project was to ſet himſelf at the head of a third party, with which he pretended the other two ſhould join, to reſtore the queen to the crown upon certain terms. This was the cauſe of his ruin, as will hereafter appear. Sir James Melvil, author of the Memoirs ſo often quoted, was in the ſame ſentiments, as he diſcovers in ſeveral places, but probably waited for a more favourable opportunity to declare.

Buchanan. Thuanus. Leſley's Negotiations.

Grange's refuſal hindered not the regent from becoming maſter of Brechin, and compelling the earl of Huntley to fly to the mountains, where it was not eaſy to purſue him. Not long after, the queen's party obtained a truce [l], at queen Elizabeth's inſtance, who ſought only to prolong the affair; as on their part, the queen's adherents tried to gain time, to wait the effects of the duke of Alva's promiſes. Some time before, they had ſent the lord Seaton to him to deſire aid, and he had promiſed them ten thouſand men. But the diſorders which unexpectedly aroſe in the Netherlands, hindered him from performing his promiſe [m].

Act. Pub. xv. p. 687. Camden. Buchanan.

Plots in England to free queen Mary. Camden. Thuanus.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in Scotland, ſeveral plots were forming in England to free the captive queen. Monluc biſhop of Valence came to London, and very earneſtly ſollicited the queen of Scots liberty. The Spaniſh ambaſſador was no leſs urgent for the ſame. The queen was the more jealous of the zeal of France and Spain for Mary, as at the ſame time pope Pius V. cauſed a bull, dated the laſt year, to be fixed up in the night in ſeveral places in London [n], whereby he excommunicated Elizabeth, and abſolved her ſubjects from their oath of allegiance. On the other hand, it was diſcovered that ſome Norfolk gentlemen had reſolved to take up arms and raiſe a rebellion in that country [o]. The conſpi-

Bull ſet up at London againſt the queen. Speed. Camden.

Conſpiracy diſcovered. Leſley's Negotiat. Camden.

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[l] The reader may ſee the articles of this truce in Leſley's Negotiat. p. 91, &c. 96.

[m] However, he ſent them ten thouſand crowns. See Leſley's Negotiat. p. 108. Hamilton, rector of Dunbar, had, ſome time before, privately procured out of the Netherlands, great ſtore of arms and powder, ſeven great guns, and ſome money, for Huntley, the queen's lieutenant in Scotland. Camden, p. 426.

[n] This bull is dated February 25, 1569, and may be ſeen in Speed, p. 842, and in Camden, p. 427. It was fixed on the biſhop of London's palace-gate. Camden, ibid.

[o] Their deſign was to ſet the duke of Norfolk at liberty. Idem, p. 428.

racy being diſcovered, the authors were apprehended. But the queen pardoned all but three, two of whom were John Throckmorton and Felton, who poſted up the bull [p]. Shortly after, ſhe heard alſo that two of the earl of Derby's ſons [q] had plotted to free the queen of Scots. As John Leſley biſhop of Roſs, who acted as Mary's ambaſſador, was the chief promoter of all theſe plots, it was thought fit to confine him again to the biſhop of London's palace. He was but lately releaſed, having been arreſted for being deeply concerned in the earl of Northumberland's conſpiracy. Notwithſtanding the juſt ſuſpicions which all theſe machinations might raiſe in the queen of the duke of Norfolk, who was conſidered as the head of Mary's party, he was diſcharged from the Tower [r]. But it was not till after he had expreſſed great ſorrow for his fault, and proteſted, by word of mouth and under his hand, that he would never more think of marrying the queen of Scots.

Leſley's Negotiat.

The duke of Norfolk is releaſed. Leſley. Camden. Thuanus.

It was not difficult for Elizabeth to perceive, that the queen of Scots was the ſole cauſe of all theſe embarraſſments. If repoſe would have followed upon her releaſe, ſhe would have willingly freed her. But though Mary's adherents, and thoſe who ſollicited in her behalf, pretended they acted only from a motive of compaſſion, and exclaimed againſt the injuſtice of detaining her in priſon, Elizabeth was not ignorant that their views extended much farther. The pope, Spain, the houſe of Lorrain, the duke of Alva, the Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh catholicks, confined not themſelves to the freeing the unhappy queen from captivity: their aim was to ſet her on the throne of England. Conſequently it was more dangerous for Elizabeth to releaſe her than to keep her confined. But ſhe did not think proper to diſcloſe her thoughts, as on their part her enemies were extremely careful to conceal their deſigns. She continued therefore to feign, that ſhe deſired nothing more earneſtly than to find means to reſtore Mary to the throne of Scotland, provided it could be done without

Elizabeth's reaſons to detain Mary in priſon.

Leſley's Negotiat.

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[p] John Felton was not one of the three Norfolk rebels; but he was executed for ſetting up the bull. He would not fly, but boldly owned the fact; for which he was arraigned and hanged in Alderſgate-ſtreet, near the biſhop's palace. However, he got hereby the empty repute of a glorious martyrdom. Camden, p. 428. Thuanus, lib. 46.

[q] Sir Thomas and ſir Edward Stanley, the earl of Derby's younger ſons by the duke of Norfolk's daughter. Their accomplices were, Thomas Gerard, Rolſton, Hall, &c. Rolſton's ſon, one of the band of the gentlemen penſioners, diſcovered the plot. Camden, p. 429.

[r] Where the plague, which then raged in London, was got, and he was remitted to his own houſe, the Charter-houſe, where he lived under the eaſy confinement of ſir Henry Nevil. Camden, p. 429.

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danger to England. To that end ſhe ſent Cecil [s] to make her ſome captious propoſals, tending only to dazzle the publick. Mary hearing the propoſals, returned a general anſwer, declining to give a particular reply to each article, without the conſent of the heads of her party in Scotland, to whom ſhe deſired they ſhould be communicated, that they might anſwer them as they ſhould think proper. The propoſals with the anſwers were to this effect:

Camden. Thuanus.

Leſley's Negotiat. Camden, p. 429. Thuanus.

I. The queen of Scots ſhall ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and renounce her claim to the crown of England, during the life of queen Elizabeth and her iſſue.

Anſwer. Agreed.

II. She ſhall not make nor renew alliance with any power whatever againſt England.

Anſwer. By renouncing the alliance of France, the queen will forfeit her dower, and the Scotch nation be great loſers. Wherefore the queen of England muſt make amends for theſe things ſome other way.

III. She ſhall admit no foreign troops into Scotland.

Anſwer. Agreed, with this reſtriction, unleſs ſhe is not able with her own forces to ſuppreſs the rebellions of her ſubjects.

IV. She ſhall hold no intelligence with the Engliſh or Iriſh, without the queen of England's knowledge.

Anſwer. Agreed, provided the queen of England will hold none with the Scots.

V. She ſhall deliver up the Engliſh and Iriſh rebels.

Anſwer. If there are any Engliſh or Iriſh rebels in Scotland, they muſt be demanded of thoſe who have taken up arms againſt their queen.

VI. She ſhall make the Engliſh borderers amends for the loſſes ſuſtained in the late invaſion.

Anſwer. Commiſſioners on both ſides ſhall be appointed to examine the damages which were done.

VII. She ſhall proſecute, and puniſh according to law, the murderers of king Henry and of the earl of Murray.

Anſwer. Agreed.

VIII. She ſhall give her ſon for hoſtage.

Anſwer. Her ſon is not in her power.

IX. She ſhall not marry any Engliſhman without the queen of England's knowledge, nor any other without the conſent of the ſtates of Scotland.

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[s] And ſir Walter Mildmay, chancellor of the Exchequer, in October. The queen of Scots was then at Chatteſworth in Derbyſhire. Camden, p. 429. Leſley's Negotiat. p. 106.

Anſwer. To be tied to theſe terms is a thing unworthy of a queen.

X. The Scots ſhall not paſs into Ireland without the queen of England's permiſſion.

Anſwer. Agreed, provided the Iriſh be not ſuffered to paſs into Scotland without the queen of Scots leave.

XI. She ſhall give ſix hoſtages of the queen of England's naming.

Anſwer. Agreed, provided the duke of Chateleraut, the earls of Huntley, Argyle and Athol be excepted.

XII. If ſhe attempt any thing againſt queen Elizabeth, ſhe ſhall forfeit the right ſhe claims to the crown of England.

Anſwer. Agreed, on condition that in the like caſe the queen of England will be liable to ſome equivalent penalty.

XIII. The caſtles of Hume and Falſt ſhall be three years in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.

Anſwer. This cannot be granted: on the contrary, the queen of England is required to reſtore theſe caſtles to the lord Hume.

XIV. Some places on the borders of Galloway or Cantyr ſhall be put into the hands of the Engliſh, to hinder the Scots from infeſting Ireland.

Anſwer. To deliver ſuch places to the Engliſh would be creating a perpetual war in Scotland.

All theſe articles ſhall be confirmed and ratified by the ſtates.

There is no anſwer to this article.

It would be very eaſy, in examining of theſe propoſals, to ſhow that ſome were only to create a belief of Elizabeth's acting with moderation and ſincerity; that others were but ſnares to ſurprize the queen of Scots: and that ſome there were, the execution whereof was impracticable. Elizabeth's deſign therefore was only to amuſe.

On the other hand, the anſwers were as little proper to procure an agreement between the two queens. They who drew the anſwers pretended, that Mary ſhould treat Elizabeth upon equal terms, as ſhe might have done, had ſhe been on her throne at Edinburgh: but the Engliſh meant no ſuch thing. Mary was priſoner in England, and the point was to releaſe and reſtore her to her throne. She accepted the conditions to obtain theſe two great advantages; but withal ſhe is made to ſay, that ſhe expected Elizabeth ſhould be bound to the like or equivalent terms. This was as much as to ſay, that otherwiſe ſhe would not accept what was offered her.

Nothing could be more grateful to Elizabeth, ſince it was a certain means to prolong the negotiation. Had Mary accepted the propoſals without any reſtriction, ſhe would perhaps have embarraſſed Elizabeth's council. At leaſt they would have been forced to ſeek means to obſtruct the execution, and thereby the fault would manifeſtly have been on the ſide of the court of England.

Elizabeth, it is certain, had no deſire to releaſe her priſoner on any terms whatever. She was a very dangerous rival even when in priſon, how much more had ſhe been at liberty? From her return to Scotland, upon the death of her firſt huſband, ſhe had never ceaſed holding intelligence in England, to try to excite the Engliſh to rebellion. This is what very evidently appears in Melvil's Memoirs. Her miſfortune to fall into the hands of Elizabeth did not make her diſcontinue her practices. On the other hand, the project of her marriage with the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Northumberland's conſpiracy, and the correſpondence of her adherents with foreign courts, tended only to raiſe her to the throne of England, even in queen Elizabeth's life-time. In ſhort, it was manifeſt the pope, the king of Spain, the princes of Lorrain, the Engliſh catholicks, all the Iriſh, and part of the Scots, were labouring to accompliſh this deſign. How imprudent would it have been to releaſe her, that ſhe might the better proſecute her pretenſions? It is true, after the death of Francis II. ſhe quitted the title of queen of England, and proteſted ſhe claimed not the crown of England till after Elizabeth and her poſterity. But, that a bare proteſtation may ſerve for ſecurity, the ſincerity of the perſon proteſting muſt be firſt well eſtabliſhed. Here was quite the contrary, all Mary's proceedings having ſhown ſhe deſiſted not from her claim. So her bare proteſtation was only her word, on which it was very dangerous to rely. Certainly Mary was unhappy only in having too zealous adherents, who, by all their proceedings, puſhed her continually towards her deſtruction: but this is no wonder. They acted not for her ſake, but for their own ends, and the intereſt of the Romiſh religion, to which ſhe ſerved for pretence. Sir James Melvil, who was not Mary's enemy, obſerves in his Memoirs, that both parties equally hurted her; the one in acting directly againſt her, the other in ſerving her with too much zeal. He adds, the queen's party groundleſly flattered themſelves with ruining their adverſaries, who were ſupported by England. The reaſon he gives is very ſtrong, namely, there was no likelihood that the queen's party would ever receive great aſſiſtance

Melvil, p. 60, 63, 68, &c.

Melvil, p. 112.

Diſpoſition of the French court as to Mary.

from the court of France, which dreaded nothing ſo much as to ſee the two crowns of England and Scotland upon the ſame head. He relates upon this occaſion a particular, which may be of great ſervice to diſcover the ſituation of Mary's affairs. Sir Robert Melvil, at his return from his embaſſy to England, gave queen Mary a paper, ſigned by five and twenty Engliſh earls and lords, promiſing to ſet her on the throne of England. Mary ſent the paper to the cardinal of Lorrain her uncle, deſiring withal the aſſiſtance neceſſary to execute that deſign. But the cardinal himſelf diſſuaded queen Catherine de Medici from thinking of ſuch an enterprize, demonſtrating the prejudice France would receive by the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. Nay, to hinder the thing from being effected by other means, they gave notice thereof to queen Elizabeth, who always feigned ignorance of what ſhe was told by the court of France. Melvil affirms, he had this from the queen of Scots own mouth, at a time when ſhe was diſſatisfied with the cardinal. It is evident then, that the eagerneſs of Mary's friends was prejudicial to her: but eſpecially they who continued the war in Scotland, only helped [illegible] ſecure Elizabeth's affairs, who thereby was ſheltered from the quarter ſhe had moſt to fear, whereas the Scots by their union would have been more conſiderable, and doubtleſs Elizabeth would have had more condeſcenſion for her priſoner. Upon this principle it was, that Grange and Melvil laboured to procure an agreement between the two parties, wherein they endeavoured to ſerve Mary effectually. But it was not eaſy to bring paſſionate men to ſacrifice their paſſions and intereſts to the good of the publick. The council of England improving theſe diſpoſitions, never ceaſed fomenting the troubles of Scotland, under colour of appeaſing them, till it ſhould be Elizabeth's intereſt to end them. This Melvil plainly ſhows in his Memoirs; but it would be too long to alledge the proofs. Thus Mary was in a wretched condition by the ill counſels which were given her, and which ſhe was ſo unwiſe as to follow with ardour. The biſhop of Roſs, her agent at London, a great zealot for his religion, but whoſe views were not very extenſive, did her infinite damage by his paſſion and pains to cheriſh the diſcontent of the Engliſh catholicks. As Elizabeth had good ſpies, ſhe was not ignorant that this pretended ambaſſador was concerned in all the plots laid againſt her, from whence ſhe could not but infer, that he acted agreeably to his miſtreſs's inclinations and orders. As ſoon as this prelate had the articles propoſed to Mary, he ſent copies to the pope,

Melvil, p. 89, &c.

The biſhop of Roſs ſolicits in vain the potentates in Mary's behalf.

Leſley's Negotiat. Camden.

to the kings of France and Spain, to the duke of Alva, intimating to all theſe potentates, that Mary would be at length conſtrained to accept them, if ſome vigorous effort were not made in her favour. But his ſollicitations were fruitleſs.

The affairs of the Netherlands.
Grotius.
Strada.
Camden.

The king of Spain being then employed in his marriage with Ann of Auſtria his niece [t], daughter of the emperor Maximilian, left to the duke of Alva the care of aſſiſting the queen of Scots; but the duke was himſelf employed in the Netherlands. The city of Bruſſels refuſing to pay the hundredth penny, gallows were now prepared to puniſh the diſobedient, when he heard the prince of Orange was levying an army in Germany. So, inſtead of aiding the queen of Scots, he was preparing for the war which he ſaw ready to kindle in the Low-Countries, and wherein probably he would have to deal with the inhabitants of theſe provinces, as well as the Germans.

Project of the French court againſt the Huguenots.
Thuanus.

As for the court of France, beſides that they never really intended to ſet the crown of England on the head of the queen of Scots, but only to create Elizabeth troubles, they began to form projects, which ſuffered them not openly to eſpouſe Mary's cauſe. Though the king had gained ſeveral victories over the Huguenots, he ſaw with grief there was no end of the affair; and that theſe people chuſing to die ſword in hand rather than at the ſtake or the gallows, it would be very difficult to deſtroy them by open force. He reſolved therefore, in order to attain his ends more eaſily, to amuſe them with a peace, which he granted them in Auguſt this year. From that time his ſole care was to diſſemble his ſentiments, and make them believe they had nothing more to fear from him.

Propoſals of marriage to Elizabeth.
Digges's Ambaſſy.
Camden.

To convince them the better that the deſign of extirpating them was entirely relinquiſhed, Catherine de Medici propoſed a marriage between the king her ſon and Elizabeth, who replied in two words, that he was too Great and too Little. This project failing, Catherine propoſed her ſecond ſon the duke of Anjou as a more ſuitable match. This was therefore no favourable juncture for the queen of Scotland, ſince the court of France could undertake nothing openly in her behalf without breaking their own meaſures [u].

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[t] Q. Elizabeth ſent Charles Howard, with a fleet, in which were ſeveral noblemen, to convoy her from Zealand to Spain. Camden, p. 430.

[u] This year, on March 16, died William Herbert earl of Pembroke, at Hampton-court, and was buried in St. Paul's cathedral, April 18. Stow, p. 669. --- This year alſo died Henry Clifford, the ſecond earl of Cumberland of the name; and ſir Nicholas Throckmorton. Camden, p. 430. --- On the 1ſt of October, there was a terrible tempeſt, which did an incredible damage in ſeveral places. See an account of it in Hollingſh. p. 1222, 1223.

Secretary Cecil was created baron of Burleigh the beginning of the year 1571. No man had better deſerved than he to receive this mark of diſtinction, which was very conſiderable in the reign of a queen who conferred honours with great circumſpection.

Cecil made lord Burleigh. Feb. 25. Dugdale. Camden.

I have ſeveral times obſerved, that Elizabeth was reſolved not to declare publickly for either of the Scotch factions, but to prolong the negotiation as much as poſſible, that ſhe might never want a pretence to detain Mary in priſon. We are going to ſee an effect of this reſolution in the courſe ſhe purſued during the year 1571. Though in June the laſt year, ſhe had agreed to a conference between the two parties, of which ſhe was to be mediatrix, ſix months were paſſed, and nothing more ſaid of it. At laſt, Elizabeth reſolving to negotiate her marriage with the duke of Anjou, did not queſtion but on that occaſion the French court would ſtrongly ſollicit her in behalf of the queen of Scots. To be provided therefore with an evaſion, ſhe cauſed at length the conference to be held in the months of February and March, that ſhe might be able to ſay to the king of France, the affair of the queen of Scots was upon terms of agreement, fully bent however to manage it ſo that the conference ſhould be without effect.

Camden.

The earl of Morton, Pitcairn, and others [w], were ſent from Scotland to the conference, which was to be held at London, to maintain the king's cauſe. For Mary, appeared the biſhops of Roſs and Galloway, with the lord Levingſton; and the queen appointed ſeven of her privy-counſellors [x] to hear the reaſons of both parties. They immediately required the earl of Morton, and his collegues, to declare plainly the inducement of the Scots to depoſe their queen, and give the crown to the prince her ſon. The Scotch deputies delivered a large remonſtrance in writing, wherein they took for granted that the queen was privy to the king her huſband's death, and afterwards married the earl of Bothwell the murderer: that to juſtify their conduct with regard to the queen, there were two points to be examined, the one of fact, the other of right. For the firſt, they ſtood to the proofs given by the earl of Murray at Hampton-court before the Engliſh commiſſioners, and which the queen of England had in her hands: that the earl had ſo evidently proved Mary guilty of the crime laid to her

Conference at London between the two Scotch factions. Buchanan. Lesley. Spotiſwood. Feb. 20.

Feb. 28.

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[w] James Macgil. Buchanan.

[x] Namely, the earls of Leiceſter and Suſſex, Nicholas Bacon lord keeper, the earl of Oxford lord chamberlain, William lord Burleigh, ſir Walter Mildmay, and ſir Francis Knolles. Spotiſwood, p. 248.

her charge, that they thought it needleſs to repeat the ſame things, which beſides they could not without great reluctance. As to the point of right, which conſiſted in knowing whether the Scots had power to depoſe their ſovereigns when they became unworthy of the throne, they maintained it was an undoubted right enjoyed by the Scotch nation, ever ſince the beginning of their monarchy. They ſupported this principle with divers inſtances drawn from the hiſtory of Scotland and of other countries, as Spain and Denmark.

Elizabeth ſpins out the affair.
March 1.
March 5.
Camden.
Leſley.
March 20.
Camden.

Elizabeth ſtill purſuing her ſcheme, not to declare herſelf, briefly anſwered to the Scots remonſtrance, which was communicated to her, that ſhe was not thoroughly convinced of the juſtice of their proceedings, and deſired them to confer with her miniſters, in order to find ſome expedient to adjuſt the affair. But they replied, it was needleſs to ſearch for expedients, ſince they had no power to agree to the diminution of the king's authority. Whereupon Elizabeth ordered a thing to be propoſed to Mary's agents, which ſhe knew they would not accept; and this was, to give her the chief lords of their party in hoſtage, with ſome places in Scotland [y]. And indeed they boldly rejected it, and made other offers which the Engliſh commiſſioners rejected in their turn. At laſt, they demanded of the Scots to give the young king of Scotland in hoſtage to the queen; to which they anſwered, they had not power to promiſe any ſuch thing. Camden ſays here, that Mary's agents made a jeſt of this evaſion, affirming, 'the deputies wanted not power, ſince the ſame crime 'renders all the complices equal.'

Buchanan.
April 4.
The conference breaks up.
Buchanan.
Leſley's Negotiat.
Camden.

At laſt, Elizabeth admitting the Scotch deputies to an audience, agreed with them that the affair could not be determined but by the ſtates of the kingdom. Then ſhe deſired them to order it ſo, that another conference ſhould be held in Scotland during the ſeſſion of the parliament, which was to meet in May. She detained them however ſome time longer, being willing to know, before their departure, whether the queen of Scots would conſent to the conference. But ſo far was ſhe from agreeing to it, that ſhe complained very much of her deputies ſuffering her right to be called in queſtion, and revoked their powers. She ordered however the biſhop of Roſs to reſide ſtill at London, as her ambaſſador. This gave Elizabeth great ſuſpicion, being ſenſible the biſhop was the chief promoter of the plots againſt her; but ſhe durſt not refuſe him, for fear of giving occaſion to ſay, ſhe did not own Mary for queen, and thereby wound her pretended impartiality. At length, the Scotch deputies departed the 8th of April, after a ſix weeks ſtay in London to no purpoſe. Wherefore it was not Elizabeth's intention that this conference ſhould produce an agreement. Though this did not evidently appear in her whole conduct, it might eaſily be ſeen in a letter of Cecil to Walſingham, then ambaſſador in France, wherein he told him plainly, that the ſole aim in that conference was to gain time. Another letter to Walſingham from the earl of Leiceſter about the ſame thing, manifeſtly diſcovers Elizabeth's policy. The earl told him, the queen agreed that Mary was unworthy to ſway the ſcepter, but could hardly believe her ſubjects had power to depoſe her. That therefore ſhe remained in ſuſpence, not being able to determine either to reſtore queen Mary, or defend the cauſe of the Scots, becauſe ſhe did not think it entirely juſt. During this pretended uncertainty, Mary remained ſtill in priſon.

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[y] The lords demanded, were the duke of Chatelerault, the earls of Huntley and Argyle, the lord Humes, the lord Herris, and another; and the places required, were the caſtles of Dunbarton and Humes, for three years. Camden, p. 431. Leſley's Negotiat. p. 127.

Buchanan.
Elizabeth's policy.
Walſingh. Negotiat.

The truce between the two Scotch factions being expired, during the conference at London, or ſhortly after, the earl of Lenox took the town of Dunbarton by ſurprize, which had till then been in the hands of the queen's adherents. Verac the French ambaſſador was taken there, and ſent to St. Andrew's, from whence he was readily ſuffered to make his eſcape. But the caſe was otherwiſe with James Hamilton archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, who being alſo taken priſoner upon the ſame occaſion and ſent to Stirling, was condemned to be hanged. He was accuſed of being a complice in the murder of the late king by a prieſt [z], who was brought face to face, of whom, inſtead of defending himſelf, he demanded, what thoſe prieſts deſerved who revealed the ſecrets of confeſſions? 'Tis ſaid, Cardan going to Scotland to cure him of a dropſy, told him, when he had reſtored him to health, that he had by the help of his medicines freed him from the preſent danger, but it was not in his power to prevent his dying on the gallows.

Affairs of Scotland.
Dunbarton ſurpriſed.
Buchanan.
Leſley's Negotiat.
Thuanus.
Hollingſh.
Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's hanged.
Buchanan.

Elizabeth was not wholly taken up with the affairs of Scotland. There was another which gave her no leſs trouble by reaſon of its difficulties, and the conſequences it might be attended with. Her miniſters, knowing her enemies were in per-

Elizabeth's miniſters engage her to negotiate her marriage with the duke of Anjou.
Walſingh. Negotiat. p. 51, 53.

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[z] John Hamilton, one of the chief actors in this murder, diſcovered the whole matter to his confeſſor, who revealed it to others. Buchanan, l. 20.

Eliz. 1571.

Thuanus. Camden. P. Daniel.

perpetual motion, and when one plot failed, were immediately forming another, were afraid her prudence would in the end be defeated. In Walſingham's negotiations, there is a letter from the ſecretary of ſtate, telling him, that whilſt the affair of the queen of Scots was in hand, her friends were thinking of carrying her away, of which the court had ſome dark intimations. The earl of Leiceſter wrote to the ſame ambaſſador, that Mary's adherents were more bold than ever, which in all appearance proceeded from their hopes of the ſucceſs of ſome freſh attempt. The miniſters therefore believed nothing but a marriage could ſecure the queen from ſo many conſpiracies which were daily renewed. An alliance with ſome powerful prince would naturally produce a good effect, by reaſon of the ſuccours which might be thence received upon occaſion; beſides that it would ſtrike a dread into the queen's enemies. On the other hand, they imagined, if it pleaſed God to bleſs the marriage, the birth of a prince would deprive the queen of Scots of great part of her adherents. Wherefore they never ceaſed to repreſent to Elizabeth the reaſons which ought to determine her to marry. At laſt, whether ſhe yielded to theſe reaſons, or to be freed from their importunities, ſhe told them, that nothing hindered her but the difficulty of finding a ſuitable match; and indeed it was not eaſy to make a fit choice: ſhe muſt take either a proteſtant or a popiſh prince. But as two principal inducements prompted her to marry, namely, to make a ſtrong alliance, and to have a ſucceſſor; in chuſing a proteſtant, the firſt of theſe inducements would not be anſwered, becauſe there was no prince of the reformed religion, whoſe alliance could be very advantageous to England. In reſolving upon a catholick, there was no choice, ſince the duke of Anjou, the king of France's brother, was the only fit perſon. But this project had its difficulties. The queen gave to underſtand, that in marrying ſhe did not mean to give herſelf a maſter, or even an equal, ſince ſhe was reſolved to hold the reins of the government, alone, and communicate to her ſpouſe the external honours of royalty only. In the ſecond place, ſhe did not pretend the Engliſh catholicks ſhould reap any advantage from her marriage with a prince of their religion. But there was no likelihood the duke of Anjou would ſubmit to what the queen deſired, or diſſemble his religion to enjoy the bare title of king, which was not ſufficient to ſatisfy his ambition. Mean while, the miniſters were ſo urgent with the queen to marry, that at length they obtained her conſent to treat with France upon that ſubject. But very probably ſhe gave her conſent only becauſe ſhe imagined it would be in her power to break off the negotiation whenever ſhe pleaſed, by the difficulties ſhe ſhould ſtart. She concealed her ſentiments however from her miniſters: Burleigh thought her ſincere for ſome time; the earl of Leiceſter was not entirely of that opinion, but knew not what to think. Be this as it will, the queen was told that Catherine de Medici, having plainly perceived the reaſons which moved her to reject the propoſals of a marriage with Charles IX, had intimated that the duke of Anjou would be more proper for her. It was alſo hinted to her, that the young prince was by no means a bigot, and might poſſibly be brought to communicate with the church of England. The only thing therefore was ſo to manage it that the French court ſhould make the firſt advances, after which the treaty might begin. To that end, in Auguſt 1570, Norris was recalled from his embaſſy in France, to make room for ſir Francis Walſingham, who was doubtleſs thought more proper to manage the affair, being alſo a creature of the lord Burleigh, who was extremely deſirous of the marriage.

Camden.

Walſingham is ſent ambaſſador to France.

Walſing. Negotiat. p. 18.

Walſingham ſtayed all the reſt of the year, and part of the next at Paris, without any overture being made, and yet the marriage was much talked of. He informed the court of England of it, and preſently after received inſtructions from Burleigh, importing, that if any perſon of diſtinction ſhould ſpeak to him of the marriage, he might anſwer, that upon the report he had taken care to enquire how the queen ſtood inclined in that reſpect, and found, as the good of her people was her chief view, ſhe had reſolved to marry if ſhe could meet with a ſuitable match. Shortly after the lord Buckhurſt being ſent to Paris [a], as ambaſſador extraordinary, king Charles and his mother queen Catherine opened their minds to him upon that ſubject, and a negotiation was begun. But as this project was not executed, I ſhall content myſelf, without deſcending to particulars, to ſhow here the real cauſes of the breaking off the negotiation.

The marriage begins to be negotiated.

Walſingh. Negotiat. Stow.

It is almoſt certain neither Elizabeth nor the court of France had any deſire to conclude the marriage, though it ſeemed to be ſeriouſly negotiated on both ſides. Elizabeth found a double advantage in this feigned negotiation. Firſt, ſhe amuſed her own miniſters, who preſſed her earneſtly to marry. Secondly, her enemies, believing the marriage was really going to be concluded, would of courſe remain quiet. And indeed it was not likely they ſhould think of attacking

Charles IX. and Elizabeth equally diſſemble.

Elizabeth's reaſons.

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[a] He went over in February, and came back a little before Eaſter. Stow, p. 668, 669.

her,

Eliz. 1571. her, when they ſaw her upon the point of being ſtrictly united with France. It was requiſite therefore, the better to amuſe thoſe who might have formed plots againſt her, to ſhow ſome earneſtneſs for the marriage, leſt, if ſhe acted with indifference in the affair, her moſt ſecret thoughts ſhould be diſcovered.

Reaſons of Charles IX. On the other ſide, the court of France propoſed the marriage only to amuſe Elizabeth, and with her all the proteſtants of Europe, but particularly the Huguenots. In all likelihood, Charles IX. had now formed the barbarous plot which broke out the next year. But this was only the beginning of a greater project, which was to deſtroy all the proteſtants in general, and ſuddenly attack Elizabeth herſelf. The pope and the king of Spain were engaged in the deſign, and pretended to be alarmed at what was negotiating at Paris, to enſnare the more eaſily thoſe they intended to ſurpriſe. Wherefore, it was neceſſary for the court of France to appear very deſirous of the match, and to yield as far as poſſible, but without concluding any thing in point of religion. So the difficulties ſtarted by Elizabeth in the negotiation were extremely ſubſervient to the deſigns of the French, as they gave them room to make advances capable of deceiving the publick, and cauſing it to be thought they had no ill deſign againſt the proteſtant religion. By this means they removed all ſorts of ſuſpicion both from the court of England and the Huguenots. Indeed it was hardly poſſible to conjecture, that when the king and his mother teſtified ſuch a zeal to accompliſh the propoſed marriage, they were thinking of extirpating all the Huguenots in the kingdom. Nay, they were extremely careful to remove this ſuſpicion by their great diſſimulation towards them, pretending to lend an ear to the leaders of the Huguenots, and place entire confidence in them. But, notwithſtanding all their care to conceal their deſigns, the French court made Elizabeth very jealous during the whole negotiation, by their preſſing and repeated inſtances for the queen of Scots liberty. Elizabeth could not underſtand this way of proceeding. The king of France, as ſhe thought, having propoſed the marriage with the duke of Anjou, and a ſtrict alliance between the two crowns, ſhould have been entirely in her intereſt; whereas ſhe ſaw him concerned for Mary's, which was directly contrary. Nay, ſhe diſcovered at that time, that France privately favoured Mary's projects, which could not be reconciled with the deſign of the marriage and alliance. For this reaſon ſhe frequently intimated to the king and his mother, that ſhe was offended at their conduct. But ſhe

Leſley's Negotiations. Walſingh. Negotiat.

She was anſwered with proteſtations of friendſhip, eſteem, and regard, and with excuſes, that Mary being queen dowager of France, leſs could not be done than to ſollicit in her behalf. Charles did not even ſcruple to own privately, that what he did was only for form's ſake, that he might not appear entirely to forſake the unfortunate queen. Perhaps it will be thought ſtrange, that Charles ſhould not carry his diſſimulation ſo far as to declare openly, he would not concern himſelf any more about Mary; but this policy would have ſpoiled all. The deſign of the league of religion was to extirpate the Huguenots at once, that being freed from the fear of any diverſion in France, the catholicks might carry their arms into England. If therefore Mary's reſtoration to the throne of Scotland could have been obtained, whether by treaty or ſollicitation, or any other way, England might have been invaded with much greater eaſe, whilſt inſurrections were raiſed within the kingdom. This was the ſcheme which had been formed from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. To invade England by ſea, would neceſſarily have been very expenſive; beſides that ſuch an undertaking was liable to greater inconveniencies, as Philip II. afterwards experienced. Scotland therefore alone could afford a paſſage, but to that end the kingdom was to be governed by perſons well affected to the catholick religion. This was the aim of all the intrigues, publick and private, for the queen of Scots reſtoration. I am perſuaded that they who have intimated that compaſſion for queen Mary made her friends act for her, had no juſt idea of the inceſſant and extraordinary pains in her favour. I do not however deny, that among thoſe who ſerved her, ſome acted from that motive; but that was not the thought of thoſe who managed affairs. In the intention of thoſe, Mary's reſtoration was only a means to execute greater projects.

They cannot agree upon the article of religion. Digges's Complete Ambaſſad. p. 82--101.

It is therefore certain the court of France never ſeriouſly thought of concluding the marriage; and, in all appearance, the queen herſelf was as little inclined to it, though her miniſters did all they could to perſuade her. As ſhe had declared at firſt by Walſingham, that ſhe would not allow the duke of Anjou the exerciſe of his religion, the court of France imagined there would be no great danger in making ſome advances with reſpect to that point, ſince they were almoſt ſure of finding in it an occaſion of rupture, as well as a continual pretence to prolong the treaty as they pleaſed. The duke of Anjou came therefore by degrees to be ſatisfied with a little chapel in ſome private corner of the palace, and the French ambaſſador had orders to proteſt, that the duke could not be

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Digges's Compleat Ambaſſad. p. 100. Walſingh. Negotiat. p. 97.

Camden. Elizabeth's obſtinacy convincing the king of France he might venture to proceed one ſtep farther, he offered to leave the article of religion undetermined. But Elizabeth would not agree to it, ſaying, it would be an infallible means to ſow diſcord between her and her ſpouſe. In ſhort, the court of France went ſo far, as to be ſatisfied with the queen's promiſe in writing, that the duke of Anjou ſhould not be proſecuted according to the laws of England, if he ſecretly exerciſed his religion in a private chapel. Whereupon Elizabeth, with great difficulty, agreed at length to this:

Camden, p. 433. 'That if the duke of Anjou would promiſe to accompany 'the queen when ſhe went to chapel, and would not refuſe to 'hear and learn the principles of the church of England, ſhe 'would agree that neither himſelf nor his family ſhould be 'compelled against their conſcience to conform to the Engliſh 'church, till they ſhould be otherwiſe perſuaded. Moreover, 'that neither himſelf nor his domeſticks, the number of whom 'ſhould be agreed upon, ſhould be diſturbed in the uſe of any 'rites and ceremonies different from thoſe eſtabliſhed by law, 'provided they were not repugnant to the word of God, and 'on condition it were done in a private place, for the ſatisfying their conſciences, and ſo as the people might not take occaſion from thence to violate the eſtabliſhed laws of the land.'

It was with much difficulty that the French ambaſſador got the terms, "repugnant to the word of God," to be changed into theſe, "repugnant to the church of God."

It is eaſy to perceive, that when Elizabeth ſeemed to relax a little on this article, ſhe added reſtrictions which required explication, and which left a door to recede, in caſe ſhe had been taken at her word. Hence therefore it may be inferred, that ſhe did inſiſt ſo much upon the article of religion, only becauſe ſhe thought it ſerviceable to break off the negotiation. Accordingly we find in Walſingham's Memoirs, that the earl of Leiceſter and the lord Burleigh were convinced at laſt, ſhe had no mind to marry.

The negotiation breaks off.

The affair ſtanding thus, Charles IX. told the queen, by La Mothe Fenelon his ambaſſador, that he thought her anſwer very hard, and deſired her to ſend ſome truſty perſon to ſettle with him every thing relating to the marriage. Elizabeth replied, ſhe could not proceed to any other article, without knowing firſt, whether the king and the duke intended to allow what ſhe had propoſed, with reſpect to religion. So, the buſineſs ſtopped there. Charles ſtill feigned to expect the truſty perſon he had demanded, and the queen pretended ſhe ſtaid for the court of France's conſent to the article concerning religion, as ſhe had ſent it. The negotiation laſted from March till September, and the rupture altered not the good underſtanding between the two courts. On the contrary, Charles thanked the queen for dealing ſo freely with him, and without ſaying any more of the marriage, deſired to make a defenſive league with her. Elizabeth readily conſented. As ſhe had no ally, it was her intereſt to unite with France, as well to diſengage that crown from the queen of Scots intereſt, as to diſcourage the pope, the king of Spain, and the Engliſh catholicks, by the alliance. But ſhe knew not that Charles's aim was only to amuſe both her and the Huguenots, whoſe deſtruction was determined, though he affected to careſs and make uſe of them, to execute his pretended projects againſt Spain. However this be, Elizabeth ſent ſecretary Smith into France, to negotiate the league jointly with Walſingham.

Mary turns to Spain.

She employs Ridolpho the Florentine.

Leſley's Negotiat. Camden. Thuanus.

Whilſt the queen's marriage with the duke of Anjou was treating at Paris, and both ſides affected to publiſh it would ſoon be concluded, the queen of Scots was in a grievous condition, becauſe ſhe plainly ſaw ſhe was going to loſe France. This obliged her without doubt to turn towards Spain, and try to obtain from thence the aſſiſtance ſhe wanted. To that purpoſe, ſhe diſpatched Ridolpho to the pope and the king of Spain, to inform them of the ſtate of her affairs. At the ſame time ſhe writ to the duke of Norfolk, and ſent him in cypher the copy of her letters to Rome and Madrid, recommending to him Ridolpho, as a truſty perſon, to whom ſhe deſired him to give letters of credit. Upon the receit of theſe letters, the duke ordered Higford his ſecretary, who had the key, to decypher them, and then bid him throw them into the fire. But whether Higford was already gained by the court, or deſigned to betray his maſter, he hid all theſe papers under a matt in his bed-chamber.

The duke of Norfolk is engaged again in Mary's intereſt. Leſley's Negotiat. Camden. Thuanus.

Ridolpho, who was the pope's private agent, did all he could to perſuade the duke of Norfolk to undertake the queen of Scots defence. He repreſented to him, there were in England many malecontents, who would be glad to ſee him at their head, and by that means he might revenge the injuries he had received, and the long impriſonment he had endured. He put him in hopes of powerful ſuccours from the pope [b] and the king of Spain [c], adding, that in this he would do no wrong to Elizabeth, ſince it was only to obtain her conſent to marry the queen of Scots, and oblige her to tolerate the catholick religion in England. At the ſame time, the biſhop of Roſs frequently told the duke by Barker, one of his confidents, that by the help of his friends, who were very numerous, it would be eaſy for him to ſeize the queen, become maſter of her perſon, and detain her in cuſtody, till he had married the queen of Scots, and provided for the ſecurity of the catholick religion.

The duke acts with caution, but reſumes the project of marrying queen Mary. Leſley's Negotiat. Camden.

But the duke rejected the biſhop of Roſs's project, and even refuſed to give Ridolpho the letters of credit, which he deſired for the courts of Rome and Madrid, and for the duke of Alva. But though all the duke of Norfolk's proceedings in this affair are not particularly known, 'tis however certain, he engaged in it too far, in expectation of eſpouſing the queen of Scots. But it cannot well be conceived, how he intended to accompliſh his enterprize, or what he deſigned to do after marrying the queen of Scots. However, it is eaſy to conjecture that the pope and the king of Spain, who ſet Ridolpho and the biſhop of Roſs to work, would never have thought of employing the duke of Norfolk, if they had not had ſome aſſurances from him, that he would comply with their intentions.

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[b] Who had laid down, the laſt year, when the bull was publiſhed, a hundred thouſand crowns, whereof twelve thouſand had been diſtributed by Ridolpho himſelf, among the Engliſh fugitives in Flanders. Leſley's Negotiat. p. 154.

[c] Affirming, that the king of Spain would furniſh him with four thouſand horſe, and ſix hundred foot, which might be tranſported to Harwich in Eſſex, and without the leaſt ſuſpicion, in the beginning of ſummer, when the duke of Medina-Celi was coming in the Netherlands with a fleet. Ibid.

Ridolpho, having conferred with the pope and the duke of Alva, informed one Baily, a Fleming, the queen of Scots ſervant, of what he had negotiated; and as this man was to go into England, gave him ſeveral letters for the queen of Scots, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, the biſhop of Roſs, and the duke of Norfolk[d]. Baily was no ſooner landed at Dover, but he was ſeized. His packet was taken from him, and ſent to the lord Cobham, governor of the Cinque-ports. But the biſhop of Roſs being informed of the accident, ſo artfully managed the lord Cobham, the duke of Norfolk's ſecret friend, that the letters were changed, and others put in their place, containing nothing criminal or of moment, which were delivered to the council. However, Baily was put to the rack, and confeſſed the true letters were in the biſhop of Roſs's hands. But the biſhop had taken care to ſend all the papers which might hurt him beyond ſea with his ſecretary. So nothing was found in his houſe, and yet he was arreſted and committed to the cuſtody of the biſhop of Ely[e].

Ridolpho's intrigues are partly diſcovered. Leſley's Negotiations. Camden. Thuanus.

Leſley's Negotiat. Spotiſwood.

Shortly after, the court made a new diſcovery, which proved fatal to the duke of Norfolk. The French ambaſſador intending to diſtribute ſome money in Scotland among the queen's friends[f], applied to the duke of Norfolk, who cauſed him to put into the hands of Higford and Barker, to deliver it to one Brown of Shrewſbury, who was to convey it to Lowther and Baniſter, and theſe were ordered to ſend it to the lord Herris. Brown, who was not in the ſecret, receiving the money well packed up, and finding by the weight it was gold, whereas he had been told it was ſilver, carried it to the ſecretary of ſtate. The packet being opened, there was found a letter in cypher from La Mothe Fenelon to Verac the French ambaſſador in Scotland. Whereupon Higford, the duke of Norfolk's ſecretary, being arreſted, preſently confeſſed, that the money was returned by the French ambaſſador. He diſcovered likewiſe where he had hid the queen of Scots papers, which the duke his maſter had ordered him to decypher and tranſcribe. This was ſufficient to cauſe the duke of Norfolk to be apprehended, and ſent to the Tower the 7th of September. There was found upon him a long memorial in

The court diſcovers Norfolk's deſigns. Leſley's Negotiat. Camden. Digges's Ambaſ. p. 154-158.

Stow. Hollingſh. Digges's Ambaſ. p. 139.

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[d] And the lord Lumley. Camden, p. 434.

[e] And conveyed a while after to the caſtle of Ely. Sir Thomas Stanley, and ſir Thomas Gerard, and Rolſton, were ſent to the Tower. And Henry Howard, who had aſpired to the archbiſhoprick of York, was, upon ſuſpicion, committed to the cuſtody of the archbiſhop of Canterbury. Ibid.

[f] Two thouſand crowns. Camden ſays, the money was ſent by queen Mary to the French ambaſſador, to be by him conveyed to her party in Scotland, p. 434.

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cypher, dated the 7th of February this year, wherein the queen of Scotland told him, ſhe was adviſed to retire to Spain rather than France, by reaſon of the duke of Anjou's marriage with Elizabeth, which was much talked of. She added, when ſhe ſhould be in Spain, ſhe would feign a deſire to marry Don John of Auſtria; but that the duke ſhould not be alarmed at it, becauſe ſhe reſerved herſelf for him. Finally, after ſpeaking of Elizabeth in very injurious terms, ſhe deſired the duke to diſpatch Ridolpho to Rome with inſtructions [g].

The duke confeſſes part of what he is accuſed of. Oct. 10-11. Leſley's Negotiat. Camden.

The duke of Norfolk being examined, confeſſed that about a year ſince he received four letters in cypher from the queen of Scots, and had anſwered them; but ſaid, it was only to thank her for her good will, and to perſuade her to rely entirely on the queen. He ſaid farther, that the biſhop of Roſs having preſſed him to write to the duke of Alva by Ridolpho, he had refuſed it, neither would he give him any inſtructions about the affair for which he went to Rome. He confeſſed alſo, he had helped to convey to Verac a letter from the French ambaſſador reſiding at London. As to the papers he had received from the queen of Scots by Ridolpho, he ſaid, they were burnt, as he really believed. Then his houſe was ſearched, and the cypher which the queen of Scots and he uſed, was found with the papers hid by the ſecretary. Some of the complices who were apprehended, confeſſed all they knew, without being put to the rack.

Conſultations about the biſhop of Roſs. Octob. 24. Leſley's Negotiat. Camden. Thuanus.

Leſley's Negotiat. Camden.

Whilſt proofs were collecting againſt the duke of Norfolk, in order to form his proceſs, the council debated on what was to be done with the biſhop of Roſs. He aſſumed the character of the queen of Scots ambaſſador, and probably had been acknowledged for ſuch, Elizabeth not having thought proper to deny Mary the title of queen, or openly to own ſhe was a priſoner. So the caſe being uncommon, ſome learned civilians were conſulted upon three queries [h]. Firſt, whether an ambaſ-

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[g] This memorial, according to Camden, was not found about the duke, but being ſent to him by queen Mary, with the copy of her letters to Rome and Madrid, he ordered it to be burnt with the reſt of the papers. But Higford, upon his being taken up, diſcovered to the council where it was hid, with the letters. It was a draught of queen Mary's deſigns, which the duke of Norfolk imagining Higford had burnt, denied at firſt every thing that Higford had confeſſed; but when the council produced Higford's and others confeſſions, together with the draughts and letters, to the duke's face, he was amazed, thinking they had been burnt. The earls of Arundel and Southampton, the lords Lumley and Cobham, Thomas Brooke, Henry Percy, Lowder, Powell, Goodyer, Baniſter, &c. were taken up alſo, who all confeſſed what they knew. Camden, p. 434, 435.

[h] Rapin, by miſtake, ſays, the judges were conſulted, but it was not their buſineſs. The civilians were, Daniel Lewis, Valentine Dale, William Drury, William Aubrey, and Henry Jones. Camden.

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ambaſſador, convicted of conſpiring againſt the prince to whom he is ſent, ought to enjoy the privileges of an ambaſſador? The civilians replied, ſuch an ambaſſador, by the law of nations, forfeits his privileges. Secondly, whether a prince depoſed can give his miniſter or agent the title of ambaſſador? The anſwer was, the right of ſending ambaſſadors belonged only to ſovereigns, and a prince lawfully depoſed cannot confer that title. It muſt be obſerved, Elizabeth had not owned that Mary was lawfully depoſed. Thirdly, whether a prince who comes into another prince's dominions, and is there kept priſoner, can have an agent? And whether that agent may be reputed an ambaſſador, though it be notified to him that he ſhall be no longer acknowledged for ſuch? It was anſwered, if ſuch a prince has not forfeited his royalty, he may have an agent; but whether that agent may be reputed an ambaſſador, depended upon the authority of his commiſſion. And a prince may forbid an ambaſſador his dominions, if he does not keep himſelf within the bounds of his office: but however, the privileges of ambaſſadors are not to be violated [i].

He is brought before the council. Octob. 24. Leſley's Negotiat.

His anſwer. Camden.

Octob. 26.

Camden, p. 435.

Theſe queries being thus anſwered, the biſhop of Roſs was brought before the council [k], and charged with attempting to diſturb the peace of the kingdom. He refuſed at firſt to anſwer, inſiſting on the privileges of an ambaſſador. But at length, ſeeing this defence was little regarded, and witneſſes began to be produced againſt him, he ſaid, that by an inviolable cuſtom, grown into a law, the Engliſh and Scots could not be witneſſes one againſt another. Whereupon it was examined, whether this cuſtom was to take place any where but on the borders, eſpecially in a caſe where the ſafety of the queen and kingdom was concerned. In ſhort, the biſhop was ſent to the Tower, and ſome time after examined [l] upon three and twenty articles, to each of which he anſwered in particular: but Camden has not thought fit to give us either the examination or the anſwers. He ſays only in general, that the biſhop excuſed the queen his miſtreſs, for that being a priſoner, and in the flower of her age, it was no wonder ſhe ſhould uſe her endeavours to eſcape: that the project of her marriage was formed by the advice of ſeveral Engliſh lords, ſome of whom were privy-counſellors: that indeed the duke

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[i] The anſwer to the firſt part of the query being omitted by Rapin, is ſupplied from Camden, and placed between crotchets.

[k] He was brought before the earl of Bedford, Clinton lord admiral, the lord Burleigh, ſir Francis Knolles, and ſir Thomas Smith, with the queen's attorney and ſollicitor, at the lord-mayor's houſe. Leſley's Negotiat. p. 189.

[l] By the lord Burghley, ſir Francis Knolles, and ſir Thomas Smith. Leſley's Negotiat. p. 197.

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of Norfolk had promiſed to think no more of the affair; but his promiſe was not capable of breaking a prior engagement [m]: laſtly, he endeavoured to juſtify his own conduct: for that being an ambaſſador, he was obliged to ſerve the queen his miſtreſs to the utmoſt of his power: adding, that he propoſed the deſign of ſeizing the queen to the duke of Norfolk, only to try him; and he refuſed to name the great men who had promiſed to aſſiſt him in the attempt. But he confeſſed, that by the orders of the queen his miſtreſs, he had conſulted the earl of Arundel, Lumley, Throckmorton, and the lord viſcount Montague, about the queen of England's demand, that the king of Scotland ſhould be put into her hands. This is all Camden ſays of the biſhop of Roſs's defence. But it is not unlikely, the fear of death with which he was threatened, made him diſcover ſome things which Camden has not been pleaſed to publiſh, as will appear in the ſequel.

The queen informs the court of France of the duke of Norfolk's affair. Digges's Ambaſ. p. 147.

The duke of Norfolk's impriſonment making a great noiſe in France and elſewhere, Elizabeth cauſed the reaſons to be imparted to Charles IX. by Killegrew, whom ſhe ſent to Paris to eaſe Walſingham who was ſick. The new ambaſſador told the queen-mother, that it was now two years ſince the queen of Scots, without acquainting his miſtreſs with it, had deſigned to marry the duke of Norfolk, and therefore he was ſent to the Tower, without however being deprived of the enjoyment of his eſtate: that afterwards, the duke ſwore to think of that marriage no more, and the queen of Scots, both by letters and agents, promiſed the like: that nevertheleſs they had ſtill continued their intrigues, as it was eaſy to prove by their own letters; and under colour of freeing the queen of Scots, had projected to ſet her on the throne of England, by raiſing a rebellion in the kingdom, and calling in foreign troops, which evidently appeared by their letters and the confeſſions of their complices: that the queen of Scots had expreſly ordered her agents to conceal her deſigns from the court of France, becauſe ſhe was entirely devoted to Spain, having even reſolved to convey her ſon thither, and marry Don John of Auſtria.

An act to maintain the queen's title. D'ewes, p. 136, &c. Statut. Camden.

In the preſent ſituation of the French court, Elizabeth's complaints againſt the queen of Scots were not much regarded. But the parliament of England [n] took the queen's intereſt extremely to heart, and to prevent the dangers to which ſhe was expoſed by theſe plots, paſſed a very remarkable act. It was provided, "That if any man ſhould attempt the perſonal hurt of the queen, or the depriving her of any part of ſovereigty; raiſe war, or ſtir up others to war againſt her: if any one ſhould dare to give out that another perſon has a juſter title than ſhe to the crown; or ſhould ſay ſhe is an heretick, ſchiſmatick or infidel; or ſhould uſurp her right and title during her life; or ſhould affirm the parliament has not power to ſettle and limit the ſucceſſion to the crown, every ſuch perſon ſhould be guilty of high treaſon [o]." It was alſo enacted, "That whoſoever, by bulls or other mandates of the pope, ſhould reconcile any man to the church of Rome, and thoſe who ſhould be ſo reconciled, ſhould be guilty of treaſon: that whoſoever ſhould relieve ſuch reconcilers, or ſhould bring into England any Agnus Dei's, Grains, or other things conſecrated by the pope, ſhould incur the penalty of a præmunire, loſs of goods, and perpetual impriſonment." It was provided alſo, "That all the fugitives ſhould within ſuch a time, under forfeiture of their eſtates, return and ſubmit themſelves to the government, and that all the fraudulent conveyances of their lands ſhould be void." It was likewiſe moved, That if for the future the queen of Scots ſhould be concerned in any conſpiracy, ſhe ſhould be proceeded againſt by law, as the wife of an Engliſh peer. But the queen hindered this bill from paſſing, being ſatisfied with letting her priſoner ſee to what ſhe would be expoſed, if ſhe continued her practices [p].

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[m] If Bothwell lived ten years in Denmark, as Camden ſays in another place, it is not to be conceived how queen Mary could promiſe with an oath to marry the duke of Norfolk in 1570, ſeeing Bothwell was then alive. Rapin.

[n] This parliament met at Weſtminſter April 2, and was diſſolved May 29.

The clergy granted a ſubſidy of ſix ſhillings to be paid in three years; and the lords and commons two fifteenths and tenths, and a ſubſidy of two ſhillings and eight-pence in the pound. D'ewes. Stow, p. 669.

[o] The act goes on: "And if any one, during the queen's life, ſhould by book written or printed, maintain that any perſon is or ought to be the queen's heir and ſucceſſor, except the natural iſſue of her body," &c. Some looked upon this as too ſevere, thinking the naming of an heir would tend to the eſtabliſhing the quiet of the nation. But it ſeems, abundance of jeſts were paſſed upon the clauſe, "except the natural iſſue of her body," ſince, in law, thoſe children are called natural which are begotten out of wedlock. So that Camden ſays, being then a young man, he himſelf often heard people ſay, that the word natural was inſerted into the act by Leiceſter, with a deſign, one time or other, to impoſe ſome baſtard ſon of his upon the Engliſh for the queen's natural iſſue. Camden, p. 436.

[p] The other acts made in this parliament were theſe: 1. That fraudulent deeds made to avoid the debts of others ſhall be void. 2. That fraudulent conveyances or deeds made by ſpiritual perſons, to defeat their ſucceſſors of remedy for dilapidations, ſhall be void. 3. That no eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhall be admitted to any benefice with cure, except he be twenty-three years of age at leaſt; and

Eliz. 1571.

Continuation of the affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Melvil, p. 113. Spotiſwood. Camden.

Before we ſee what followed upon the late diſcoveries, it will be neceſſary to run over what paſſed in Scotland, after the earl of Morton's return. The beginning of May, the queen's party became maſter of Edinburgh, by the aſſiſtance of the laird of Grange, who favoured them, though he pretended to keep the caſtle for the king. This done, the heads of that party convened the ſtates belonging to their faction; and at the ſame time, the earl of Lenox aſſembled the ſtates of the king's party in the ſuburbs of the ſame city. Theſe two aſſemblies did nothing but mutually condemn each other, and as if they had given one another the word, they reſolved each apart to meet again in Auguſt, the king's lords at Sterling, and the queen's at Edinburgh. Theſe reſolutions being executed at the time appointed, the lords at Edinburgh formed the project of carrying away by force the lords of the contrary party, who were at Sterling without any precaution. Melvil ſays, his friend Grange was the author, contriver, and manager of this enterprize. He would have headed them himſelf; but his friends would not ſuffer him to be expoſed to the danger. This is the ſame Grange, whom Melvil repreſents as a neutral perſon, and aiming only at the good of his country. The project was executed with ſo much conduct and ſucceſs, that the regent and the earl of Morton were preſently made priſoners. In all appearance, few of the king's lords would have eſcaped, had not the victorious ſoldiers fallen to plundering. But whilſt they were diſperſed about the town, the earl of Mar ſallied out of the caſtle with the garriſon, and compelled them to retire. In the diſorder, the earl of Morton fortunately eſcaped, but the regent was carried away, and murdered on the road in cold blood by one hired to do it, in ſpite of David Spence, the officer who guarded him. A few days after, John Erſkin earl of Mar was choſen regent, to the great mortification of the earl of Morton, who aſpired to that dignity, and was ſupported by the Engliſh ambaſſador.

Buchanan. Melvil, p. 113.

The earl of Lenox is killed, and the earl of Mar choſen regent. Buchanan. Melvil.

Remarks on the factions of Scotland.

To underſtand the ſituation of the affairs of Scotland, it is neceſſary to conſider, that though there ſeemed to be but two parties in the kingdom, namely, the king's and the queen's, there were however five, becauſe there were ſo many different

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ſhall firſt ſubſcribe the articles of religion in preſence of the ordinary; and within two months after induction, read the ſame in his pariſh church, in the time of common-prayer; and declare his unfeigned aſſent thereunto; and all this upon pain of deprivation. That no perſon ſhall retain a benefice with cure, being under the age of twenty-one years, or not being a deacon at leaſt. That none ſhall be admitted to preach or adminiſter the ſacraments under the age of twenty-four years; nor without a teſtimonial of his honeſt life; nor unleſs he is able to render to the ordinary an account of his faith in Latin.

opinions in both, which occaſioned that all of the ſame party did not tend to the ſame end. Some were wholly attached to the queen, and their chief view was to reſtore the catholick religion. Others earneſtly adhered to the king's party and the proteſtant religion. The new regent, like his predeceſſor, was deſirous to unite the two factions, and laboured to bring all to the obedience of the king, which he hoped to accompliſh, by granting to the queen's adherents all the favours they could reaſonably expect. Grange and his friends had formed the ſame deſign of uniting the two parties, but in ſuch a manner as that the kingdom ſhould be governed in the queen's name. In fine, the earl of Morton, who was penſioner to the court of England, was at the head of a fifth party, who, though outwardly for the king, ſought only to croſs thoſe that endeavoured to unite the two factions. This was properly Elizabeth's party, or at leaſt the party ſhe favoured moſt, though ſhe affected a neutrality. Her ambaſſador Randolph, a man of a great genius, and very fit for his office, was the inſtrument ſhe made uſe of to ſtrengthen it. Nothing could be more prejudicial to England than the union of the two parties, which was endeavouring at any rate. It was to be feared, that after the union queen Mary's friends would grow too powerful in the parliament, and procure reſolutions deſtructive of the intereſts of Elizabeth and England. Thus diſcord among the Scots was yet for Elizabeth's advantage, till affairs ſhould take another face. But as the earl of Mar, the new regent, was not to be managed as ſhe wiſhed, ſhe laid her meaſures beforehand, to procure the earl of Morton a party, capable of being oppoſed to the regent, if occaſion required. Such was the ſtate of the affairs of Scotland in the year 1571. We muſt now ſee what paſſed in France.

Melvil, p. 109.

Affairs of France.

Mezerai.

Diſſimulation of Charles IX.

Thuanus.

All this year the court of France uſed the higheſt diſſimulation to draw the Huguenots into their ſnares. There were no favours at court but for them. The king pretended to fear his brother the duke of Anjou, and to be diſpleaſed with the Guiſes, who, as he ſaid, kept him in a ſhameful captivity. Beſides this, he made uſe of two very effectual means to deceive the admiral. The firſt was, to feign a real intention to wage war with Spain, and to truſt him with the management of it. The ſecond was, to conclude the marriage of his ſiſter the princeſs Margaret with the king of Navarre. After that, the admiral and the Huguenots no longer queſtioned the king's good will towards them, eſpecially as they ſaw him very intent upon the marriage of the duke of Anjou with the queen of England, and as compliant as poſſible with reſpect to religion.

Affairs of the Low-Countries. Grotius. Strada. Camden.

At the ſame time, the prince of Orange was ſtriving to put the Netherlands in motion, having reſolved to make ſome attempt, whilſt the king of Spain's arms were employed againſt the infidels. The kings of Sweden and Denmark refuſing to aſſiſt him, he applied to Elizabeth, who durſt not give him aſſiſtance, though ſhe was not ignorant of the correſpondence held by the duke of Alva in Scotland and England with Mary's adherents. She even forbid the ſhips of Holland and Zealand, which acted againſt Spain, to enter her ports. In this extremity, the prince of Orange ſent his brother count Lewis to king Charles IX, who loaded him with careſſes, and even imparted to him the falſe ſecret of his pretended deſign to make war upon Philip. But all this was only to deceive him. In the mean time, the count de la Mark, with four and twenty ſhips, did the Spaniards all the damage he could. This was all the prince of Orange could effect during this year [q].

1572. The duke of Norfolk is condemed to die. State-Trials. Stow. Hollingſh.

The 16th of January the duke of Norfolk was brought to his trial before the peers of the realm [r]. His accuſation ran: 1. That he had attempted to deprive the queen of her crown and life, and ſeize the throne himſelf by the help of foreigners. 2. That, unknown to the queen, he had treated of a marriage with the queen of Scots, though he knew ſhe had uſurped the title and arms of England. 3. That he had lent her a great ſum of money. 4. That he had ſupplied with money the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, who were baniſhed the kingdom and declared enemies of their country. 5. That he had writ to the pope, the king of Spain, the duke of Alva; deſiring aid to free the queen of Scots, and reſtore the popiſh religion in England. 6. Laſtly, That he had ſent ſupplies to the lord Herris and other the queen's enemies in Scotland.

[q] The Engliſh having, ſince the year 1552, carried on a gainful trade for gold with the negroes on the coaſt of Guinea, wherein they had often been diſturbed by the Portugueſe, who laid claim to that country, as the firſt diſcoverers of it; at laſt, all differences between the two nations were adjuſted, by a treaty concluded this year. Camden, p. 437. --- The Exchange having been ſome time finiſhed, namely, ever ſince November 1567, queen Elizabeth came, January 23, this year, to ſee it, and by ſound of trumpet, her herald named it, The Royal Exchange. Stow, p. 668. Camden, p. 431. --- On September 22, died the learned John Jewell, biſhop of Saliſbury. Stow, p. 670. This year alſo died William Parr marquis of Northampton. Camden, p. 437.

[r] George Talbot earl of Shrewſbury was conſtituted lord high ſteward of England for that day, and with him ſat twenty-five peers. Camden.

It may be ſaid in general, the duke made a very weak defence to moſt of theſe articles. But it was not eaſy for him to deny what his own letters, and the confeſſions of his ſervants and complices, proved againſt him. Beſides, an intercepted letter from the biſhop of Roſs in priſon, to the queen of Scots, clearly ſhowed the duke had formed pernicious deſigns againſt the government. Camden did not think fit to relate the contents of the biſhop's letter. It is probable however, it was very much to the purpoſe, ſince the duke deſired to ſee whether it was the biſhop's own hand. When he was convinced of it by his own eyes, he made the ſame defence as the biſhop had done, namely, that the teſtimony of a Scot againſt an Engliſhman was not valid. In this they both pretended, without ground, to take advantage of a cuſtom introduced on the borders of the two kingdoms, where, in caſes of depredation, the evidence of one nation againſt the other was not admitted, becauſe they were parties. But this cuſtom was not become ſo general as to be of ſervice to the duke in his cauſe. The ſtrength of his defence was, that his deſign to marry the queen of Scots could not be reckoned high treaſon, neither could it be thence inferred that he intended to ſeize the throne. The queen's attorney replied, that all the circumſtances of the affair, and all the duke's proceedings, evidently ſhowed he aimed at ſomething more than barely to marry a depoſed and impriſoned queen; for, by the meaſures he would have taken with the foreign powers, it plainly appeared, that in eſpouſing the queen of Scots, he deſigned to aſſert her claim to the crown of England. At laſt, after a long examination, he was condemned by his peers as guilty of high treaſon: but the ſentence was not executed till June.

Creation of peers.
May 4.
Camden.
Dugdale.
Stow.

In the mean while, the queen made Walter d'Evreux earl of Eſſex. He was deſcended by the great grandmother's ſide from the noble family of Bourchier, which had long borne that title. At the ſame time the lord Clinton high-admiral was created earl of Lincoln, and four new barons were ſummoned to the next parliament [s].

Act on occaſion of the duke of Norfolk.

The parliament hearing plots were formed to free the duke of Norfolk, paſſed an act; whereby it was made death to attempt to deliver a priſoner condemned for high treaſon. By the ſame act, it was perpetual impriſonment and forfeiture of eſtate, if the priſoner was only accuſed of high treaſon, tho' not condemned [t].

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[s] Namely, John Powlet of Baſing, Compton, Henry Cheney, and Henry
the marquis of Wincheſter's ſon; Henry Norris. Camden, p. 449.

The duke is executed. State-Trials. Camden. Hollingſh.

At length the queen, after having been long in ſuſpenſe, ſigned a warrant for the execution of the duke of Norfolk, the 2d of June. He confeſſed part of his faults, excuſed himſelf as to the reſt, and in general owned he was juſtly condemned: but he declared he never had any thoughts of reſtoring the popiſh religion in England, and that he died a proteſtant [u]. He was ſon to the earl of Surrey, beheaded in the latter part of Henry the Eighth's reign for quartering the arms of Edward the Confeſſor with his own, without the king's licence. All of that family had firmly adhered to the catholick religion, except this duke, who embraced the proteſtant in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign. Since he declared that he died in the reformed religion, I don't ſee how his ſincerity can juſtly be queſtioned. But who can tell how far his ambition might have carried him, if he had found his projects more practicable? At leaſt, it cannot be denied that they who put him in motion, thought they had reaſon to rely on him. After all, if any one doubted that the end of this conſpiracy was to reſtore the popiſh religion in England, he might be ſatisfied by the teſtimony of Hieronymo Catena, in the life of Pius V. Inſtead of clearing the pope, the author makes him glory in having been the promoter of this deſign, and in having ſent Ridolpho into England to excite the Engliſh to rebel againſt Elizabeth.

The queen of Scots is examined. Camden. Thuanus.

Ten days after the duke of Norfolk's death, Elizabeth ſent two privy-counſellors to the queen of Scots [w], not to accuſe her criminally, as Camden affirms [x], but to inform her of what ſhe had been charged with in the trial of the duke of Norfolk and his complices, and to tell her, the queen would be extremely glad ſhe could juſtify herſelf. This was chiefly to let her know, that her practices were diſcovered, and therefore ſhe had been more cloſely confined and reduced to a ſmaller number of domeſticks. Elizabeth was alſo well pleaſed to let her ſee ſhe had good ſpies, and knew that it was not barely to obtain her liberty, that ſo many powers uſed their intereſt for her, but rather to ſet her on the throne of England. Wherefore the two privy-counſellors repreſented to her, 1. That ſhe had aſſumed the title of queen of England, and afterwards refuſed to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, whereby ſhe had engaged to renounce it. 2. That ſhe would have married the duke of Norfolk without the queen's knowledge; and there was reaſon to believe it was with deſign to dethrone her, ſince ſhe would have uſed foreign troops to ſet the duke free. 3. That ſhe was deeply concerned in the northern rebellion. 4. That ſhe had relieved the rebels in Scotland and Flanders. 5. That ſhe had ſent Ridolpho to the pope and the king of Spain, to ſollicit them to invade England. 6. That ſhe had received letters from the pope, wherein he aſſured her of his protection. 7. That ſhe had procured the pope's bull to abſolve the queen's ſubjects from their oath of allegiance. 8. Laſtly, That ſhe had ſuffered her agents in foreign parts to ſtile her publickly Queen of England. All theſe facts were but too true; however, as it was not eaſy to convict her, that ſhe had acted with the intention aſcribed to her, ſhe therefore boldly made her defence to this effect:

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[t] Before arraignment, forfeiture of eſtate during life, and impriſonment during the queen's pleaſure. If arraigned, death: if condemned, the penalty of high treaſon was to be incurred. This was only during the queen's life.

[u] He was attended on the ſcaffold by Alexander Nowel dean of St. Paul's, and was buried in the Tower chapel. Camden, p. 440. State-Trials, vol. i.

[w] The perſons ſent to expoſtulate with the queen of Scots, were, William lord de la Ware, ſir Ralph Sadler, doctor Wilſon, and Thomas Bromley. Camden, p. 442. Rapin, by miſtake, ſays there were but two.

[x] Camden's words are, "to expoſtulate with her by way of accuſation."

That if ſhe had taken the title of Queen of England, it was by command of the king of France her huſband, and ſhe had quitted it after his death; nay, ſhe had declared, and ſtill did declare, ſhe would not claim it ſo long as Elizabeth or her children lived: That in deſiring to marry the duke of Norfolk, ſhe had no deſign to hurt Elizabeth, but rather was of opinion, the marriage would be advantageous to England: That if ſhe had not renounced the marriage, it was becauſe ſhe was contracted to the duke [y]. That ſhe thought herſelf obliged by conjugal love to warn him of the danger, and perſuade him to make his eſcape: That ſhe was acceſſary to no rebellion, but, on the contrary, was always ready to diſcover whatever came to her knowledge, if Elizabeth would have vouchſafed to ſee and hear her: That ſhe had never relieved the Engliſh rebels, but only recommended the counteſs of Northumberland to the duke of Alva: That hearing Ridolpho was in the pope's favour, ſhe made uſe of him in concerns no way relating to England: That ſhe had employed no perſon to free her, but had willingly hearkened to ſuch as offered their ſervice for that purpoſe, and with that view had given her cypher to Rolſton and Hall: That the letters ſhe had received from the pope, contained only matters

[y] Since Bothwell was alive, how could ſhe be contracted to the duke of Norfolk? Rapin.

of piety and conſolation: That ſhe was not the procurer of the bull, and had only ſeen a copy of it, which when ſhe had read ſhe threw into the fire: That if any in foreign parts ſtiled her Queen of England, ſhe could not help it: That ſhe had never deſired aid of the pope, or the king of Spain, to invade England, but implored their aſſiſtance to reſtore her to her kingdom: Laſtly, That in caſe ſhe was to be tried, ſhe deſired it might be before the parliament, as a princeſs of the blood-royal of England.

Theſe anſwers ſhow that Mary did not deny the facts, but only the intention aſcribed to her. But on the other hand, though this intention could not be fully proved, her bare denial was not ſufficient to ſhow ſhe never had it, or to efface the ſuſpicions entertained of her. However, as there was no deſign to bring her to a trial, the affair reſted there; but Elizabeth was ſtill perſuaded that the end of Mary's and her friends intrigues was to dethrone her.

Negotiation of the defenſive league with France.

Walſingham's Negotiat. in Digges's Com. Amb.

The negotiation of the defenſive league between France and England was ſtill continued at Paris, with great diſſimulation on Charles's ſide. He inſiſted upon difficulties which ought not to have cauſed any delay, ſince his ſole aim was to make uſe of this league to ſurpriſe the Huguenots; but this ſerved the better to conceal his deſigns. He pretended to be much afraid of the power of Spain, and therefore was obliged to join with England. The difficulties of the league conſiſted in two things. Firſt, Elizabeth required that both parties ſhould mutually promiſe to aſſiſt one another, in caſe either ſhould be attacked, though on account of religion. But Charles ſaid, he could not admit of that clauſe, for fear of offending his ſubjects and all the catholick powers. He was willing however to agree, that the article ſhould be expreſſed in more general terms, which ſhould have the ſame meaning, namely, that the two parties ſhould mutually defend one another, if either was attacked upon any account whatſoever. The Engliſh ambaſſadors objected that England feared no attack, but only on account of religion, whereas France had numberleſs quarrels with other ſtates, and therefore the condition would not be equal. To remove this difficulty, Charles offered to write to Elizabeth a letter with his own hand, wherein he would declare, that he underſtood the cauſe of religion to be included in the general clauſe. But the Engliſh not being ſatisfied with this ſecurity, required at leaſt a private article under the great ſeals of France and England. Whereupon Charles exclaimed againſt the injury done him, in believing him capable of breaking his word,

Difficulties of the negotiation. Firſt.

Ibid. p. 155, 191.

p. 169.

Eliz. 1572.

and ſaid, he preferred his honour to his life. Walſingham, one of the Engliſh plenipotentiaries, was ſo biaſſed in favour of Charles, that he thought him a perfect honeſt man. He even writ to the lord Burleigh, that he did not doubt that the ſecurity was ſufficient. In ſhort, after many debates, Elizabeth was contented with the letter offered by Charles.

p. 173, 180.

Second difficulty. p. 170, 177, 191.

The ſecond difficulty conſiſted, in that the king of France would poſitively include the queen of Scots in the treaty, to which Elizabeth would not conſent. She thought it very ſtrange that the king of France ſhould ſo heartily eſpouſe the queen of Scots intereſts at ſuch a juncture. Mary was uſing her utmoſt endeavours to dethrone her. The deſign of the league between France and England was for a mutual defence againſt the attacks of their enemies, and at the ſame time France earneſtly laboured to have the queen of Scots releaſed, that is, to enable her to execute her deſigns. Elizabeth could not underſtand this proceeding, and it gave her great ſuſpicions. However, as ſhe believed the league neceſſary for her ſafety, ſhe overlooked many things which gave her cauſe to miſtruſt the king of France's ſincerity. There was no way found to ſurmount this difficulty, but by inſerting in the treaty a doubtful clauſe to this effect, 'That both parties ſhall maintain the preſent laws of Scotland.' Elizabeth meant the preſent and actual government of that kingdom, under the king's authority; and Charles underſtood the preceding government, under the queen's authority, conſidering the preſent as unlawful. But withal, he intimated that he deſired thoſe terms which were capable of a double meaning, to be uſed only to avoid the blame of abandoning the queen of Scots. Elizabeth imagined it a great advantage that Mary was not mentioned in the treaty. Theſe two difficulties being removed, the league was ſigned at Blois, April 11. The ſubſtance whereof was as follows:

Articles of the league between France and England. Camden, p. 443.

Charles and Elizabeth ſhall mutually aſſiſt one another againſt all perſons who ſhall attack them under any pretence whatſoever.

The league ſhall remain in full force till a year after the death of either party.

The party requeſted ſhall be bound to ſend to the party requiring, an aid of ſix thouſand foot, or of five hundred lances, making up, with others, fifteen hundred horſe, at his choice, with eight ſhips of war, manned with twelve hundred ſoldiers, the whole at the expence of the party requiring.

There ſhall be no innovations made in Scotland, but both princes ſhall endeavour to preſerve the peace of that kingdom, according to the preſent laws, without ſuffering the arrival of any foreign troops.

Mutual embaſſies. Camden. Walſing. Negotiat. p. 206, &c. 214. Stow. Camden.

Some time after, Elizabeth ſent the earl of Lincoln into France [z], to ſee the treaty ſworn; and the marſhal de Montmorency came to London upon the ſame account. Elizabeth ſwore to the league the 17th of June, and honoured the marſhal with the order of the garter. Whilſt Montmorency was at the court of England, he never ceaſed ſtrongly to ſollicit for the queen of Scots liberty, to whom this eagerneſs did more hurt than good. On the other hand, the queen ordered the earl of Lincoln, to ſhow the king of France the intercepted letter from the queen of Scots to the duke of Alva, wherein it appeared that ſhe put herſelf entirely under the king of Spain's protection. Montmorency would likewiſe have reſumed the affair of the queen's marriage with the duke of Anjou, but did not much inſiſt upon it. Probably he had no orders to preſs it very ſtrenuouſly, conſidering what happened in France immediately after his return; I mean the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew's, wherein admiral Chatillon, and all the Huguenots were butchered [a], who had been drawn to court, under colour of the nuptials of the king of Navarre with the princeſs Margaret, king Charles's ſiſter. It is needleſs to expatiate on this horrible maſſacre, ſo univerſally known. It ſuffices to obſerve in a word, it demonſtrated to perſons of the leaſt penetration, that the court of France was then the moſt perfidious in the world.

Maſſacre of Paris. Mezerai. Walſing. Negotiat. p. 246, 251. Thuanus. Camden. P. Daniel.

Conſequences of the maſſacre. Walſing. Ib. p. 301. Du Maurier.

This maſſacre threw all the proteſtants in Europe into the utmoſt conſternation, eſpecially when they knew it was openly approved of at Rome [b]. The proteſtant princes of Germany began to prepare for their defence, believing it was only the beginning of a combination to deſtroy their religion throughout all chriſtendom, and the Switzers reſolved in a diet to lend France no more troops. But the court of England reflected on it particularly, not queſtioning it was an effect of the league of Bayonne, and that the ſtorm would quickly fall upon England. Walſingham, who had expreſſed ſo great an eſteem for Charles IX, wrote letter after letter, to give warning, that he was no longer to be truſted, though he ſhould repeat his proteſtations of friendſhip to the queen and his aſſurances punctually to obſerve the late treaty [c].

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[z] He ſet out, May 26, with a great train of nobility, among whom were the lords Dacres, Rich, Talbot, Sandes, &c. Camden, p. 444. Stow, p. 672.

[a] About three thouſand. See P. Daniel, tom. viii. p. 730. Others ſay, ten thouſand. See Strype's Ann. tom. ii. p. 158.

[b] There were medals ſtruck in memory of this horrible fact, having on one ſide the king ſitting on a throne, and treading on dead bodies, with this motto, Virtus in Rebelles: and on the reverſe, the arms of France crowned between two columns, and Pietas excitavit Juſticiam 24 Auguſti 1572. See a print of this medal in P. Daniel, tom. viii. p. 786.

Charles IX. ſhews great regard for Elizabeth. Walſingh. Negotiat.

It was not without reaſon that Charles ſtill deſired to keep fair with Elizabeth. Though he had maſſacred an infinite number of his Huguenot ſubjects, he ſaw the reſt ready to take up arms to ſcreen themſelves from his barbarity. The city of Rochelle, which was as their bulwark, had refuſed to open her gates to the king's forces. Some were already in arms in Languedoc and other provinces, and probably Charles was going to enter into a new war where he would have to deal with deſperate people. Apprehenſive as he was, that Elizabeth would aid the Huguenots with all her forces, there was no diſſimulation but what he practiſed to divert her from it. When ſhe told him by her ambaſſador, that after the late maſſacre, ſhe could no longer place any confidence in him, he endeavoured to excuſe himſelf in the beſt manner he could. One while he ſaid, it was done without his knowledge; another while, that he was forced to it, in order to prevent a conſpiracy formed by the admiral againſt him, the queen his mother, and his brothers. However, at the very time he ſhowed the greateſt deſire to live in a good underſtanding with Elizabeth, he was taking private meaſures to raiſe her diſturbances both in England and Scotland. After the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew's, the pope ſent a legate into France. The duke of Savoy, a great friend to Spain, was come to Paris, and Charles's pretended dread of Philip's deſign was entirely vaniſhed. Nay, there was a ſtrict union between the two kings. On the other ſide, Walſingham gave frequent notice, that the duke of Guiſe had private conferences with the Scots, and the queen-mother frequently ſent for the biſhop of Glaſcow, Mary's ambaſſador, to her houſe at unſeaſonable hours. Theſe things were plain indications to Elizabeth and her council, that the friendſhip of France was not to be relied on, though it had been earneſtly ſought.

Walſing. Negotiat. p. 269, 275, 280, 286, 299.

Elizabeth's miſtruſt. Ib. p. 259, 265, 268, &c.

Affairs being in this ſituation, it was not eaſy for the queen to determine what courſe ſhe ſhould take. She ſuſpected ſome plot was formed againſt her, but was not ſure [d]. On one hand, ſhe was afraid France and Spain were in league againſt her; but ſhe could not conceive how it was poſſible for them to agree, their intereſts being directly contrary. She conſidered however, that Charles IX. was governed by the Lorrain princes, who had different views from his, and who regarded their own private intereſt more than the welfare of France. Beſides, an exceſſive religious zeal might cauſe him to overlook his true intereſt. In this ſtate of uncertainty, ſhe thought it moſt adviſable to ſtand upon her guard, and make preparations as if ſhe was to be ſpeedily invaded, and to equal the king of France in diſſimulation, letting him know however, it would not be eaſy to deceive her. So each playing the hypocrite, never were there ſo ſtrong and ſo frequent proteſtations of friendſhip between Charles and Elizabeth, as in the firſt months after the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew's. Both ſaid, they deſired above all things to keep the league inviolably, though Charles had no occaſion for Elizabeth's aid, and Elizabeth could no longer depend upon the amity of ſuch an ally. It was hardly poſſible for them to love one another. Charles looked upon Elizabeth as the protectreſs of the religion he was endeavouring to extirpate, and Elizabeth could conſider him but as a prince without honour or honeſty, and as a ſworn enemy to the religion ſhe profeſſed. Notwithſtanding all this, Charles offered to renew the league with a freſh oath, and propoſed a marriage between Elizabeth and his younger brother, the duke of Alençon. In ſhort, to give Elizabeth a ſenſible mark of his pretended friendſhip, he deſired her to ſtand godmother to a princeſs his queen was delivered of in October. Elizabeth anſwered to the firſt propoſal, that the treaty of Blois not having been violated on her part, ſhe did not ſee any neceſſity to renew it, or ſwear to it again. As to the marriage of the duke of Alençon, ſhe expreſſed herſelf in ſuch a manner, that ſhe left it undetermined, whether ſhe would accept or refuſe it. As to the king's requeſting her to be godmother to the princeſs his daughter, ſhe replied, Though her own ſubjects and ſeveral foreign princes diſſuaded her from being ſpiritually allied to a ſworn enemy of the proteſtant religion, ſhe was willing however to give him a proof of her deſire to preſerve their mutual alliance, as far as lay in her power. Thus it was all diſſimulation on both ſides. But I don't know whether

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[c] In one of his letters to ſir Thomas Smith, he informs him, that all the Huguenots lands, which would amount to many millions, were to be ſold, and employed in the conqueſt of countries; and if ſo, England was in no ſmall danger. See Digges's Compl. Ambaſ. p. 245.

Charles and Elizabeth equally diſſemble. Walſingh. Negotiat. p. 257.

Charles offers to renew the league, and the marriage of the duke of Alençon with Elizabeth. He deſires her to be godmother to his daughter. The queen's anſwer. Ib. p. 277, &c. 283, 287, &c. 297.

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[d] There was for ſome conſiderable time a large French fleet ſtationed between Rochel and Bourdeaux, which cauſed her no ſmall uneaſineſs. See Digges's Ambaſ. p. 259---265.

Elizabeth can be juſtified for not having refuſed this laſt article, in order to ſhow at leaſt her deteſtation of the deed Charles had lately committed. However, all the reſt of the year was ſpent in reciprocal proteſtations of a ſincere friendſhip, but withal in a mutual diſtruſt. Charles was afraid Elizabeth would aſſiſt the Huguenots, and thereby all his meaſures be broken. Elizabeth had a mind, before ſhe came to any reſolution, to ſee a little farther into the deſigns of her enemies, and to that purpoſe it was neceſſary for her to keep, at leaſt outwardly, ſome correſpondence with king Charles. Mean while, the Huguenots knew not what to think of her. They ſaw themſelves upon the brink of deſtruction, conſidering the great forces with which the king was preparing to attack them; and at the ſame time they ſaw Elizabeth, who was their ſole refuge, ſtand godmother to the child of their perſecutor and executioner. But the intereſt of the Huguenots was not the thing ſhe had chiefly in view. Her zeal for the proteſtant religion was always ſubordinate to her private intereſt.

Elizabeth's diſſimulation. Walſingh. Negotiat. p. 279, &c.

Opinion of the Huguenots upon her account.

The earl of Northumberland, who, after his being ſeized in Scotland, had been delivered to the queen, was beheaded in this juncture, wherein the queen thought ſhe could not take too many precautions to provide for her ſafety [e].

The earl of Northumberland is beheaded. Stow.

I muſt now mention the affairs of Scotland, to which the queen had always an eye. The diſcovery of the duke of Norfolk's plot had much weakened Mary's party. Some had forſaken it, and others were ready to do the like. If they ſtill adhered to it, it was only to obtain advantageous terms for quitting it. Grange, governor of Edinburgh caſtle, Lidington, the lord Hume, Robert Melvil, and ſome others, who were in the caſtle, ſtill affected a ſort of neutrality, and a great zeal for the good of their country. But they made this good to conſiſt in a certain union of the two factions, which ſhould not be prejudicial to the captive queen. That is, they would have

Affairs of Scotland. Melvil, p. 110, &c.

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[e] Thomas Percy earl of Northumberland was for a ſum of money delivered to the lord Hunſdon, governor of Berwick, by Morton, who had been extremely beholden to the earl during his exile in England. He was beheaded at York, on Auguſt 22. Stow, p. 673. ---- This year died alſo two great men in an advanced age; William Powlet, lord treaſurer of England (in which he was ſucceeded by Cecil lord Burleigh) marquis of Wincheſter, earl of Wiltſhire, and baron of St. John of Baſing. He died March 10, in the 97th year of his age, and lived to ſee a hundred and three perſons deſcended from him. --- The other was ſir William Petre, ſecretary to Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Eliſabeth. He was a great benefactor to Exeter college in Oxford, wherein he was educated; and left in lands to the value of one hundred pounds a year. He died January 13. --- This year alſo, on November 24, died Edward Stanley earl of Derby, lord Stanley and Strange, of Knocking. Camden, p. 445. Stow, p. 671, 673.

Eliz. 1572.

the king's authority to be annulled; and if it could not be agreed, that the ſtate ſhould be governed in the queen's name, as indeed it was very difficult to gain that point, at leaſt that the adminiſtration of affairs ſhould be put into the hands of a certain number of regents choſen by the two parties, without any mention of queen or king. By this means they would have preſerved the queen's rights entire, and broken the meaſures of the contrary party. Probably, James Melvil author of the Memoirs was in the ſame ſentiments, though he deſired to be looked upon as neuter, and as ſuch was employed on both ſides, to ſerve for mediator. The men of this party durſt not however fully diſcover their minds; but flattered themſelves, that being maſters of Edinburgh caſtle, with the help of very few ſuccours, they ſhould be able to ſupport their pretenſions. They ſpent the whole winter of the year 1572 in ſeveral negotiations in France and the Netherlands, to obtain the ſuccours they wanted. They were made to hope for aſſiſtance from both places; but it was only empty promiſes without any effect. The court of France durſt not pull off the maſk for fear of obſtructing the grand deſign, which was executed within a few months. For that reaſon, they conſented at length that the queen of Scots ſhould not be mentioned in the treaty of Blois. They were contented to agree with the Engliſh ambaſſadors, that the two crowns ſhould ſend plenipotentiaries into Scotland, to adjuſt the differences between the Scots, or compel them to lay down their arms. And indeed Charles IX. nominated du Crocq, who had been often ſent into Scotland, to endeavour this agreement, ordering him to paſs through England, and ſtrongly ſollicit Elizabeth to ſend the queen of Scots into France. He gave him moreover certain inſtructions, which he was to impart by word of mouth to the captive queen. Elizabeth thought this proceeding very extraordinary, juſt as the treaty of league was going to be concluded. So, ſuſpecting ſome myſtery in this conduct, ſhe plainly refuſed du Crocq leave to ſee Mary, and even to purſue his journey to Scotland till the league was ſigned.

The court of France is ſuſpected by Elizabeth with reſpect to Scotland. Walſingh. Negotiat. p. 165, 177, 181.

A few days after, ſhe made a diſcovery which much increaſed her ſuſpicions. The lord Seaton, a Scotchman, who called himſelf Mary's ambaſſador to the duke of Alva, had taken a journey to Paris, and there held ſeveral conferences with the king and the queen-mother. Then he returned to Bruſſels, and ſhortly after departed for Scotland. But the ſtormy weather compelling him to land at Harwich, he diſguiſed himſelf like a ſailor, and before it was known who he was, croſſed England, and came to Edinburgh, where he frequently

Elizabeth's ſuſpicions increaſe. Walſingh. Negotiat. p. 177, 181. Ib. p. 181. Camden.

quently conferred with Grange, and the other lords in the caſtle. But as he had not been able to carry away his papers, they were found in the ſhip, whereby it was diſcovered he had orders to encourage the lords in the caſtle of Edinburgh to hold out, and to give them hopes of a ſpeedy aſſiſtance. It was alſo known, he was commiſſioned ſome time before by the Scots of the queen's party, to tell the duke of Alva, that with a little aid it would be eaſy to carry away the young king, and ſend him into Spain. In ſhort, Elizabeth heard that Grange and his companions, who had begun to treat of an accommodation with the earl of Mar, would hear no more of it, ſince they had ſeen the lord Seaton. All this, added to du Crocq's inſtances for the queen of Scots liberty, and for leave to ſpeak with her, made Elizabeth and her council judge this envoy was not ſent into Scotland to appeaſe, but rather to foment the troubles. This was the more credible, as he had ſaid himſelf, that his inſtructions reached no farther than to exhort the Scots to peace. It would therefore have been imprudent to ſuffer him to confer with Mary, or to purſue his journey into Scotland.

P. 181.

She takes new meaſures with regard to Scotland. Melvil, p. 115.

I obſerved before, that the court of England was no leſs forward than that of France to perpetuate the troubles of Scotland; and this was true, during the regency of the earl of Lenox, becauſe the queen's party was then very ſtrong, and it was to be feared the two factions would be united, to the great detriment of England. But after the duke of Norfolk's death the caſe was altered. The queen's party being conſiderably weakened, the council of England thought it time to end the troubles of Scotland, by giving ſome content to thoſe in the caſtle of Edinburgh, in order to induce them to ſubmit to the king, and deliver up the place. To that end, the earl of Mar, with Elizabeth's conſent, had begun with thoſe of the caſtle a negotiation, interrupted by the arrival of the lord Seaton.

Negotiation of the regent of Scotland with the queen's party. Melvil, p. 117.

The league between France and England being concluded ſhortly after, the earl of Mar thought it a favourable opportunity to reſume the negotiation with thoſe of the caſtle, and to that purpoſe offered them by James Melvil very advantageous terms. Melvil inſinuates, that the regent's inducement to this accommodation was only to free Scotland from the yoke of the Engliſh. He adds farther, that Grange ſcrupling to demand any terms for reſtoring peace to the kingdom, left it to the regent's diſcretion, who privately ſwore to the peace, in the preſence of two or three perſons only. But Walſingham's Memoirs ſhow that Melvil was not well informed, ſince this agreement was made with Elizabeth's approbation, and even ſome articles were ſigned, whereof ſecretary Smith ſent a copy to Walſingham at Paris.

Death of the regent. Octob. 29. Walſingh. Negotiat. p. 283. Melvil, p. 118.

This project was defeated by the death of the earl of Mar. He went to Edinburgh with deſign to have the private treaty approved; and the earl of Morton was the chief perſon to be prevailed with to ſign it. To that end, he made him a viſit at Dalkeith, where he was honourably received, and treated magnificently. But before the banquet was over [f], he felt himſelf ſeized with a violent illneſs, which hardly ſuffered him to ride to Edinburgh, where he died [g]. Many ſuſpected he was poiſoned. However, on the 24th of November, the earl of Morton was choſen regent, by the intereſt of Elizabeth's friends in Scotland.

Morton is choſen regent.

He is devoted to England.

Nothing could be more advantageous to Elizabeth, than to ſee the regency of Scotland in the hands of a man who depended upon her, and whom ſhe could manage almoſt as ſhe pleaſed. But on the other ſide, the court of France, where the Guiſes then ruled, finding that by the earl of Morton's promotion, they were going entirely to loſe Scotland, reſolved to do their utmoſt to ruin the new regent, and ſupport thoſe who ſtill held the caſtle of Edinburgh. Indeed, that was their only way to have ſtill any influence upon the kingdom. The duke of Guiſe, who managed every thing, plainly ſaw, if the earl of Morton was left unmoleſted, he would not fail, with the help of the Engliſh, to cruſh the queen's party entirely, and ſhut out the French from Scotland for ever. He reſolved therefore to ſend Verac thither with money to ſupply the occaſions of thoſe in the caſtle, under colour of labouring to appeaſe the troubles. But Verac not being ready ſoon enough, the money was put into the hands of Grange's brother, who had been ſent into France to ſollicit aid. At the ſame time, great pains were taken to gain the earls of Argyle and Athol; and the duke of Chateleraut was told, if Grange could hold out till Whitſuntide, he would be ſtrongly aſſiſted by the pope, Spain, and France. This was what Walſingham, who had good ſpies at Paris, had frequently writ to the court of England. It was therefore no longer Elizabeth's intereſt to continue diſcord among the Scots. On the contrary, it was neceſſary the queen's faction ſhould be deſtroyed, before the meaſures which were taking in France and Flanders could have their effect. We ſhall ſee preſently that ſhe neglected not her intereſt.

The court of France tries to ruin him. Walſingh. Negotiat. p. 296.

Ib. p. 299, 302.

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[f] Melvil ſays, it was ſhortly after, p. 118.

[g] He rode to Sterling. Melvil, p. 118.

During

Affairs of the Low-Countries. Grotius. Camden.

During all this year, the queen of Scots and her adherents relied much upon the duke of Alva's aſſiſtance, and yet they had nothing to hope from thence. From the beginning of the year to the time of the maſſacre of Paris, the duke had been ſo employed, that it was not poſſible for him to think ſeriouſly of the queen of Scots concerns, though he did not want a good will to annoy Elizabeth. The count de la Mark, whom the queen had driven from her ports for not breaking with Spain, had taken the Briel in Holland, and by that unexpected blow revived the courage of thoſe who wiſhed to be freed from the dominion of the Spaniards. Shortly after, the whole province of Holland threw off their yoke, and Fluſhing, with ſome other towns in Zealand, followed that example. The duke of Medina-Celi, ſent afterwards from Spain with a fleet, was defeated by the confederates, and moſt of his ſhips taken. In a word, whilſt the duke of Alva was employed in reducing the revolted towns in Holland, the news of the city of Mons being ſurprized by count Lewis of Naſſau, obliged him to quit Holland, in order to attempt the recovery of that place. Mean while, the prince of Orange entered the Netherlands at the head of an army raiſed in Germany[h]. On the other hand, Charles IX. ſent the count of Naſſau five thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, commanded by Genlis, which were defeated by the duke of Alva, to whom the king himſelf had ſent notice of the march of this aid, deſigned only to amuſe the Huguenots. The tragedy which was acted in France ſhortly after, having opened the prince of Orange's eyes, he was forced to diſband his army, finding the king of France, who promiſed to help to maintain it, would not keep his word. In the mean time, the duke of Alva was taken up with the ſiege of Mons, which ſurrendered not till the 19th of September. After the ſiege, his troops under the command of Frederico de Toledo his ſon, were employed in taking Zutphen, Naerden, and other places. Hence it appears, that during the courſe of this year, the duke of Alva was not able to ſend an army into Scotland, tho' Mary's friends were ſtill in hopes of it. Mary's expectation of aſſiſtance from Spain was very prejudicial to her, becauſe, when her practices were diſcovered, Elizabeth was more intent upon ending the troubles of Scotland. Beſides,

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[h] He received alſo ſuccours from England; for Thomas Morgan carried over three hundred men to Fluſhing; and afterwards procured nine companies more, which were commanded by ſir Humphrey Gilbert. Camden, p. 443.

Eliz. 1572.

the king of France grew a little cool, when he found que[illegible] Mary threw herſelf into the arms of the Spaniard [i].

1573. Charles's and Elizabeth's diſſimulation. Walſingh. Negotiat. p. 304, 307, 315, 318, &c. Stow. Jan. 18.

Though Charles IX. and Elizabeth were very jealous of each other, they kept however a ſtrict correſpondence, capable of deceiving thoſe who knew not the intereſts of the two courts. Nothing paſſed on both ſides but proteſtations and aſſurances of obſerving inviolably the treaty of Blois. The beginning of the year 1573, Elizabeth ſent William Somerſet earl of Worceſter to Paris, to ſtand in her ſtead to the princeſs, Charles's daughter [k], who was named Elizabeth. She had ordered her ambaſſador not to be perſuaded to be preſent at the maſs in the ceremony of the baptiſm, and in caſe it was inſiſted upon, to deſire the queen of Navarre to ſtand in his room.

Marriage of the duke of Alençon propoſed again. Camden. Walſingh. Negotiat. p. 305, 448, &c.

A little before, queen Catherine had ſent to Elizabeth the earl of Rais her confident, to propoſe once more the marriage of the duke of Alençon her third ſon. But this was not the ſole motive of his coming. The earl had orders to obſerve what paſſed in England, where the earl of Montgomery and ſome other French refugees were equipping a fleet to relieve Rochelle, which, after a long blockade, was at length beſieged in form. The duke of Anjou commanded at the ſiege, having with him the duke of Alençon his brother, and all the catholick nobles of France.

Elizabeth's anſwer.

Elizabeth anſwered concerning the propoſal of the marriage, that ſhe was very willing to begin a treaty about it, provided the article of religion was firſt ſettled, elſe it was in vain to ſay any more of it.

Complaints of France about the ſuccours given to Rochelle. Walſingh. Negotiat. evaded by the queen. Camden.

About the ſame time, Montgomery ſailing to the relief of Rochelle, the French ambaſſador complained that he was ſuffered to depart, and that the Engliſh merchants had ſupplied the beſieged with proviſions. Anſwer was made, that the perſons who were ſailed out of the ports of England were not owned, and carried counterfeit flags, and if they could be taken, ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed. As for the merchants, they were men who followed their gain where-ever they hoped to find it; and not being able to ſend their commodities to any other port of France, ſince the people were left to butcher whom they pleaſed, it was no wonder they ſhould ſend them to Rochelle, where they could vend them with ſafety. Probably, the court of England had connived at Montgomery's armament, which however had no effect, and at ſending proviſions to the Rochellers. This was all the aſſiſtance ſhe gave the Huguenots in their wretched condition. She had reſolved to avoid a breach with the French, whether ſhe hoped to gain them to her intereſts, or make the world believe there was a greater union between her and king Charles than there was in reality. This was doubtleſs to render her enemies both at home and abroad leſs eager to form plots againſt her.

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[i] This year queen Elizabeth had the ſmall-pox. After her recovery, ſhe ordered Portſmouth to be ſtrengthened with new fortifications, her navy to be increaſed, muſters to be obſerved in every county, &c. Camden, p. 445.---July 13, William lord Howard baron of Effingham, was made privy-ſeal; Thomas Ratcliffe earl of Suſſex, lord chamberlain; ſir Thomas Smith, principal ſecretary of ſtate; and Chriſtopher Hatton, eſq; captain of the guard. Stow, p. 673.----This year, on May 8, a new Parliament was held at Weſtminſter, and was prorogued June 30. The acts made now, were theſe: 1. An act, making the coining or counterfeiting of foreign coin, miſpriſion of treaſon. 2. That juſtices of peace, at the quarter-ſeſſions, ſhall rate every pariſh within the ſhire to which they belong, for the relief of the priſoners in the common goal.

[k] He carried with him a font of gold weighing 326 ounces. Stow, p. 675. He came back to England, February 27. Hollingſh. p. 1257.

End of the war in Scotland.

We are going at length to ſee an end put to the troubles of Scotland. The earl of Morton the new regent having good intelligence of what paſſed at the court of France, and knowing it was reſolved to aſſiſt powerfully the queen's faction after the taking of Rochelle, believed he ought to improve this interval to prevent their deſigns. He propoſed therefore to Grange by James Melvil, to renew the negotiation begun before the earl of Mar's death. Grange and his companions made ſome ſcruple at firſt, becauſe they expected the French ſuccours promiſed them by the lord Seaton. However, not to give occaſion to ſay they were entirely againſt a peace, and to try to gain time till Whitſuntide, Grange replied, he was willing to accept the ſame terms as had been offered by the earl of Mar, provided the queen's whole party were included in the treaty. The regent, who was better informed than Grange imagined, eaſily judged this anſwer tended only to prolong the agreement, by the difficulties of contenting every one. He refuſed therefore to treat with the whole party, and offered to give Grange and his companions all the ſatisfaction they could reaſonably expect; but his offer was rejected. Whereupon he turned to the duke of Chateleraut, and the earls of Huntley and Argyle, who were not ſo ſcrupulous as thoſe of the caſtle of Edinburgh. They treated for themſelves and dependents, that is, for almoſt all the reſt of the queen's party, without regarding the concerns of Grange and his aſſociates. They perceived they could no longer rely on the aſſiſtance of France, which was too remote, and withal very uncertain, conſidering the civil war which afflicted that kingdom. The treaty which they made with the regent,

Melvil, p. 118.
Walſingh. Negotiat. p. 333, &c.
Spotiſwood.
Melvil, p. 118, 120.
p. 120.

aſſiſted by Drury and Killegrew the Engliſh ambaſſadors, was to this effect:

Camden, p. 448. Spotiſwood.

That they ſhould ſubmit to the king, and conform to the eſtabliſhed religion. That if any perſon ſhould violate this article, he ſhould be declared a traitor.

That the ſentences pronounced againſt the Hamiltons and Gordons ſhould be repealed, excepting ſuch however as concerned the murders of the earls of Murray and Lenox, which ſhould be left to the queen of England's deciſion.

That the queen of England ſhould bind herſelf by ſome publick inſtrument, that the Hamiltons and Gordons ſhould not be proſecuted for the murder of the earls of Murray and Lenox, without her expreſs conſent.

The eſtates of the kingdom meeting ſhortly after, confirmed this agreement by their authority.

Melvil, p. 119, 120. Spotiſwood.

As ſoon as Grange heard of the agreement which was negotiating between the regent and the heads of the queen's party, he endeavoured to obſtruct it, by offering to ſurrender the caſtle of Edinburgh in ſix months. But as the regent was better informed than Grange imagined, it was eaſy for him to perceive, this offer tended only to gain time, till the French ſuccours ſhould arrive[1]. At laſt, when Grange knew the heads of the queen's party were upon the point of ſigning their treaty, he offered to deliver the caſtle immediately, provided he might put it into the hands of the earl of Rothes. But the regent did not think fit to place in that fortreſs a governor of Grange's chuſing. Beſides, all the proceedings of thoſe of the caſtle, and the evaſions they uſed to avoid ſurrendering the place, plainly ſhowed they were not heartily inclined to an accommodation. So, without farther ceremony, he declared them traitors, and prepared in good earneſt to beſiege them. Melvil ſays upon this occaſion, that he knows not what rage poſſeſſed the regent, to deſire to have by way of ſiege a place which was offered to be ſurrendered voluntarily

p. 120.

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[1] The following project was formed between the court of France and queen Mary's party: That the marquiſs de Maine ſhould land at Air, with one thouſand ſhot, and, after joining the queen's party, repair to Edinburgh, whoſe caſtle Lidington and Grange had promiſed to deliver to the French, and in conſideration thereof were to receive a penſion, or ſome other livelihood, in France; after which they were to fortify themſelves in Loughbreton, Brochty, Dundee, and Aymouth. And then the duke of Guiſe was to come over with forces to deliver the queen of Scots; and at the ſame time, her friends in England, who were very numerous, were to riſe in arms, and deliver her in ſpite of queen Elizabeth. See Digges's Compl. Ambaſ. p. 314.

And inſtantly [m]. It is indeed little probable the earl of Morton ſhould deſire to expoſe himſelf to the difficulties of ſuch a ſiege, if he could otherwiſe have had the place. But what Melvil aſcribes to the regent's rage, may with much more likelihood be imputed to the cavils of thoſe of the caſtle, who ſtrove to prolong the time till the promiſed ſuccours ſhould arrive. In Walſingham's Negotiations there are ſeveral letters from the queen, the lord Burleigh, ſecretary Smith, blaming Grange and his companions for their fooliſh preſumption and invincible obſtinacy, in attempting alone to continue the troubles in Scotland. Melvil, Grange's intimate friend, gives quite another turn to this affair, and lays the whole blame upon the regent [n].

Digges's Ambaſ.

Camden. Spotiſwood.

However, the earl of Morton having but few troops, and wanting artillery and ammunition, by reaſon the publick magazine was in the caſtle of Edinburgh, applied to queen Elizabeth. I have already ſhown of what conſequence it was to England, that the troubles of Scotland ſhould be ended before France could interpoſe. For this reaſon, Elizabeth immediately made a treaty with the regent, which, among others, contained the following articles:

Elizabeth's treaty with the regent. Camden.

Elizabeth ſhall ſend to the regent, men, ordnance, and ammunition, for the beſieging the caſtle of Edinburgh jointly with the Scots.

No capitulation ſhall be granted to the beſieged, without the mutual conſent of the regent and the Engliſh general.

If the caſtle be taken by the Engliſh, it ſhall be delivered to the king of Scotland.

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[m] To which he adds, "ſeeing he "might have obtained his intent with-"out the help of England, having all "Scotland at his devotion, ſaving that "few number without the caſtle, who "would likewiſe have agreed upon any "reaſonable condition." p. 120.

[n] Melvil ſays, that having told the regent, Grange, for his honour's ſake, was reſolved to agree for the whole party, the regent anſwered, he would not agree with all, becauſe then their faction would be as ſtrong as ever; and beſides, as the troubles had occaſioned great wrongs and extortions, he choſe rather that the crimes ſhould be laid upon the Hamiltons, &c. becauſe their eſtates were greater than thoſe of Grange, and the reſt in the caſtle, and conſequently more land would eſcheat to him as the reward of his labours. Melvil telling Grange the regent's reſolution, he inſiſted upon agreeing with all; and Morton hearing of it, pretended to like him the better for ſtanding upon his reputation and honour, and ſeemed as if he had been reſolved to agree with thoſe in the caſtle. He thanked Melvil for the trouble he had been at, deſiring him to go home, and in the mean time he would propoſe the matter to the reſt of the noblemen of his ſide, who, he doubted not, would be very well ſatisfied with his proceedings, and then he would ſend for him again, and put the form of the agreement in writing. But he took immediately another courſe, and ſent and offered an accommodation to the Hamiltons, &c. who accepted of it as above. Melvil, p. 118--120.

Eliz. 1573.

The priſoners, after the taking of the caſtle, ſhall be detained to be proceeded againſt according to law, the queen of England being firſt acquainted therewith.

Camden. Stow. Hollingſh.

Siege and taking of Edinburgh-caſtle. Melvil, p. 120, 121.

Grange is hanged. Camden. Melvil, p. 122. Spotiſwood.

Purſuant to this treaty, Elizabeth ordered ſir William Drury, marſhal of Berwick, to march into Scotland with fifteen hundred men, and a train of artillery, which was a manifeſt breach of the treaty of Blois, which ran, ‘ That no foreign ‘ troops ſhould be ſuffered to enter Scotland.’ But as ſhe had diſcovered by the lord Seaton's papers, that France intended to violate the ſame article, ſhe believed doubtleſs, it would be ſimplicity to ſuffer herſelf to be prevented. However, the caſtle was inveſted, and the beſieged defended themſelves a whole month like men in deſpair. But at laſt their water failing, they were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion, if we may believe the Engliſh and Scots of the king's party. Melvil affirms on the contrary, that they capitulated, but the capitulation was not kept. Thus much is certain, the laird of Grange, James Kirkcaldie his brother, and ſome others, were condemned to be hanged, and the ſentence was executed accordingly [o]. Lidington died in priſon, having himſelf, according to ſome, haſtened his death by poiſon. The lord Hume and ſir Robert Melvil were releaſed [p]. Thus ended the civil wars of Scotland, and thus Elizabeth's enemies loſt all hopes of invading her from that quarter. From what has been hitherto ſaid, it may be eaſily perceived of what conſequence the tranſactions in Scotland were to Elizabeth. Accordingly ſhe was ever very intent upon the affairs of that kingdom, where ſhe ſucceſsfully managed her intereſts with the moſt refined policy.

Verac is arreſted at Scarborough and ſent to London. Walſingh. Negotiat. p. 334.

At the time the heads of queen Mary's party were about to ſign their treaty, Verac, who was ſent into Scotland to encourage the party to ſtand their ground, was forced by a ſtorm into Scarborough. The preſident of the northern marches having notice of it, ordered him to be conveyed to London, without hearkening to the reaſons he alledged againſt it, taken from his character. It was known afterwards, that the moment he was ſeized he burnt all his papers. The French ambaſſador made great noiſe that Verac was hindered from going to Scotland. But he was told, the queen had no advice of the ſending of this ambaſſador, and if ſhe had known it, would have taken care he ſhould have been treated with the reſpect due to his character. That he had been conducted to London, by the general order which the preſident of the north had, to deal thus by all foreigners who ſhould land in thoſe parts, unleſs they were known to be merchants.

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[o] Melvil gives Grange an extraordinary character. He ſays he heard Henry II. of France ſay, (pointing to him) “ yonder is one of the moſt valiant men “ of our age.” The great conſtable of France would never ſpeak to him uncovered. Camden ſays, a hundred of the family of the Kirkcaldies, offered to be vaſſals for ever to the regent, to pay a yearly penſion of three thouſand marks, and two thouſand pounds Scotiſh in hand, if he would ſpare his life. He was (ſays Melvil) gentle and meek, like a lamb in the houſe, but like a lion in the field. King James, when he came of age, took up his bones, and buried them honourably, reſtoring his heirs. p. 122, 123.

[p] The lord Hume died ſhortly after in Edinburgh-caſtle, where he was confined. Melvil, p. 122.

Elizabeth ſpeaks roundly to the French ambaſſador. Walſingh. Negotiat. p. 335.

The ambaſſador was not very well pleaſed with the anſwer; but he had ſtill leſs reaſon to be ſo with that he received ſhortly after to his urgent requeſt, for leave to ſpeak with the queen of Scots in private. This requeſt had been often repeated to no purpoſe. At laſt the queen, tired with his importunities, told him plainly, ſhe was not ignorant of the practices of the king of France, and the queen-mother, in favour of Mary, and how they ſtood affected to England: That however, ſhe had always inviolably obſerved the late treaty [q], and would ſtill obſerve it, chuſing rather the rupture ſhould come from France than from her: That in caſe of a breach, ſhe did not queſtion, ſhe ſhould be able to defend herſelf, being well aſſured of the affection of her ſubjects: That ſhe could hardly reſtrain ſome who offered to relieve Rochelle at their own expence, and maintain ſix months in Gaſcogne an army of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe.

Upon the ambaſſador's demanding leave for Verac to purſue his journey to Scotland, the queen agreed to it, after ſome affected delays. But whilſt ſhe was putting obſtacles in his way, ſhe cauſed a letter to be ſent from the earl of Morton, telling her, that Verac's coming to Scotland would be very diſpleaſing to him, as well as to the duke of Chatelerault and the earl of Huntley, with whom he was in perfect friendſhip: That therefore he believed, the envoy would do well to ſave himſelf the trouble of the journey. Whilſt they were debating at London about this affair, the caſtle of Edinburgh ſurrendered, and ſo Verac's journey became entirely needleſs.

Queen Catherine diſcovers herſelf before ſhe is aware. Walſingh. Negotiat. p. 342.

Queen Catherine de Medici, politick as ſhe was, could not help making a falſe ſtep in diſcovering to Walſingham, that the French court's deſign was to foment the troubles of Scotland. Upon the ambaſſador's warm complaints of the intrigues of France with reſpect to Scotland, ſhe proteſted, the king her ſon and herſelf knew not what he meant, and ‘ that ‘ their intention was only to perſuade the Scots to agree, and ‘ acknowledge queen Mary for their ſovereign.’ That's the very thing, replied the ambaſſador, the queen my miſtreſs complains of, ſince it is a direct breach of the treaty of Blois. The queen perceiving ſhe had ſaid too much, turned the diſcourſe, and complained of Verac's being detained in England; to which Walſingham made the ſame anſwer as had been given to La Mothe at London.

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[q] Probably ſhe had ſome evaſion to excuſe the ſending of her troops into Scotland. Rapin.

Elizabeth is in great tranquillity. Camden. Strada.

Scotland being in peace, under the authority of the young king and of a regent devoted to England, Elizabeth was freed from a great uneaſineſs. The recalling the duke of Alva from the government of the Low-Countries, was a farther increaſe of her happineſs. The commander of Requeſens, who ſucceeded the duke of Alva, finding he had full employment, refuſed to meddle with the affairs of England and Scotland, and ſo Elizabeth had nothing to fear from that ſide. Her enemies having no longer admittance into Scotland, and England being ſafe from all attacks but by ſea, ſhe lived ſome years in great tranquillity. Beſides, France was not in condition to make any conſiderable attempt upon her, as well for want of naval forces, as becauſe of the civil wars which laid waſte the kingdom.

The biſhop of Roſs is driven away. Novemb. Leſley's Negotiat. Camden.

Mean while, Elizabeth, being deſirous alſo to ſecure herſelf from all domeſtick attempts, commanded the biſhop of Roſs, author and promoter of all the plots againſt her, to depart England. He thought himſelf happy in coming off ſo eaſily, and withdrawing into France, continued his ſecret practices, though to little purpoſe. He writ there a hiſtory of Scotland, from the beginning to the year 1561. What he ſays of the earl of Murray towards the end of his hiſtory, ſpeaking of the firſt troubles of Scotland, and which Camden has taken care to copy, plainly ſhows, what might have been expected from him, had he continued it to the end of the war.

France preſſes the queen about the marriage. Camden.

Though Elizabeth had ſaid, in her anſwer to the propoſal concerning her marriage with the duke of Alençon, that the article of religion was firſt to be ſettled, Catherine de Medici did not fail however to ſollicit her upon that ſubject. She ſaid, the court of France would yield in that point, but did not ſay how far. Moreover, ſhe cauſed the duke of Alençon, who was then at the ſiege of Rochelle, to ſend her letters, expreſſing his eager deſire to have the marriage ſucceed. At laſt, ſhe was ſollicited ſo much to permit the duke to come and ſee her, that ſhe conſented, provided he would not take ill in caſe he was obliged to return without any thing done. But the ſiege of Rochelle holding longer than was imagined, hindered the duke from paying his viſit.

This ſiege, which had laſted ſo long, was at length raiſed on the 25th of June, after the city had withſtood thirty thouſand cannon balls, nine great aſſaults, beſides twenty leſſer ones, and the effects of ſixty mines. The duke of Anjou loſt above twelve thouſand men. The news of his being choſen king of Poland, and of the Poliſh ambaſſadors being on their way to offer him the crown, afforded him a pretence to relinquiſh his enterprize, which perhaps would not have ended to his honour; and the raiſing the ſiege brought with it peace to the Huguenots, who were hardly able to ſupport themſelves. Charles IX. was afraid of the duke his brother, and the queen-mother loved him tenderly. This bred between the king and the queen his mother a diſſention, which 'tis likely proved fatal to the king. He thought it long till his brother was gone to Poland, and the queen ſtill found ſome freſh excuſe to hinder his departure. At laſt, Charles grew ſo ſuſpicious of all theſe delays, that he could not forbear threatening the queen his mother, who was forced at length to ſuffer her beloved ſon to depart, and the king was pleaſed to accompany him part of the way. But he could not go ſo far as he had reſolved, by reaſon of a diſtemper wherewith he was ſeized, and of which he never recovered. Elizabeth hearing the king of Poland was gone, and Charles taken ill, did not think proper to receive the duke of Alençon's viſit, before ſhe had a fuller knowledge of the affairs of the royal family of France. She writ to him therefore to deſire him to defer his journey, and gave him for reaſon, that the Engliſh would not look with a good eye upon a prince coming from the ſiege of Rochelle, and wearing a ſword dyed with the blood of their brethren.

Siege of Rochelle raiſed. Thuanus. Mezerai.

The duke of Anjou choſen king of Poland.

Peace granted to the Huguenots. Affairs of France. Mezerai.

Camden.

Elizabeth refuſes Alençon's viſit.

This year Walter d'Evereux earl of Eſſex had leave to go into Ireland, to conquer the country of Clandeboy at his own expence. But his enterprize was not crowned with ſucceſs, becauſe he was privately hindered by the earl of Leiceſter his enemy [r].

The earl of Eſſex goes into Ireland. Camden. Stow.

Queen

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[r] In the beginning of the year 1573, viz. January 12, died William lord Howard of Effingham, lord privy-ſeal, ſon of Thomas Howard, the martial duke of Norfolk, by his ſecond wife, Agnes Tilney. He was made lord high admiral by queen Mary, and afterwards lord chamberlain, in which poſt he ſerved queen Elizabeth, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Charles, who a while after was made lord chamberlain, and alſo high admiral. — Not long after,

on

Eliz. 1574.

Queen Elizabeth's letter to the duke of Alençon not being capable of diſcouraging him, he made freſh inſtances for leave to come into England, to which the queen at length yielding, ſent him a ſafe-conduct. But in the mean time the queen his mother ſuſpecting him of a deſign to ſupplant the king of Poland his brother, in caſe the king happened to die, ordered it ſo that the king ſet a guard over him as well as the king of Navarre, who was accuſed of ſuggeſting this deſign to him. However, the queen-mother perceiving the king near his end, thought fit to take this precaution, to ſecure the crown to the king of Poland, who was abſent. And indeed Charles IX. died the 30th of May, in the twenty-fifth year of his age. The manner of his death was ſo uncommon, that it gave occaſion not only to the proteſtants but the catholicks themſelves, to conſider it as an effect of the divine vengeance for the horrible maſſacre committed by his orders. The blood guſhed out of all the paſſages of his body, and even ſpouted through his pores. The queen-mother took her meaſures ſo well, that cauſing the dying king to confer on her the regency of the kingdom, ſhe kept all quiet till the arrival of the king of Poland, who ſucceeded his brother by the name of Henry III. He arrived in France the 5th of September, but came not to Paris till about the middle of February the next year.

The duke of Alençon is taken up. Mezerai.

Death of Charles IX. Mezerai. Thuanus.

Henry III. ſucceeds.

Marriage of the earl of Lenox. Camden.

Nothing memorable paſſed in England during the year 1574 [s]. The only thing Camden has remarked in his An-

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on March 17, died alſo Reginald Grey earl of Kent, whom the queen, the year before, raiſed from a private man to the dignity of earl of Kent, after the title had lain dormant fifty years. His brother Henry ſucceeded him in his honour. ---- John Caius, a famous phyſician, born at Norwich, and bred up at Padua and Cambridge, died about this time, and lies buried in Gonvil and Caius college, to which he was a great benefactor, with this inſcription on his tomb, FUI CAIUS. ---- The commerce between England and the Netherlands, which had been prohibited ever ſince 1568, was renewed in January, this year, and the articles agreed upon at Briſtol concerning it, were ratified by the king of Spain. --- This year alſo queen Elizabeth renewed and confirmed the charters of the city of London. Camden, p. 446, 449. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 701, 719.

[s] This year, in order to avoid exceſs in apparel, which had ſpread itſelf all over England, the queen, by proclamation, commanded that every one ſhould within fourteen days wear cloaths of ſuch a faſhion, which ſhe herſelf began to wear in her own court. Sumptuous buildings crept in alſo about this time; and, as Camden obſerves, to the great ornament of the kingdom, but to as great decay of hoſpitality, p. 452. --- On April 3, the queen granted a commiſſion to the lord Burleigh high treaſurer of England, and to ſir Walter Mildmay chancellor and under-treaſurer of the Exchequer, to manumiſe and enfranchiſe bondmen and bondwomen, or, as they are now called, copyholders, regardant and appertaining to the royal manors and poſſeſſions, within the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerſet, and Glouceſter. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 731.

Eliz. 1574.

nals, is the marriage of Charles earl of Lenox, uncle to the king of Scotland, with Elizabeth Cavendiſh the counteſs of Shrewſbury's daughter. As this marriage was made unknown to the queen, ſhe impriſoned the mothers of the new-married couple.

Affairs of the Low-Countries. Grotius. Strada. Strype's Ann. t. ii. p. 395.

In the Netherlands, the confederates took Middleburgh in Zealand. But on the other hand, Lewis count of Naſſau, who was leading an army to his brother the prince of Orange, loſt a battle upon Moker-heath, near Nimeguen, and was himſelf ſlain, with his brother Henry and Chriſtopher count Palatine [t]. This ſame year, the Spaniſh troops mutinying, ſurpriſed and plundered Antwerp, where they made an immenſe booty. The governor of the Low-Countries, to avoid greater miſchiefs, was forced to pardon them.

1575. Affairs of France. Mezerai. Camden.

As ſoon as Henry III. was arrived in France, it was reſolved in his council, to wage war with the Huguenots, tho' they had given no occaſion, and preſently after hoſtilities were renewed againſt them. Mean while, as Henry was afraid the queen of England would aſſiſt thoſe whom he deſigned to extirpate, his firſt care was to renew with her the league of Blois, after moving the queſtion to her, Whether the mutual defence againſt all men, mentioned in that league, did include the cauſe of religion? Elizabeth anſwered, it did, as ſhe could prove by a letter from the late king which ſhe had by her. Adding, if he were attacked on account of religion, and required her aid in virtue of the treaty, ſhe ſhould be always ready to give it. Indeed ſhe ran no great riſk in making that offer, being fully perſuaded the French king would not uſe Engliſh troops againſt the Huguenots. Beſides, by the terms of the league, ſhe was not bound to ſend him any troops, ſince inſtead of being attacked, he was himſelf the aggreſſor. However, Elizabeth's anſwer to Henry might have given the Huguenots ill notions of her, if ſhe had not privately ſupplied the prince of Condé with money to pay the army prince Caſimir count Palatine was levying for them in Switzerland and Germany.

Camden.

A tumult on the borders of Scotland. July. Camden.

England was pretty quiet during the year 1575. There happened only an accident on the borders of Scotland, where ſir John Forſter, warden of the Middle March [u], and Carmichel, warden of Liddeſdale in Scotland, holding a conference, each at the head of a troop of his own nation, quarrelled and fought. The Engliſh were worſted, ſir George Heron, warden of Tindale, loſt his life, and Forſter being taken priſoner [w], was conducted to the earl of Morton, who treated him very civilly, but detained him ſome time, for fear if he were preſently diſmiſſed, he would in his heat attempt a revenge. At laſt, having releaſed him, he made him promiſe to appear in Scotland at a ſet day. Elizabeth thought the regent of Scotland's proceeding very ſtrange, and at firſt took the affair very heinouſly; but Morton found means to appeaſe her, by making all the ſubmiſſions ſhe was pleaſed to require. This year died the duke of Chatelerault [x].

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[t] Whereupon the prince of Orange began to think of applying to the French, but Elizabeth ſent Daniel Rogers to diſſuade him from it; which not being able to do, the queen ſent Henry Cobham to the king of Spain, to inform him of the prince of Orange's deſigns. Camden, p. 453.

[u] And governor of Berwick. Camden, p. 454.

1576.

Death of the earl of Eſſex in Ireland. Sept. 22. Camden.

The year 1576, affords as little matter for the Hiſtory of England as the foregoing. We only find that the earl of Eſſex died in Ireland [y], and the earl of Leiceſter privately married his widow, unknown to the queen, though he was ſuſpected of having cauſed the huſband to be poiſoned. He was always in the queen's good graces, who was ſo biaſſed in his favour, that no man durſt tell her his thoughts of him. It was one of queen Elizabeth's greateſt failings to place her eſteem upon a perſon who ſo little deſerved it [z].

As it is neceſſary for the ſequel of the hiſtory to know what paſſed in the countries near England, I muſt make a ſhort digreſſion, not ſo much to inform the reader of things which are well known, as to refreſh his memory.

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[w] With Francis Ruſſel, ſon of the earl of Bedford, and ſon-in-law to Forſter; Cuthbert Collingwood, James Ogle, Henry Fenwick, &c. Camden, p. 454.

[x] James Hamilton duke of Chatelerault, and earl of Arran, was great grandſon to James II, of Scotland by his daughter. He was appointed tutor to Mary queen of Scots, and governor and preſumptive heir of the kingdom during her minority. Upon his delivering her to the French, he was made duke of Chatel-Herault in France. Camden, p. 454. --- This year alſo, on May 17, died the learned Matthew Parker, archbiſhop of Canterbury. Strype. Stow, p. 679.

[y] Being conſtrained to give over his enterprize in Ireland, he returned into England, having much waſted his eſtate, where openly threatening Leiceſter, whom he ſuſpected to have done him ill offices, he was by his cunning court-tricks ſent back into Ireland, with the inſignificant title of earl marſhal of Ireland; where grief and ſorrow throwing him into a bloody-flux; he died Sept. 22, 1576, in the 36th year of his age. Upon which, Leiceſter putting away Douglaſs Sheffield (whether his wife or miſtreſs is not known) he made love to Eſſex's widow, daughter to ſir Francis Knolles, to whom he was afterwards doubly married; firſt privately, and then publickly, for ſir Francis's ſatisfaction, who doubted of the private marriage. Camden, p. 455, 457.

[z] This year the parliament met, by prorogation, at Weſtminſter, on February 8, and was prorogued again to March 15. The lords and commons granted two fifteenths and tenths, and a ſubſidy; and the clergy gave a ſubſidy of ſix ſhillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. See Statut. The acts now made, were, 1. That all perſons which by any means whatſoever impair, diminiſh, or falſify the coins of the realm, ſhall be guilty of treaſon. 2. An additional act to thoſe already made for the repairing of highways, &c, See Statut. 18 Eliz.

Affairs of the Low-Countries. Grotius. Strada. Camden.

Lewis de Zuniga, commander of Requeſens, and governor of the Low-Countries, died this year. After his death, the council of ſtate adminiſtered alone the affairs of the Netherlands till a new governor ſhould arrive. The council conſiſted of natives and Spaniards. Shortly after, the Spaniſh troops happened to mutiny, and reſolved to plunder Bruſſels. The magiſtrates alarmed at the danger, applied to the council of ſtate, who declared the mutineers rebels, though ſeveral of the counſellors favoured the ſeditious. And indeed, preſently after the little town of Aloſt was ſacked, and the council of ſtate took no care to puniſh the authors of that outrage, or prevent the like misfortune which threatened the other towns. For that reaſon ſome lords of Brabant drew together at Bruſſels ſome of the citizens, and inveſting the place where the council of ſtate held their ſeſſions, expelled ſuch of the members as were ſuſpected to countenance the mutineers, and put in their room perſons better affected to the good of their country. The new council of ſtate, thus compoſed, joined the confederates, who were now in arms in defence of their liberties, and they entered together into a league to free themſelves from the Spaniſh forces. Then Hieronymo de Roda, a Spaniard, one of thoſe who were expelled the council, headed the rebels, and ſent for the Spaniſh troops which were in Holland, with whom the Germans joined. This body, grown very conſiderable, plundered Maeſtricht and Antwerp, without any poſſibility of preventing them.

The prince of Orange, who was in Holland, ſeeing the affairs of the Netherlands reduced to this point, offered the council of ſtate his troops, his perſon, and the aſſiſtance of the provinces of Holland and Zealand, which began to make a ſeparate ſtate under his government. Upon this offer, the council of ſtate reſolved to enter into treaty with Holland and Zealand. The conferences were held at Ghent, where with an unanimous conſent, Luxemburg excepted, was formed the union of the provinces of the Low-Countries, called the Union or Pacification of Ghent, for the defence of their laws and liberties. Notwithſtanding this, they were ſtill willing to own the king of Spain's authority, provided he would govern according to the antient laws. This union being thus formed, the fortreſſes raiſed by the duke of Alva to keep the Netherlands in ſubjection, were demoliſhed every-where. Some time after, the aſſociation was ſworn by the clergy and nobility, ſolemnly approved by the council of ſtate, and publiſhed at Bruſſels. By that, Philip II. loſt almoſt all his authority in the

Pacification of Ghent.

the Low-Countries, having only the bare title of ſovereign, unleſs he would confine himſelf to the rights enjoyed by his predeceſſors, which was very far from his thoughts.

Affairs of France. Mezerai. Thuanus. P. Daniel.

France was not more quiet than the Low-Countries. The duke of Alençon had aſſembled an army againſt the king in favour of the Huguenots. On the other hand, the prince of Condé, with the forces levied by prince Caſimir in Germany, entered France and joined the duke of Alençon. Thus the Huguenots, whom the court had determined to extirpate, were in a condition to ſell their lives dear, having at their head the king's brother, the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, with an army of thirty thouſand men. But the queen-mother had the addreſs to break all their meaſures. She ſent them offers of peace, and, during the negotiation, found means to ſow jealouſy among them, and win from them the duke of Alençon and prince Caſimir. In ſhort, ſhe cauſed them to agree to a peace, which, for all its ſeeming advantages, proved fatal to them, as it diſunited their forces. The treaty was concluded the 9th of May, and enrolled ſix months after by the parliament of Paris. The Huguenots had never obtained ſo advantageous a peace ſince the beginning of the troubles. In October the duke of Alençon came to court, where the queen his mother diſengaged him entirely from the ſide of the Huguenots. Then it was that he aſſumed the title of Duke of Anjou, borne by the king his brother before he aſcended the throne.

The peace was no ſooner ſigned, than, according to the ſincerity ſome time ſince profeſſed by the court of France, they took new meaſures to ruin the Huguenots. Treaties and oaths went then for nothing, and were conſidered only as lawful ſnares to ſurpriſe hereticks. The cardinal of Eſte the pope's legate, and Don John of Auſtria, who was going to take poſſeſſion of the government of the Low-Countries, came to the court of France, and had ſeveral conferences upon the occaſion with the king, the queen-mother, and the duke of Guiſe. Guiſe was looked upon as the head of the catholick party, and for that reaſon the legate took with him meaſures of which the king was not fully informed. The moſt proper means, in their opinion, to attain their end, was to unite ſeveral aſſociations, made in divers provinces by the zealous catholicks, and form one general aſſociation againſt the enemies of the antient religion. This is what was called the Holy Union, or ſimply, the League. Humieres was the firſt that ſigned it in Picardy, from whence it ſpread afterwards over the kingdom. The pope was the chief promoter of it, the

Maimbourg. Hiſt. de la Ligue.

king of Spain gloried in being called its protector, and the duke of Guiſe, who aimed at being declared the head, ſupported it to the utmoſt of his power. The queen-mother willingly came into it, not from a religious zeal, but becauſe the Huguenots had threatened to call her to an account for her adminiſtration during her regency. In fine, the king himſelf, ſeduced by ill counſels and his own ſupineneſs, was carried away with the torrent, and ſuffered the miſchief to increaſe, which was one day to prove his ruin.

When the late peace was negotiated, the Huguenots earneſtly ſollicited a general meeting of the ſtates, imagining, beſides a great many deputies of their religion, they ſhould have for them the duke of Alençon's party, and many others who were not pleaſed with the government. But when the deputies came to be elected, the duke of Alençon had now changed ſides. Beſides, the court by intrigues and money found means to procure a great number of deputies to be choſen who were againſt the Huguenots. So the ſtates meeting at Blois, inſtead of moving any thing in favour of the reformed religion, were going to demand of the king the confirmation of the league, and requeſt him to appoint the duke of Guiſe for head. But the king, who was now grown extremely jealous of the duke of Guiſe, reſolved to prevent it. To that end, he declared himſelf head of the league, and ſigning it firſt with his own hand, cauſed the great men of his court to ſubſcribe it, and ſent it into the provinces that every one might do the ſame. Shortly after, the ſtates having ſent to pray him that he would not allow any religion in the kingdom but the catholick, he anſwered, it was his intention; and if he was under a neceſſity of promiſing the contrary, even with an oath, he would keep his word only till he had forces ſufficient to enable him to break it. Thus the Huguenots were forced to defend themſelves to the laſt drop of their blood, without the leaſt hopes of ſeeing an end to their calamities by a treaty, ſince the king himſelf declared he would never make any with them, but only to deceive them [a].

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[a] This year, on June 11, died ſir Anthony Cook, of Gyddy-hall in Eſſex, one of the tutors to king Edward VI. One of his daughters married William lord Burghley, and another ſir Nicholas Bacon lord keeper. Strype's Ann. tom. ii. p. 467. —— This year, on June 25, Martin Frobiſher ſailed from England, with two ſmall barks and one pinnace, with deſign to go upon the diſcovery of a paſſage to Cathay and China by the north parts of America. On the 20th of July, he diſcovered a high land, which he called Queen Elizabeth's Foreland, and afterwards thoſe ſtreights which bear his name. He proceeded ſixty leagues further, and went on ſhore, where he caught one of the natives,

Affairs of the Low-Countries. Grotius. Strada. Camden, p. 458.

Don John of Auſtria came into the Low-Countries the beginning of the year 1577, full of vaſt projects. He was a prince of a great genius, and of an ambition ſuitable to his birth. The condition of a ſubject was a burthen of which he would have been glad to be eaſed. All his views tended to ſovereignty. His firſt project was to make himſelf king of Tunis; that failing, he thought of marrying the queen of Scots, and becoming ſovereign of all Great-Britain. Camden affirms, he had this from the mouth of Antonio Perez, who told him moreover, that the project was imparted to pope Gregory XIII, who approved it, but was concealed from king Philip. This was probably the ſubject of Don John's conferences at Paris with the duke of Guiſe. So Don John, when he arrived in the Low-Countries, had two grand deſigns in his head: Firſt, to ſubdue the Netherlands entirely: Secondly, to become maſter of England and Scotland. Elizabeth was not ignorant of the firſt, but the ſecond was ſtill a ſecret to her.

Grotius. Strada.

Feb. 17.

The pacification of Ghent was communicated to the Spaniſh court, and Philip giving way to the times, thought proper to confirm it by an edict. So when Don John of Auſtria came to the Netherlands, he was forced to ſign it before he was owned for governor. This was followed by an aſſembly held at Marche en Famine, where it was reſolved to publiſh a perpetual edict (as they called it) for driving the Spaniſh troops out of the Low-Countries, purſuant to the pacification of Ghent. Philip approving alſo this edict, the Spaniards were ſent into Italy, all the places remaining in the hands of the ſtates. Hitherto Don John had been forced to diſſemble; but ſome time after, he took off the maſk and ſurpriſed the caſtle of Namur. At the ſame time he ſollicited the German troops, who were waiting in that country for their arrears, to ſurrender the places where they were garriſoned; but he was prevented by the ſtates, who found means to gain thoſe troops before him. The ſtates imputed the rupture to Don John's ambition, and carried their complaints to the king, to whom Don John alſo writ, that the cabals of the prince of Orange had conſtrained him to provide for his own ſafety. Be this as it will, the ſtates of Brabant called the prince of Orange to their relief, and gave him the ſuperintendency of their country by conferring on him the title of

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wherein he brought to England, when he returned thither in Auguſt. He made a ſecond voyage to the ſame place the next year; and a third in 1568. Stow, p. 680, 681, 685.

Eliz. 1577.

Strada, l. 9.

Matthias choſen governor of the Low-Countries.

The ſtates declare war with Don John.

Ruart [b]. This proceeding raiſed the jealouſy of the duke of Arſcot, and ſome other Brabant lords, who, to ruin the prince of Orange's credit, propoſed to the United Provinces the electing a governor-general, under colour they ſhould all have the ſame head. The prince of Orange perceived he was aimed at, but not to give occaſion to a fatal diviſion of the forces of the confederates, oppoſed not the election. The choice fell upon the archduke Matthias, brother of the emperor Rodolphus II, and the prince of Orange was declared his lieutenant. In the archduke's patent however were inſerted certain conditions, which, giving him the title and honour of governor, left the whole authority to the ſtates. This done, Matthias ſtealing away, as it was pretended, from his brother the emperor's court, came into the Low-Countries, where he was put in poſſeſſion of his poſt. Then the ſtates proclaimed war with Don John, who had taken care to be prepared, by ſending for troops from Italy, which were now on their way.

Embaſſy of the ſtates to Elizabeth.

Don John's deſigns.

Grotius. Strada. Camden.

Elizabeth lends the ſtates money. Camden, p. 458.

It is her intereſt to aid the Low-Countries.

Then, and not before, Elizabeth perceived ſhe muſt have an eye to what paſſed in the Netherlands, becauſe at the ſame time the prince of Orange informed her of Don John's deſign to marry the queen of Scots, and the ſtates ſent ambaſſadors [c] to deſire her aſſiſtance. So, finding the deſigns of the governor of the Low-Countries reached farther than ſhe imagined, ſhe immediately lent the ſtates a hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, which they deſired of her [d]. Camden ſpeaks here of a treaty whereby the queen engaged to aſſiſt the ſtates with a thouſand horſe well mounted, and five thouſand foot, on condition the general or commander, being an Engliſhman, ſhould be admitted into the council of ſtate, and nothing determined without his conſent. But Grotius does not mention this treaty in his Annals of the Low-Countries. He ſays only, from that time Elizabeth concerned herſelf ſo far with the affairs of the United Provinces, that ſhe did not ſuffer the ſtates to come to any important reſolution without giving her notice [e]. Indeed it was very much her intereſt to order

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[b] An office anſwering to that of dictator among the Romans. Strada, l. 9.

[c] The marquis of Hauree, and Adolph Metkirk. Camden, p. 466.

[d] For eight months. She told the ambaſſadors, that if they could borrow that ſum of money any-where, ſhe and the city of London would become ſecurity for it, on condition that certain towns in the Netherlands, which ſhe ſhould name, would become bound to repay the money within a year. She had ſent them 20,000 l. laſt year, and exhorted them at the ſame time not to change their religion nor their prince, and not to receive the French into the Netherlands. Ibid. p. 456, 458.

[e] Queen Elizabeth concluded, on January 7, this year, a league offenſive and defenſive with the ſtates, which in effect contained no more than this. See Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 784.

Eliz. 1577.

Strada.

Her letter to Philip II. Grotius. Camden. Stow. p. 682, &c.

it ſo, that the war now beginning in the Low-Countries ſhould be continued in ſuch a manner, as to diſable Don John of Auſtria to execute his projects upon England. Theſe projects were not the inventions of the prince of Orange, to engage Elizabeth in the defence of the Netherlands. Famianus Strada poſitively mentions them in his Hiſtory. He even ſays, Gregory XIII. ſent a nuntio to Don John with the ſum of fifty thouſand crowns, to be employed in the expedition projected againſt England, but that he was forced to uſe it in his war with the ſtates. Mean while, at the very time Elizabeth lent money to Philip II's enemies, ſhe writ to him [f], that ſhe by no means intended to break the antient alliance between England and the houſe of Burgundy: that, on the contrary, ſhe ſupplied the confederates with money, only to ſecure theſe provinces to him, and hinder them from deſperately throwing themſelves into the arms of France. It is likely Philip was not very well pleaſed with theſe reaſons, but feigned to be ſo, not to induce Elizabeth to do more.

Continuation of the affairs of France. Mezerai. Thuanus. P. Daniel.

At this time the affairs of France were in a ſad ſituation. The tranſactions of the ſtates at Blois could not but raiſe a civil war in the kingdom. The Huguenots finding a reſolution was taken to extirpate them, made a counter-league, whereof the king of Navarre was declared general, and the prince of Condé appointed for his lieutenant. The former edict of pacification being revoked, as had been reſolved by the ſtates, hoſtilities were renewed on both ſides, but with great diſadvantage to the Huguenots, who were very weak. However, as the war gave the duke of Guiſe too much credit, of whoſe power the king was extremely jealous, Henry thought it his intereſt to grant a peace to the Huguenots. From thenceforward he plunged himſelf into pleaſures, and lived at ſo expenſive a rate, that he forfeited the love and eſteem of his ſubjects. The prince of Lorrain knew how to improve the advantages which the king's conduct procured him, as will hereafter appear [g].

1578. The pope's and Philip's deſigns upon Ireland. Camden. Walſingh. Negotiat. p. 58--93. Strype's Ann. tom. ii. p. 8--10.

Whilſt Elizabeth aſſiſted the confederates of the Low-Countries, under colour of hindering them from ſubmitting to France, Philip returned the favour, by endeavouring to raiſe a rebellion in Ireland. The project was formed ſome time before on account of pope Gregory XIII, who wanted to procure for his ſon Jacomo Boncompagno the crown of that kingdom. Thomas Stukely, an Engliſh fugitive, was the firſt author of it, and Philip II. undertook to ſupply whatever was neceſſary to accompliſh it. In the year 1570, Stukely went to Pius V, and perſuaded him, it would be very eaſy to burn the Engliſh fleet, and then conquer Ireland; and to that purpoſe he deſired the command of ſome ſhips and three thouſand Italians. The project, which could not then be executed, was reſumed under the pontificate of Gregory XIII, who was allured with the hopes of procuring the crown of Ireland for his baſtard ſon. As Stukely knew that, beſides the navy-royal, Elizabeth could, upon occaſion, equip a good number of other ſhips, he propoſed the freighting of as many Engliſh veſſels as poſſible, by the Flemings, French, Spaniards, Italians, and the ſending them ſome long voyage. After that he was to attack the royal navy, which was then very weak, and try to burn the ſhips in the ſeveral harbours where they lay. Which done, he intended to make a deſcent in Ireland, where he did not queſtion the native Iriſh would join him; and after the expulſion of the Engliſh, he was to cauſe the pope's ſon to be proclaimed king. It is not very likely Philip II. depended upon the ſucceſs of this enterprize; but he hoped no doubt to cauſe a diverſion, which ſhould hinder Elizabeth from aſſiſting the rebels of the Low-Countries, or at leaſt convince her ſhe ought to pay him more regard. However, the pope having conferred on Stukely ſeveral honourable titles [h] taken from the kingdom of Ireland, as if he had been in poſſeſſion, gave him ſome ſhips and eight hundred Italian ſoldiers, paid by the king of Spain. Stukely ſailed from Civita Vecchia, and ſafely arrived at Liſbon, with intent to purſue his voyage and undertaking. But Don Sebaſtian king of Portugal, being then going into Africa to war upon the Moors, perſuaded him to accompany him in his expedition, and obtained Philip's leave. Shortly after they both periſhed in the battle of Alcazar, and Philip relinquiſhed the project of conquering Ireland for that of ſecuring the crown of Portugal, after the death of the old cardinal Henry, who ſucceeded Don Sebaſtian.

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[f] By Thomas Wilks, whom ſhe diſpatched to him. Camden, p. 466.

[g] This year died the learned ſir Thomas Smith, ſecretary of ſtate. Ibid. p. 460.

Continuation of the affairs of Flanders.
Camden.
Grotius.
Strada.

The war commencing in the Netherlands, ſeveral companies of volunteers were formed in England, who went to ſerve the ſtates with the queen's conſent, or at leaſt conni-

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[h] The pope made him marquis of Lemſter, earl of Wexford and Caterlaugh, viſcount Morough, and baron of Roſs. This Stukely was a profuſe bragging man, who, after ſpending his eſtate, fled into Ireland, where being diſappointed of the hopes he had of being ſteward of Wexford, he vented many ſcurrilous things againſt the queen, and then made his eſcape from Ireland into Italy to Pius V. Camden, p. 462.

Eliz. 1578.

vance [i]. On the other hand, part of the Spaniſh troops, diſbanded at the arrival of Don John of Auſtria, were now returned to the Low-Countries, and moreover, Alexander Farneſe, ſon of Octavio, had brought Don John a conſiderable body of Italians. With theſe forces, Don John gained at Gemblours a ſignal victory over the army of the ſtates, which was followed with the taking of ſeveral places. Some time after, Philip II. offered a peace to the ſtates; but as it was upon terms very different from the pacification of Ghent, and as he did not talk of recalling Don John of Auſtria, his offer was rejected.

Diſſentions in the Low-Countries. Grotius. Strada.

The affairs of the ſtates were however in an ill ſituation. The jealouſies among the great men, and the diverſity of religions, bred very dangerous troubles in the riſing commonwealth. The duke of Anjou and prince Caſimir equally offered their aſſiſtance to the ſtates, who knew not which way to turn. But at this very time a fortunate and unexpected accident happened. The city of Amſterdam, which hitherto had been for the king, reſolved to join the confederates, and by that conſiderably ſtrengthened their party. On the other hand, what paſſed ſoon after in the ſame city, very much increaſed the ſuſpicion and diſtruſt of the catholicks. They who had been baniſhed on account of religion being recalled, found means to expel the magiſtrates, and put the government of the city into the hands of the reformed. The ſame thing was done at Haerlem, Utrecht, and other places; and this gave the catholicks reaſon to ſuſpect that, under colour of maintaining the cauſe of liberty, there was a deſign to aboliſh the antient religion, contrary to the pacification of Ghent. And therefore, to prevent the execution of this project, the catholicks propoſed to give the government of the ſtate to the duke of Anjou, a prince attached to his religion, and over whom they hoped the prince of Orange would not have the ſame influence as over Matthias. The prince of Orange not thinking proper to oppoſe the motion, for fear of confirming the ſuſpicions of the catholicks, the duke of Anjou was declared by the ſtates, Protector of the Belgick liberties.

The duke of Anjou is choſen protector of the Belgick liberties.

The diviſions continue.

Mean while, the reformed fearing the duke of Anjou's arrival would produce ſome change prejudicial to their religion, preſented a petition to the ſtates, deſiring to be admitted to

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[i] The chief were John North, the lord North's eldeſt ſon; John Norris, the lord Norris's ſecond ſon; Henry Cavendiſh and Thomas Morgan, colonels. Norris, general of the Engliſh, in the firſt battle fought ſtoutly, having three horſes killed under him. Camden, p. 460.

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the exerciſes of the publick offices, as well as the catholicks. This requeſt was granted, on condition the catholicks ſhould enjoy the ſame privilege in Holland and Zealand; but theſe two provinces, without directly oppoſing this reſolution, found means however to evade the condition annexed. Thence aroſe great diviſions among the confederates. The catholicks would yield nothing in the provinces where they were maſters, ſince Holland and Zealand did not perform what was ordained, and the reformed would ſeize by force what was granted them by the ſtates.

The Gantois increaſe the diviſion. Strada.

Whilſt theſe differences ſenſibly leſſened the union of the confederate provinces, it happened that the inhabitants of Ghent expelled the city all the Romiſh prieſts, and without obeying the archduke and the prince of Orange, who commanded them to recall them, prepared for their defence, in caſe they ſhould be compelled to ſubmit. On the other hand, the people of Artois and Hainault refuſed to ſuffer the reformed in their territories, and even pretended that the Gantois ought to be reduced to their duty by force. But the prince of Orange ſtoutly oppoſed all violent methods, by reaſon of the manifeſt danger of turning the arms of the confederates againſt themſelves, at a time when Don John of Auſtria was preparing to do his utmoſt to deſtroy them. And indeed, ſhortly after he attempted to force the army of the ſtates, which was ſtrongly intrenched, but was bravely repulſed. This attempt failing contrary to his expectation, he made freſh offers of peace, to amuſe the ſtates till the arrival of a conſiderable body of troops which were coming to him. For the ſame reaſon, the ſtates readily entered into treaty to gain time, becauſe they expected prince Caſimir with an army, and the duke of Anjou, who was now on the borders of Hainault with eight thouſand men. Don John's ſuccours coming firſt, he broke off the negotiation, and renewed the hoſtilities, being at the head of thirty thouſand foot and ſixteen thouſand horſe. Prince Caſimir arriving alſo preſently after, the army of the ſtates was ſixty thouſand ſtrong, whilſt the duke of Anjou took in Hainault the little town of Binck. Caſimir's army was chiefly paid by the queen, whoſe intereſt it was to hinder Don John from growing too powerful in the Netherlands, though, feigning to be ignorant of his deſigns, ſhe found other pretences to juſtify her aſſiſting the ſtates [k].

Camden. Thuanus.

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[k] About this time, count Swartzenberg from the emperor, Pompon de Bellievre from the king of France, and the lord Cobham and ſir Francis Walſingham from queen Elizabeth, repaired to the United Provinces, to find out ſome way for making a peace; but nothing could be agreed on. Camden, p. 460.

Strada.

The diviſions betwixt Ghent and the provinces of Artois and Hainault rendered the great armament of the ſtates ineffectual. Some of their troops complaining they were not duly paid, ſuddenly quitted the army and took Menin. Shortly after, colonel Montigny followed their example with his whole regiment, and headed all the deſerters. After that he joined the troops of Artois, and made inroads into the province of Flanders. Then the Gantois ſeeing their neighbours ſo powerful, and able to give them law, called prince Caſimir to their relief, and promiſed to pay his troops. The prince accepted their offer, and, coming to Ghent, the duke of Anjou refuſed to join the army of the ſtates, unleſs prince Caſimir would return with his Germans; and as he could not prevail, he retired to France, leaving his troops free to join thoſe of Montigny. Thus theſe two princes, who came into the Low-Countries on purpoſe to aid the confederate provinces, ſerved only to ruin their affairs, by fomenting diſcord among the inhabitants. Some time after, Caſimir paſſed into England [l], probably to vindicate his conduct to Elizabeth, who had ſupplied him with money to raiſe and maintain his army.

Caſimir comes into England. Camden. Strada.

Death of Don John of Auſtria. Grotius. Camden. Strada.

Don John of Auſtria had not time to improve the troubles raiſed in the Netherlands, being prevented by death the 1ſt of October. There had been a conſpiracy againſt him, for which two Engliſhmen, Ratcliffe [m] and Grey, were executed. But he could not eſcape the poiſon which the king his brother cauſed to be given him, if we may believe ſome writers. After his death, Alexander Farneſe prince of Parma took upon him the command of the army, till farther orders from the court of Spain. His principal care was to cheriſh the diſſention between the Flemings and the inhabitants of Hainault and Artois, in which he ſucceeded to his wiſh.

The duke of Anjou preſſes his marriage with Elizabeth. Camden. Thuanus.

Whilſt the duke of Anjou was in the Low-Countries, he ſent into England a gentleman called Bacqueville, to renew the treaty of his marriage with the queen. The king of France alſo ſent thither Rambouillet upon the ſame account, being very deſirous to be freed from a brother, who made him very uneaſy by his levity, which ſuffered him to be directed by people who had not always his intereſt in view. The queen received theſe envoys ſo very graciouſly, that all the world imagined ſhe really intended to marry. It is difficult to know whether, being then five and forty years old, ſhe ſeriouſly thought of eſpouſing the duke of Anjou who was but twenty, or taking a ſort of pride in being wooed, only meant to amuſe him. For my part, I believe it to be an effect of her policy, that her enemies, upon the rumour of her going to marry the duke of Anjou, might be leſs eager to purſue their deſigns againſt her. I mean the private deſigns upon her life, ſince there was then no likelihood of her being openly attacked, nor conſequently any urgent reaſon to determine her to marry. She had nothing to fear from Scotland. France was not then in condition to make any conſiderable attempt upon England. The king of Spain was wholly intent upon procuring the crown of Portugal. In a word, the ſituation of the affairs of the Netherlands permitted not Don John of Auſtria to execute his vaſt projects. Thus, in all appearance, the queen upon this occaſion acted ſolely out of policy. But before I relate the event of the negotiation, it will be neceſſary to give a general knowledge of what paſſed in Scotland during the year 1578.

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[l] He was in England from January 22, to February 14. Stow, p. 685.

[m] Egremond Ratcliffe, ſon to Henry earl of Suſſex by his ſecond wife, who had been a violent man in the northern rebellion, and now ſerved under Don John, was accuſed by the Engliſh fugitives, that he was ſecretly ſent to aſſaſſinate Don John, upon which he was taken up and put to death, with Grey his accomplice. The Spaniards give out, that at his death he confeſſed he was let out of the town on purpoſe to commit this murder. But the Engliſh, who were preſent, deny he made any ſuch confeſſion. Camden, p. 460, 461. Strype's Ann. tom. ii. p. 494.

Affairs of Scotland. Melvil, p. 124.

The earl of Morton ſtill governed that kingdom as regent, but in ſuch a manner, that he daily created to himſelf freſh enemies. If Melvil is to be credited, he was proud and covetous. He ſought pretences againſt the rich to rob them of their eſtates, and could ſuffer about him ſuch only as were always ready to flatter him. Elizabeth, whoſe intereſt it was to preſerve peace in Scotland, under the government of a man on whom ſhe could depend, was afraid that at length the regent's ill-conduct would deprive her of that advantage. Wherefore ſhe diſpatched Randolph into Scotland, under colour of congratulating the king, who was then between eleven and twelve years old, upon the progreſs he was making in his ſtudies. But the ambaſſador's chief buſineſs was to inſtil into the earl of Morton a little more moderation, and perſuade him to live in a good underſtanding with the earls of Argyle and Athol, and ſome other lords, who being diſſatiſfied might in the end raiſe troubles in the kingdom. The regent took this advice in good part; but not knowing how to improve it, was himſelf the ſole cauſe of his ruin.

Camden. Thuanus.

Melvil, p. 125.

The king had for governor Alexander Areſkine, ſon or brother of the late earl of Mar, and four preceptors, of whom George Buchanan was one. The earl of Morton having imprudently diſobliged theſe men, they found means to ſet the young king againſt him. This was not very difficult, conſidering the king's age, the continual acceſs they had to him, and the frequent occaſions the regent gave them to take notice of his ill-management. When they had prepared the king almoſt to their wiſh, they ſent for the earls of Argyle and Athol, who had now privately taken meaſures to execute their purpoſe. Theſe two lords very eaſily perſuaded the king to lay aſide this troubleſome regent, and take himſelf the reins of the government[n], promiſing to aſſiſt him in it. This was done ſo ſuddenly, that the earl of Morton, who ſuſpected nothing, was not able to prevent it. The ſtates of the kingdom meeting at the ſame time, confirmed by their authority what the king had done, and appointed a council of twelve lords, among whom was the earl of Morton. But inſtead of taking his place in the council, he feigned to be weary of the court, and retired to his own houſe, where he ſeemed wholly employed in cultivating his gardens.

The king takes the reins of the government. Melvil, p. 126. Camden. Spotiſwood.

Melvil, p. 126.

The young king having taken the government into his hands, ſent immediate notice of it to queen Elizabeth, demanding withal, the lands of the late earl of Lenox his grandfather, and the renewal of the alliance between England and Scotland. It was not the way of Elizabeth and her council to be governed by motives of generoſity, but rather to uſe artifice, in order to reap from every occurrence all the benefit poſſible. Nothing could be more juſt than the king of Scotland's demand. The counteſs of Lenox his grandmother, who lately died in England[o], had enjoyed, ſo long as ſhe lived, the eſtate aſſigned her by Henry VIII. her uncle, when ſhe married the earl of Lenox. He gave alſo certain lands to the earl her huſband, to ſupport the honour of being married to a princeſs of the blood-royal. Who could therefore be their more lawful heir, than the king of Scotland their grandſon? And yet the council of England pretended, the inheritance might be claimed by Arabella Stewart, daughter of Charles Stewart, younger brother to the late earl of Lenox, under colour that ſhe was born in the kingdom; though in England, the princes of the royal family are not to be conſidered as foreigners, in what place ſoever they are born. Not

The king of Scotland's requeſt to Elizabeth. Camden.

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[n] Though he was not yet twelve years old.

[o] Margaret Douglaſs counteſs of Lenox, niece to Henry VIII. by his eldeſt ſiſter, widow of Matthew Stewart earl of Lenox, and grandmother to James I. king of Great Britain, having ſurvived eight children, died this year, on March 10, in her grand climacterick, and was buried at Weſtminſter, with a ſtately funeral at the queen's charges. Camden, p. 461. Sandford, p. 525, 526.

that the queen intended to debar the king of Scotland entirely of his inheritance, but had a mind to hold him in ſubmiſſion, by an intimation that the ſame reaſon might be uſed to deprive him of his right to ſucceed to the crown of England, and that he wanted her to ſurmount the difficulties which might occur. For this reaſon, ſhe ordered the rents of the lands to be ſequeſtred by the lord Burleigh, maſter of the wards. As to the renewing of the alliance between the two crowns, ſhe appointed commiſſioners to treat of that affair with the Scottiſh ambaſſadors. The commiſſioners required the ambaſſadors to make propoſitions anſwerable to the gratitude due from the king their maſter to the queen, for placing and ſupporting him on the throne, at the expence of her treaſure, and the blood of her ſubjects. The ambaſſadors replied, they had only power to renew the alliance between the two crowns, with an additional article for the defence of the proteſtant religion [p], received in Scotland ſince the laſt treaty. The Engliſh, deſiring to make the alliance to be conſidered as very advantageous to the king of Scotland, propoſed, that in return for the favours the king had received, and daily did receive from their queen, and for the advantages the league was to procure to Scotland, he ſhould promiſe not to make any alliance with other princes or ſtates, nor to marry without the queen of England's conſent. But the ambaſſadors abſolutely rejected the propoſition.

The earl of Morton reaſſumes his authority.
Camden.
Melvil, p. 126.

Mean while, the earl of Morton, who had correſpondents in Sterling, where the king reſided, appearing one night at the gate of the town with a company of armed men, it was opened to him, and he entered without oppoſition. Then he went directly to the king's palace, of whoſe perſon he became maſter, and expelling his enemies, reſumed the poſt he had been obliged to relinquiſh. The earl of Athol, who had been made chancellor, died ſhortly after, not without ſuſpicion of being poiſoned. We muſt now return to the affairs of England [q].

1579.
The queen is extremely civil to prince Caſimire.
Camden.
Stow.
Feb. 8.

Prince Caſimire left not the court of England till about the middle of February. He had been honoured and careſſed in an extraordinary manner, the queen having ſhown, it would be grateful to her to render his ſtay in England as agreeable as poſſible. Before his departure ſhe conferred on him the Order of St. George, and put on the garter herſelf about his leg [r].

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[p] Againſt the pope and his confederates. Camden, p. 470.

[q] This year died the lady Mary Grey, one of the daughters of Henry duke of Suffolk, ſiſter to the lady Jane Grey, and widow of Martin Keys. Strype's Ann. tom. ii. p. 548.

[r] She alſo ſettled a yearly penſion on him. Camden, p. 471.

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Eliz. 1579. It was not without reaſon ſhe uſed him thus civilly. He had ſtill a conſiderable body of troops ready to aſſiſt the proteſtants, and it was no ſmall advantage to her, that ſhe could rely on him by ſupplying him with money. In the preſent ſituation of her affairs, nothing deſerved her care more than to hinder the ruin of the proteſtants in France and the Netherlands, ſince on their preſervation depended her ſafety. Caſimire was her inſtrument to continue, in the Low-Countries, troubles which made her ſleep in peace. When he arrived in the Netherlands, he found his horſe had accepted the duke of Parma's paſſport for their ſafe return into Germany, becauſe, wanting their pay, they would neither ſerve any longer, nor ſtay in the country.

Simié the French envoy, promotes the duke of Anjou's affairs. Camden. Thuanus.

At the ſame time, the queen was employed in an affair which required her whole attention: I mean, the negotiation of her marriage with the duke of Anjou. Beſides Rambouillet and Bacqueville, who had been in England ſome time upon that account, the king of France had alſo ſent Simié [s]; a man of parts, and very fit for the purpoſe. Elizabeth had a large ſhare of wit and ſenſe, and was perfectly acquainted with her own intereſts; but was not free from all the paſſions of her ſex. Simié ſoon diſcovering her temper, did not loſe his time in ſolliciting the duke of Anjou's ſuit by reaſons of ſtate and policy: ſhe knew more of that matter than himſelf. But he ſo artfully choſe the moſt proper way to win her heart, that he gained her ear more than the duke of Anjou would have done himſelf. All were ſurprized at the great change they ſaw in her, and at the progreſs the duke of Anjou had made by the help of Simié. Nay, 'twas believed he had uſed love-potions, and other unlawful arts, ſuch was his addreſs to render himſelf agreeable, if after all he was not himſelf deceived by the queen. Above all things, he took great care to ruin the earl of Leiceſter, not having the ſame reaſons as the Engliſh courtiers to manage that favourite. It was he who revealed to the queen Leiceſter's clandeſtine marriage with the earl of Eſſex's widow, and the diſcovery put her into ſuch a paſſion, that ſhe was going to ſend him to the Tower [t]. Leiceſter was vexed to ſee himſelf thus braved by a foreigner. 'Tis even ſaid, he bribed one of the guards to aſſaſſinate him.

Camden.

Leiceſter great enemy to Simié.

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[s] He is called by the French writers, the baron de Simier. See P. Daniel, tom. ix. p. 118. Thuanus gives him this character, "Johannes Simieus, "homo blandimentis, & aſſentatiunculis innutritus aulicis," lib. 66.

[t] If Suſſex, though his deadlieſt adverſary, had not generouſly diſſuaded her, being of opinion, that no man ought to be troubled for lawful marriage. However, Camden affirms, that Leiceſter was ordered not to ſtir out of Greenwich-caſtle, Camden, p. 471.

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A piſtol fired into the queen's barge. July 17. Camden. Stow.

It is at leaſt certain, the queen fearing the French envoys might receive ſome affront, took them under her eſpecial protection, and commanded by proclamation, that no man ſhould offer them any injury. It happened ſhortly after, that as the queen was in her barge on the Thames, near Greenwich, with the three French envoys [u], a piſtol was diſcharged out of a boat, and one of her bargemen wounded. The man that fired the piſtol was taken immediately, and threatned with the rack; but he cleared himſelf ſo ingenuouſly, that the queen was perſuaded of his innocence. She took occaſion from her pardoning this man, to diſplay the affection ſhe had for her ſubjects, ſaying, 'She could believe nothing of her people, 'which a parent could not believe of his own children.'

The duke of Anjou viſits Elizabeth incognito. Camden. Strype's An. tom. ii.

Shortly after, the duke of Anjou came incognito into England with only two ſervants. He went to court without being known, and after ſome private diſcourſe with the queen, returned into France. Two months after, the queen ordered ſome of her moſt truſty privy-counſellors [w], to examine together the advantages and miſchiefs which might ariſe from her marriage with the duke of Anjou, and report them to her [x].

Eſme Stuart tries to ſet James and Elizabeth at variance. Melvil, p. 127. Camden.

Whilſt Elizabeth was intent upon gaining the king of France's friendſhip, the duke of Guiſe was framing a plot capable of creating her one day much trouble. As England could be conveniently invaded only from Scotland, Guiſe, who had not relinquiſhed the project formed by the late duke his father and the cardinal his uncle, was deviſing means to accompliſh it, by ſetting Elizabeth and the king of Scotland at variance. He made uſe for that purpoſe of Eſme Stewart, baron d'Aubigny, who came to Scotland under colour of paying his reſpects to the king as his near relation. He was ſon of John Stewart, younger brother of Matthew earl of Lenox, the young king's grandfather. This lord, who was ſettled in France, where his family held the barony of Aubigny in Berry, being come to the king, ſo artfully inſinuated himſelf into his good graces, that in a little time he became his favourite. There was alſo about the ſame time another young man, ſprung from a branch of the Stewart family, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Oghiltry, who was very much beloved by the king. Theſe two favourites joined together to ruin the earl of Morton, as well for the ſake of their own

Stewart of Oghiltry, another of James's favourites. Melvil, p. 127.

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[u] Camden ſays, only Simié, with the earl of Lincoln, and Hatton her vice-chamberlain, were in the boat with her. Ibid.

[w] The lord Burghley, the earls of Suſſex and Leiceſter, Hatton and Walſingham. Camden, p. 471.

[x] See the articles propoſed by the duke for his marriage, in Strype's Ann. tom. ii. p. 561.

intereſt,

Eliz. 1579.

intereſt, as becauſe it was neceſſary, in order to execute the duke of Guiſe's deſigns, to be rid of a lord, who was too much attached to the intereſt of England.

The two favourites ſet the king againſt the earl of Morton. Melvil, p. 127.

To compaſs their ends, they perſuaded the king to take a progreſs into ſome of his counties, well knowing the regent had buſineſs which would not ſuffer him to attend him. The earl of Morton not miſtruſting theſe young men; who ſeemed only to mind trifles, oppoſed not the king's deſign. During the progreſs, the two favourites inſtilled into the king an utter averſion to the regent, and an exceſſive deſire to be freed from him. We ſhall ſee preſently the effects of this averſion; but it will be proper firſt to mention what had paſſed in the Netherlands[y].

Affairs of the Low-Countries. Grotius. Strada. Thuanus.

The army of the ſtates being much weakened by the retreat of the German troops, the prince of Parma beſieged Maeſtricht, whilſt plenipotentiaries on both ſides were treating a peace at Cologne. But this negotiation ſerved only to divide the confederates the more. From that time ſeveral lords forſook them. Montigny came to the prince of Parma's army with the forces under his command. Artois and Haynault made a ſeparate treaty, and ſome other provinces returned to the obedience of the king of Spain. The prince of Orange ſeeing this defection, uſed his endeavours to unite ſtill more ſtrictly the provinces which perſiſted in the reſolution to throw off Philip's yoke.

Union of Utrecht. Grotius. Strada. Du Maurier.

He ſucceeded at length, and cauſed the famous union of Utrecht to be ſigned, between Holland, Zealand, Friſeland, and Utrecht, the articles whereof are to be ſeen in the hiſtories of thoſe countries: Ghent and Ypres afterwards came into the union, and the prince of Orange was made governor of Flanders. Mean while, the prince of Parma took Maeſtricht, after which he diſbanded moſt of the Spaniſh and Italian troops, according to his promiſe. This ſincerity procured him Mechlin, Liſle, and Valenciennes.

1580. A prohibition againſt enlarging the city of London. Camden.

The city of London increaſing exceſſively, to the detriment of the reſt of the towns, the queen thought it neceſſary to remedy this inconvenience. She publiſhed therefore, in the

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[y] This year, on February 20, died ſir Nicholas Bacon, lord-keeper of the great ſeal, and was buried in St. Paul's cathedral. He was ſucceeded by ſir Thomas Bromley, lord chancellor.---This ſame year, on Novemb. 21, died alſo ſir Thomas Greſham knight, founder of the Royal-Exchange, and of Greſham-college in London, and was buried in St. Hellen's Biſhopſgate-ſtreet. Stow, p. 685, 686.---This year alſo, Amurath Cham, emperor of the Turks, upon treaty betwixt William Harbourn an Engliſhman, and Muſtapha Beg, a Turkiſh baſſa, granted, That the Engliſh merchants might freely trade throughout the Turkiſh dominions, in like manner as the French, Venetians, and other neighbouring nations did. Whereupon the Engliſh merchants, by the queen's privilege, aſſociated themſelves into a company, called the Turkey Company. Camden, p. 47[illegible].

Eliz. 1580.

beginning of the year 1580, a proclamation, prohibiting any new buildings within three miles of the gates of the city, upon pain of impriſonment, and forfeiture of the materials [z]. It were to be wiſhed for England, that this prohibition had been punctually executed even to this day, ſince the city is ſo enlarged, that it is grown a monſtrous head to a body of a moderate ſize, to which it bears no proportion.

Engliſh ſeminaries at Rome and Rheims. Camden.

But there was a ſtill more preſſing evil, which it was no leſs neceſſary to remedy. I mean the hindering of the Engliſh ſeminaries in foreign countries from ſending prieſts into England to preach ſedition and rebellion, under colour of adminiſtring the ſacraments to the catholicks. The prieſts expelled England in the beginning of this reign, had ſet up a college at Douay in 1568, by means of William Allen an Oxford man, afterwards cardinal. Whilſt the duke of Alva was governor of the Netherlands, in this college were formed all the plots I have mentioned in favour of the queen of Scots. But Don Lewis de Requeſens having baniſhed from the Low-Countries all the Engliſh fugitives, the members of Douay-college retired, ſome to Rome, and ſome to Rheims, where they erected ſeminaries, under the protection of the pope and the cardinal of Lorrain archbiſhop of Rheims. It was theſe two ſeminaries which ſupplied the catholicks in England with prieſts. Whilſt the court imagined theſe men only adminiſtred the ſacraments in private to thoſe of their religion, no notice ſeemed to be taken of it. But it was diſcovered at length, that they were diligent in ſpreading pernicious principles, which might be attended with ill conſequences. They maintained, that the pope had by divine right full power to dethrone kings, and Elizabeth being excommunicated and depoſed by Pius V.'s bull, her ſubjects were freed from their allegiance. Four of theſe dangerous emiſſaries were condemned and executed, for daring to maintain publickly that the queen was lawfully depoſed [a].

Four prieſts executed. Stow. Camden.

This did not hinder the two ſeminaries from continually ſending into England incendiaries, with whom were joined Robert Parſons and Edmund Campian jeſuits, who were the firſt of that order employed to preach the forementioned dangerous tenets. They had obtained of the pope a bull, dated the 14th of April 1580, declaring that pope Pius's bull did for ever bind Elizabeth and the hereticks, but not the catholicks, till a favourable opportunity ſhould offer to put it in execution.

Firſt jeſuits in England. Camden.

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[z] And ordered, that no more than one family ſhould dwell in a houſe. Camden, p. 476.

[a] Namely, Hanſe, Nelſon, Maine, and Sherwood. Stow, p. 682. Camden, p. 476.

Theſe

Eliz. 1580.

Strype's An. tom. ii. p. 645, &c.

Proclamation enjoining the calling home of children from foreign parts. Jan. 10. Camden. Strype's An. tom. iii.

Theſe two jeſuits had profeſſed the proteſtant religion, and even bore offices in the univerſity of Oxford [b]. After that, withdrawing out of the kingdom, they returned from time to time, appearing one while like clergymen, another while like ſoldiers, or in ſome other diſguiſe, and frequented the houſes of the catholicks, under pretence of inſtructing and comforting them, but in reality to inſpire them with ſedition and rebellion. Nay, they had the confidence to challenge the proteſtant clergy to diſpute in print [c]. All this coming to the queen's knowledge, a proclamation was iſſued out, commanding all thoſe who had any children, wards, kinſmen, beyond ſea, to give in their names to the ordinary in ten days, and call them home within a month [d], with a prohibition to ſupply them with money after that time. By the ſame proclamation, all perſons were forbid to entertain or harbour any jeſuits or prieſts, ſent forth from the ſeminaries of Rome or Rheims, on pain of being puniſhed as rebels and ſeditious perſons.

Another threatning one. Camden.

Shortly after, printed books were diſperſed, intimating, that the pope and the king of Spain had conſpired to conquer England and reſtore the catholick religion, and exhorting the Engliſh papiſts to encourage the deſign. Whereupon the queen iſſued out another proclamation, declaring, ſhe was not ignorant of the practices of her enemies, but by the bleſſing of God and the help of her faithful ſubjects, ſhe was able to withſtand their attacks, both at home and abroad: That moreover, as the plots which were contriving were not only againſt her perſon, but alſo againſt the whole kingdom, ſhe did not intend to be cruel to the good by ſparing the bad; and therefore ſuch as would not for the future keep within the bounds of their duty, were to expect no favour [e].

Deſcent of the Spaniards in Ireland. Camden. Stow.

The menaces from the pope and the king of Spain were not entirely fruitleſs, ſince it appeared this very year that there was a plot formed againſt Ireland. Arthur Grey, lord-deputy of that iſland, had intelligence that ſeven hundred Spaniards and Italians, ſent by the pope and Philip II. were landed without oppoſition [f], under the command of San Joſeppo an Italian, and had raiſed a fortification, which they called the Fort del Oro. The earl of Ormond, who was not far from thoſe quarters, poſting thither with ſome troops, took a few priſoners, who declared, they had brought arms for five or ſix thouſand men, who were to join them in order to drive the Engliſh out of the iſland. The earl not having ſufficient forces to beſiege the fort, contented himſelf with inveſting it, till the lord-deputy, who was on the march, ſhould join him. A little after, the fort was beſieged in form, and compelled to ſurrender the fifth day at diſcretion. This ſucceſs was ſullied by the cruelty of the Engliſh, who, under pretence of the great difficulty of guarding ſo many priſoners, put the Spaniards to the ſword, and hanged all the Iriſh.

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[b] Robert Parſons was born in Somerſetſhire, and brought up at Baliol-college. Edmund Campian was a Londoner, fellow of St. John's-college, and proctor of the univerſity in 1568. Camden, p. 477.

[c] Campian likewiſe publiſhed his Decem Rationes, in defence of the Romiſh communion. His book was anſwered by Dr. Whitaker, Camden, p. 477.

[d] Within four months. Camden, p. 476. There was another proclamation againſt jeſuits and ſeminary prieſts, April 24, 1582, which may be ſeen in Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 83, &c.

[e] There came alſo about this time ſectaries out of Holland, who called themſelves of the Family of Love, and maintained, That thoſe only were elected and ſhould be ſaved, who were admitted into their family, and all the reſt were reprobates, and ſhould be damned; and the like abſurd tenets, Camden, p. 477.

Drake's return from his voyage round the world. Camden. Stow.

This year was memorable for the return of Francis Drake from his voyage round the world. He had navigated in America, upon the north and ſouth ſeas, and amaſſed a prodigious quantity of gold and ſilver taken from the Spaniards. At his return, which was in November, the queen knighted him, and was pleaſed to dine in the ſhip which had made ſo great a voyage. After that, ſhe ordered it to be drawn up in a little creek near Deptford, and certain inſcriptions to be ſet up in memory of the thing [g].

The Spaniſh ambaſſador's complaints againſt Drake.

Bernardine de Mendoza the Spaniſh ambaſſador made great complaints againſt Drake. He required, that he ſhould be puniſhed for his robberies, and for daring to ſail in the ſeas which were under the dominion of the king of Spain, and all the money, plundered upon the Spaniards, reſtored. He was told, that the Indian ocean was common to all the nations of Europe, and that the Engliſh by no means allowed of the propriety aſſumed by the king of Spain, nor of the pope's pretended donation, who had no right to diſpoſe of countries and ſeas which belonged not to him: That Drake ſhould be always ready to anſwer in law whenever he ſhould be attacked,

The queen's anſwer. Camden.

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[f] Admiral Winter had waited a good while for their coming, and returned to England about Michaelmaſs; but upon news of their landing, he went back to Ireland. Camden, p. 475.

[g] He ſailed from Plymouth the 13th of December 1577, and returned to the ſame port November 3, 1580. When the ſhip was hawled up, the ſame day ſome Wincheſter ſcholars ſet up ſome verſes on the main-maſt in praiſe of Drake, which I ſuppoſe were the inſcriptions mentioned by Rapin. Two of the verſes were as follow:

Plus ultra Herculeis inſcribas, Drace, Columnis,
Et magno dicas, Hercule major ero.

Camden, p. 477--480.

and to hinder him from converting the gold and ſilver to his own uſe, the queen had ordered all the goods he had brought home to be ſequeſtred, with deſign to ſatisfy the king of Spain, if he could prove they belonged to him or his ſubjects, though the charges ſhe had been at in defending Ireland againſt the attacks of the Spaniards amounted to a much greater ſum. The queen, however repaid afterwards part of the treaſure [h].

Death of the earl of Arundel. Feb. 24. Dugdale. Camden.

Henry Fitz-Alan earl of Arundel died this year. He was the laſt of that illuſtrious family which had flouriſhed in England above three hundred years [i]. One of his daughters married Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk, and thence it was that the title of earl of Arundel came to the Howard family.

Affairs of France.

The religious war was renewed in France in the month of January, and ended in November by a ſixth treaty of peace.

Philip II. gets poſſeſſion of Portugal. Camden.

This year Philip II. ſeized the throne of Portugal, vacant by the death of king Henry. Don Antonio, prior of Crato, natural ſon to Don Lewis, brother of the late king, would have diſputed the crown with the king of Spain, but the forces of the two competitors being very unequal, Don Antonio's endeavours were fruitleſs.

Affairs of Scotland. Melvil. Spotiſwood.

The affairs of Scotland began to give Elizabeth ſome uneaſineſs, becauſe ſhe knew king James's two favourites were uſing their utmoſt endeavours to turn him againſt England. The firſt point of their project was to finiſh the earl of Morton's ruin, whom they had already deſtroyed in the king's favour. The ſecond, to engage the king to marry a French princeſs. The third, to perſuade him, after his marriage, to declare the duke of Guiſe his lieutenant-general. The advices the queen received upon this occaſion wanted not proof, ſince ſhe had long known the deſign to invade her from Scotland, and ſince what was contriving at king James's court was very proper to accompliſh that project. She ſaw moreover, that the two favourites, one of whom was wholly devoted to the houſe of Lorrain, gained more and more the love and confidence of the king, who delighted to load them with favo[illegible] Aubigny had been made earl and then duke of [illegible]nox, [illegible]d James Stewart was honoured with the title of earl of Ar[illegible]. Upon the intelligence ſhe had received, ſhe believed it [illegible]ceſſary to begin with opening the young king's eyes in relation to the plots of his favourites, or put him under a neceſſity to ſhow that he approved them, which could not but breed great diſcontent among the people of Scotland. To that purpoſe, ſhe ſent ſir Robert Bowes, treaſurer of Berwick, into Scotland, to accuſe the duke of Lenox before the king and council, of holding with the court of France, and particularly with the duke of Guiſe, intelligence deſtructive of Scotland and England. The council of Scotland, governed by the duke of Lenox, thought not proper to admit the accuſation; but the king ſent into England the lord Hume, to clear his favourite to the queen, who refuſed him audience. Nothing could be more grateful to the favourites than the miſunderſtanding which began to be formed between their maſter and the queen of England. Not to give him time to cool, one day, as the earl of Morton was preſent in the council, the earl of Arran accuſed him of being concerned in the late king's murder. Upon which he was immediately arreſted, ſent to priſon in the caſtle of Edinburgh, and afterwards removed to Dunbarton.

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[h] This year, on January 16, the parliament met by prorogation at Weſtminſter, and was prorogued again March 18. The temporality granted the queen a ſubſidy and two fifteenths; and the clergy a ſubſidy of 6 s. 8 d. to be paid in three years. See Statut.

[i] From the time of Richard Alan, who, (being deſcended from the Albeney's, antient earls of Arundel and Suſſex) in the reign of Edward I. received the title of earl without any creation, in regard of his being poſſeſſed of the caſtle and lordſhip of Arundel. Camden, p. 481.

favours.

Aubigny made duke of Lenox, and Stewart earl of Arran.
Melvil, p. 128.
Camden.

Bowes ſent into Scotland to accuſe Lenox.

He is ill received.
Spotiſwood.
Camden.

Morton is ſent to priſon.
Melvil, p. 127.
Spotiſwood.

1581.

Elizabeth hearing of the earl of Morton's diſgrace, and finding his attachment to England was the ſole cauſe of it, diſpatched Randolph immediately to ſollicit in his behalf. But the favourites intention being rather to exaſperate than appeaſe, his interceſſion was in vain. Randolph ſeeing the king ſo beſet that it was not poſſible to prevail, demanded an audience of the ſtates, then aſſembled. He repreſented, how neceſſary a good underſtanding with England was to them, what the queen his miſtreſs had done for Scotland ſince the king's birth, how great an affection ſhe had ever expreſſed for him, and with what pains and charge ſhe had always protected his faithful ſubjects: That, notwithſtanding all this, the duke of Lenox was endeavouring to ſow diſcord between the two kingdoms, and had ſo far ſucceeded, that the king now looked upon the queen of England his good kinſwoman as an enemy. The ſtates heard his harangue, and returned a general anſwer, which demonſtrated their being directed by the court. So, finding he could obtain nothing either from the king or the ſtates, he began to practiſe upon the great

Randolph is ſent into Scotland.
Camden.
Spotiſwood.

He can do no good with the king or ſtates.
Melvil, p. 127.
Camden.
Strype's An. tom. ii. p. 621.

He tries to ſtir up a rebellion in Scotland.

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k He was alſo made chamberlain of Scotland, and captain of Dunbarton caſtle. Camden, p. 472.

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James provides for his defence. Melvil, p. 127. Spotiſwood.

men, to perſuade them to riſe in arms, whilſt Elizabeth ſhould ſend forces towards the borders[l]. As all this could not be done without the knowledge of the king and his favourites, the government of Sterling was taken from the earl of Mar, who was ſuſpected of being too good a friend of the Engliſh, and the king publiſhed an order to all his ſubjects fit to bear arms, to hold themſelves ready to march at a moment's warning. But as Elizabeth meant only to terrify the king of Scotland, and not to wage war with him for the ſake of the earl of Morton, ſhe ordered her troops to retire.

The earl of Morton is beheaded. June 2. Camden. Melvil, p. 128.

Probably Elizabeth's endeavours to ſave the priſoner's life rather haſtened his death, ſince preſently after he was condemned and beheaded. He confeſſed the earl of Bothwell imparted to him his deſign to kill the king, but denied he had any hand in the murder. He ſaid alſo, he had intended to carry the king into England, that being educated among the Engliſh, he might find the leſs difficulty to obtain the crown of that kingdom after the queen's death. Randolph ſeeing Elizabeth had no deſign to ſupport the great men of Scotland whom he had gained, retired without taking his audience of leave.

The two favourites grow odious.

The earl of Morton being dead, the two favourites became more and more maſters of the king and the government of the kingdom, without regarding the people's murmurs, who could not without indignation ſee themſelves at the mercy of two raw and unexperienced young men.

Their character. Melvil, p. 128, 129.

The duke of Lenox had ſome good qualities, but had no knowledge of the affairs of Scotland, and beſides, was a catholick, and deemed the duke of Guiſe's creature. This gave occaſion to fear he had formed projects deſtructive of the religion and liberty of Scotland. The earl of Arran was an atheiſt, and one of the moſt wicked of men, if Melvil's teſtimony is to be entirely credited. He pretended to be the duke of Lenox's friend, but laboured to ruin him, by giving him counſels capable of making him forfeit the love and eſteem of the nobles and people. On the other hand, he privately hinted to the clergy, that the reformed religion was in great danger, if timely care was not taken to oppoſe the duke of Lenox's pernicious deſigns. By theſe ſecret practices he ſo managed, that the duke became odious to the whole kingdom.

The articles of the queen's marriage with the duke of Anjou are agreed upon. Camden.

During theſe tranſactions in Scotland, the court of France earneſtly preſſed the duke of Anjou's marriage with Elizabeth.

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[l] There were ſeventeen companies ſent thither. Melvil, p. 127.

At

[illegible] the queen having agreed with Simié upon the chief articles, Henry III. ſent into England an honourable embaſſy, conſiſting of Francis of Bourbon prince of Dauphiné, Arthur Caſſe marſhal of France, preſident Briſſon, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction. Theſe ambaſſadors were received with great pomp and magnificence, and the queen appointed to treat with them the lord Burleigh high-treaſurer, Edward Clinton earl of Lincoln lord admiral of England, Thomas Ratcliffe earl of Suſſex, Francis Ruſſel earl of Bedford, Robert Dudley earl of Leiceſter, ſir Chriſtopher Hatton, and ſir Francis Walſingham, who was made ſecretary of ſtate in the room of ſir Thomas Smith, lately deceaſed. As every thing was almoſt ſettled, the following articles, which were to be digeſted in form of treaty, after being approved by the king of France and the duke his brother, were drawn by common conſent:

Articles.

The marriage ſhall be conſummated within ſix weeks after the ratifying of the treaty.

The duke of Anjou and his domeſticks who are not Engliſh ſhall have the free exerciſe of their religion, in ſome certain place to be appointed within his court.

The duke of Anjou ſhall alter nothing in the religion now received and eſtabliſhed in England.

After the conſummation of the marriage, he ſhall enjoy the title of king of England, but the adminiſtration of affairs ſhall remain in the hands of the queen alone.

Whereas the duke has demanded that he may be crowned king of England preſently after the marriage, and enjoy that honour, in caſe he ſhall come to be guardian of the children he may have by the queen, it is agreed, the queen ſhall lay the affair before the parliament, and promote it as far as lies in her power.

Letters patents, &c. ſhall run in the name of the king and queen, as in the time of Philip and Mary.

The queen ſhall aſſign the duke, by authority of parliament, an honourable penſion to be diſpoſed of as he pleaſes.

She ſhall procure the parliament to aſſign a yearly penſion in caſe he ſurvives her.

The duke ſhall make the queen a dowry of forty thouſand crowns a year out of the dukedom of Berry, and ſhall put her in preſent poſſeſſion thereof.

As to their children, the following articles ſhall be ſettled, which ſhall be ratified in the parliaments of England and France, namely,

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All the children, as well males as females, ſhall ſuc[illegible] their mother's inheritance, each in his order, accord[illegible]g to th[illegible] cuſtoms of England.

If the crown of France happens to fall to the duke of Anjou, or his heirs, and there be two males, the eldeſt ſhall ſucceed in the kingdom of France, and the ſecond in that of England.

If there be but one ſon, he ſhall enjoy both crowns, but ſhall be obliged to reſide in England eight months in every two years.

If the duke never comes to the crown of France, his children ſhall inherit his appennage.

If he out-live the queen, he ſhall have the guardianſhip of the children; of the males till they are eighteen, and of the ſemales till fifteen.

If the duke die before the time of guardianſhip be expired, it ſhall be left to the diſpoſal of the parliament.

After theſe articles relating to the children, and ſerving to ſettle the ſucceſſion, it was further agreed:

The duke ſhall prefer no foreigner to any poſt or office in England.

He ſhall not carry the queen out of the kingdom, without her own and the expreſs conſent of the peers of the realm.

If ſhe die without iſſue, he ſhall pretend no claim to England.

He ſhall not convey the crown-jewels out of the kingdom.

He ſhall leave all the places in the hands of the Engliſh, and ſhall not remove from thence any warlike ſtores.

There ſhall be a particular treaty of league between France and England, with the proper ratifications.

By a ſeparate article ſigned apart by itſelf, it was agreed, "The queen ſhall not be bound to conſummate the marriage, before ſhe and the duke of Anjou ſhall thoroughly ſatisfy one another in certain points, and ſhall certify the king of France thereof within ſix weeks." It is not known upon what account it was neceſſary to take this precaution.

The duke of Anjou is made ſovereign of the confederate provinces. Philip II. is degraded from the ſovereignty. Grotius. Strada.

Ever ſince the laſt year, the ſtates of the Low-Countries had begun to treat with the duke of Anjou, concerning their offer of the ſovereignty of the confederate provinces, and the negotiation was ſo far advanced, that the conditions were now agreed. As ſoon as the prince of Orange was almoſt ſure of the ſucceſs of the affair, he ſo ordered it, that the ſtates declared the king of Spain to have forfeited the ſovereignty of

Netherlands, and the duke was expected every hour to take poſſeſſion of his new dignity, and oppoſe the prince of Parma, who was beſieging Cambray. The duke arrived indeed in Auguſt, with an army of twenty thouſand men, and conſtrained the prince of Parma to raiſe the ſiege, and retire to Valenciennes. He made his entry into Cambray the 18th of Auguſt, and was declared prince thereof, having firſt taken the oath.

Elizabeth ſtarts difficulties about her marriage.

Camden. Digges's Ambaſ.

Digges's Ambaſ. p. 352. Camden.

In the mean time, Elizabeth ſhowed ſhe had altered her mind with regard to her marriage, or had never ſeriouſly reſolved to conſummate it. She only wanted a pretence to break it off, or at leaſt to defer it, till time ſhould produce a more favourable opportunity. To that end, ſhe ſent into France James Sommers, clerk of the council, to require that, purſuant to the laſt marriage-article, a league offenſive and defenſive ſhould be inſtantly concluded between France and England. Henry III. anſwered, that in the articles there was no mention of an offenſive, but he was ready to ſign a defenſive league. Sommers replied, the league ſpoken of in the articles muſt be deemed offenſive, ſince there was already a league defenſive concluded in 1572, which not having been violated, wanted no renewal. Upon this, Elizabeth ſent ſecretary Walſingham to Paris, to improve this difficulty, and add ſome others. Walſingham therefore told the king, when the queen his miſtreſs firſt reſolved to marry, it was only to ſatisfy her people, who deſired a certain ſucceſſion by her children, to which end, ſhe had preferred the duke of Anjou before all other princes, on account of his perſonal qualities and royal deſcent: Nevertheleſs, ſhe could not think of conſummating the marriage, till ſhe perceived whether it was pleaſing to her people, for fear ſhe ſhould be accuſed of conſidering of it too late: That ſhe heard with grief, the minds of the beſt men were averſe to the marriage, and for that reaſon ſhe thought it neceſſary to delay it, though ſhe had ſtill the ſame eſteem for the duke of Anjou: That beſides, ſince the concluſion of the articles, things had happened which required her to think more attentively of her engagement: That the duke having accepted the ſovereignty of the Netherlands, had incurred the diſpleaſure of the king his brother, and this new dignity could not but engage England in a war with Spain, ſince it was not poſſible for the duke to be in war, without the queen his ſpouſe being ſo too: That ſhe believed therefore the preſent juncture very unſeaſonable to conſummate the marriage; and that it was proper to defer it till the duke ſhould be diſengaged from his war, and the league offen-

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ſive and defenſive between France and England conclu[illegible] cording to agreement. Henry plainly perceiving this was [illegible] an evaſion, briefly anſwered, he was ready to renew the league defenſive, and would treat of a league offenſive, as ſoon as the marriage was conſummated.

The duke of Anjou arrives in England. Camden.

These things paſſed whilſt the duke of Anjou was in the Netherlands. After he had raiſed the ſiege of Cambray, and taken Cateau in Cambreſis, the ſtates preſſed him to join his forces, with their army, to improve ſo fair an opportunity: but, the approach of winter furniſhed him with an excuſe to ſend back his troops into France, that he might go and ſollicit his affairs in England himſelf. He arrived there in November, and was received by the queen with ſo great reſpect and civility, that he thought himſelf almoſt ſure of ſucceſs.

He is well received. Novemb. 1. Stow.

The queen gives him a ring. Camden.

One day, as the anniverſary of her coronation was celebrating, the queen being in converſation with him, pulled off her ring from her finger and put it on the duke's, which made all preſent imagine ſhe had juſt then given him a promiſe [m].

She retracts all on a ſudden. Camden.

Mean while, the marriage was exclaimed againſt publickly in the court and city. Walſingham, Leiceſter, Hatton, and others of the queen's confidents, murmured at it more than the reſt. Her maids of honour that were moſt intimate with her, never ceaſed to repreſent to her all the miſchiefs which might from thence befal her, as well as the whole kingdom, and ſtrove by perſuaſions mixt with tears to divert her from this reſolution. I know not whether I am miſtaken in ſuſpecting all this to be a mere farce, acted by the queen's private orders, to give her a pretence to go from her word. Miniſters, courtiers, favourites, are ſeldom ſeen to oppoſe ſo openly and publickly the will of their ſovereign, if they are not certain of approbation. Be this as it will, the queen having ſpent the whole night without taking any reſt, amidſt the ſighs and tears of her ladies, went to the duke's room [n], and talked with him in private. When ſhe withdrew, the duke was ſeen to throw the ring from him, and preſently to take it up again; complaining bitterly of the levity of women, and the inconſtancy of the Engliſh.

Remark on the queen's conduct.

Elizabeth's conduct in every thing relating to the marriage was ſo ſingular, that there is no gueſſing her thoughts. If the buſineſs was only a bare negotiation, prolonged and broke

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[m] Among whom Aldegond governor of Antwerp diſpatched letters away into the Netherlands to ſignify as much. And Antwerp teſtified her joy by bonfires and peals of ordnance. Camden, p. 486.

[n] Camden ſays, ſhe ſent for him, p. 486.

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[illegible]on the point of conclusion, there would be no cauſe of wonder. Nothing was more agreeable to the queen's character; and I'll venture to ſay, to her intereſt.' But the ſigning and ſealing of the marriage-articles raiſes a difficulty not eaſy to be removed. It is ſcarce probable this wiſe politician ſhould think of amuſing to ſuch a degree a brother of the king of France, and who might himſelf one day be king, ſince Henry had no children. This is ſo much the harder to be believed, as there was then no viſible neceſſity to carry her diſſimulation ſo far. For my part, I ſee no properer way to explain this extraordinary conduct than by ſaying, that in the beginning of the negotiation, her deſign was only to amuſe the duke of Anjou [o], that afterwards ſhe ſuffered herſelf to be won, and ſigned the articles with ſincerity, in a reſolution to perform them; but that after ſigning, ſhe repented, and choſe rather to affront the prince than keep her word. Then it was that ſhe carried her diſſimulation to the greateſt height, in expreſſing an extraordinary value for the duke, and labouring withal to put him out of conceit with the marriage. There are two facts very difficult to be reconciled, but upon my ſuppoſition. The firſt is, during the duke's ſtay at court, ſhe cauſed a man's hand to be cut off for writing a ſatire upon their marriage [p]. After that, ſhe publiſhed a manifeſto to ſatisfy the publick, that the duke of Anjou had no ill deſign againſt the proteſtant religion, nor had demanded any thing in favour of the catholicks. The ſecond fact, very oppoſite to the firſt, is, that ſhe took the opportunity whilſt the duke was with her to put to death Edmund Campian a jeſuit,

Camden.
Strype's Ann.

Decemb. 1.
Camden.
Hollingſh.

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[o] Strada, and ſome other hiſtorians ſay, that queen Elizabeth ſet this treaty of marriage on foot, only to break off the deſign of a match between the duke of Anjou and a daughter of the king of Spain, which had been ſome time in agitation: and this is very probable, conſidering how afraid queen Elizabeth was of an union between the crowns of France and Spain, Dec. 2. l. 4.

[p] John Stubbs of Lincoln's-inn publiſhed a book againſt the marriage, entitled, 'The Diſcovery of a gaping 'Gulph, wherein England is like to be 'ſwallowed by another French Marriage, 'if the Lord forbid not the Banns, by 'letting her ſee the Sin and Puniſhment 'thereof.' Upon which he, and William Page who diſperſed the copies, were taken up and condemned to loſe their right hands. Which was done accordingly (by virtue of an act of Philip and Mary againſt ſeditious writings) by driving a cleaver through the wriſt with a mallet, upon a ſcaffold at Weſtminſter. I remember, ſays Camden, being preſent, that Stubbs, after his right hand was cut off, pulled off his hat with his left, and ſaid with a loud voice, God ſave the Queen. But the multitude ſtood ſilent, either out of horror of the puniſhment, or pity to the man, or their hatred of the match. Camden, p. 487.' The queen, upon occaſion of this book, publiſhed a long proclamation, dated September 27, which the reader may ſee in Strype's Ann. tom. ii. p. 562, &c.

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with three other prieſts [q], convicted of endeavouring t ra commotions in the kingdom, and obſtinately maintaining tha the queen was lawfully depoſed. It is eaſy to perceive, if h eſteem and affection for the duke of Anjou had been ſo great as ſhe pretended, ſhe would at leaſt have deferred theſe men's puniſhment till after his departure. But doubtleſs ſhe intended to let him ſee he would not find in his marriage thoſe comforts he thought to have reaſon to expect. Be this as it will, which ever way her proceedings are explained, there is no juſtifying, in *my* opinion, either her ſigning the articles, or afterwards breaking her word.

The catholicks expoſe themſelves to the queen's ſeverity. Camden.

Whatever the queen's intention might be in this negotiation, it is certain it was extremely prejudicial to the catholicks in England, who entertaining great hopes from the marriage, were too haſty to diſcover them. When it was known in the world that the articles were ſigned, England was ſuddenly over-run with Romiſh prieſts, jeſuits, and other catholicks, who hoped to be ſecure under the duke of Anjou's protection. Among theſe, ſome were ſo imprudent as to vent openly the moſt extravagant doctrines concerning the pope's power, a crime then unpardonable, becauſe it tended to deprive the queen of her royalty, and raiſe a rebellion. It is no wonder therefore, that the furious zeal and imprudence of ſome of the catholicks drew upon the whole body ſeverities to which the queen would not have been eaſily led, if they had been contented to live in quiet, and exerciſe their religion in private without attacking the government. What did them ſtill more injury was, that ſome of them owned they were come into England with power to abſolve every man in particular from his oath of allegiance, from which Pius V's bull had abſolved the whole nation in general.

Don Antonio of Portugal retires into France, and then into England. Camden.

This year, Don Antonio prior of Crato, who pretended to the kingdom of Portugal and had been crowned at Liſbon, being expelled thence by the arms of the king of Spain, withdrew into France. After which he came to Elizabeth, who took care of him, and put him in hopes of a greater relief.

1582. Laws againſt the catholicks.

The parliament meeting the beginning of the year 1582, whilſt the duke of Anjou was ſtill in England [r], paſſed very ſevere laws againſt the catholicks, wherein all thoſe are declared guilty of high treaſon, "who ſhall endeavour to diſſuade the ſubjects from their allegiance to the queen, and "from the religion eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, or ſhall reconcile them to the church of Rome, as alſo thoſe who ſhall "be thus reconciled. Thoſe alſo are fined in two hundred "marks and impriſonment for a year, who ſhall ſay maſs; "and they who ſhall be knowingly preſent at maſs, are fined "in a hundred marks, with impriſonment alſo for a year. "Moreover they who abſented themſelves from their pariſh-"churches, on the days appointed for divine ſervice, are "fined in twenty pounds a month." It muſt be obſerved, that hitherto only one ſhilling to the uſe of the poor had been exacted for abſence on Sundays and holidays. This ſhows, that before, the laws againſt the catholicks were not very ſevere; neither were they, it is certain, executed with rigour. But the indiſcreet zeal of thoſe who would not be ſatisfied with this advantage, was the occaſion that all the catholicks were deprived of it.

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[q] Ralph Sherwin, Luke Kirby, and Alexander Brian. They were indicted upon the treaſon-act, 25 Edward III. Before theſe, there had been no more than five papiſts put to death in this reign. Camden, p. 487.

[r] There was no ſeſſion of parliament this year. The act here mentioned, was made in the ſeſſion held in the year 1580, and of which notice has been taken above. See p. 418. note [h]. and D'Ewes, p. 266, &c. Rapin has been miſled in this particular by Camden, p. 487.

The duke of Anjou leaves Elizabeth.
Camden.
Stow.
Hollingſh.

The duke of Anjou, and thoſe who had attended him into England, could plainly perceive under what conſtraint they ſhould live, if the marriage was conſummated. In all appearance, the proceedings of the queen and the parliament againſt the catholicks, did not a little contribute to comfort him, and perhaps put him out of conceit with a country ſo oppoſite to France. Nay, it is very likely, all this was done before his eyes with that view. He departed in February, having received from the queen many tokens of eſteem and affection, the moſt ſubſtantial whereof was a good ſum of money [s] to aſſiſt him in maintaining the war in the Netherlands. The queen having accompanied him to Canterbury, ordered ſeveral Engliſh lords [t] to wait upon him as far as Antwerp, where preſently after he received the ducal crown of Brabant. By all theſe marks of eſteem and friendſhip, and by all her civilities, the queen had a mind to repair in ſome meaſure the mortifications ſhe made him undergo during his ſtay in England. It is very probable this ſtay was not to his advantage, and ſerved only to diſcover the meanneſs of his genius and other qualities.

Act. Pub. xv. p. 792.
He is crowned duke of Brabant.
Strada.
Camden.
Du Maurier.

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[s] A hundred thouſand crowns of gold ſol, each crown worth ſix ſhillings ſterling, or ſixty ſols French money. See Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 792.

[t] He was attended by the earl of Leiceſter, Charles and Thomas Howard; the lords Hunſdon, Willoughby, Windſor, Audley, and Sheffield; ſir Philip Sidney, ſir Francis Ruſſel, ſir George Bourchier, &c. Camden, p. 488. Stow, p. 690.

Eliz.
1582.

Elizabeth's ſtate of uncertainty.

Elizabeth was too wiſe not to perceive that her conduct in the negotiation of her marriage could not but diſoblige the king of France. So ſhe plainly ſaw that though there had been no other reaſon but this alone, ſhe could not much rely on his friendſhip. On the other hand, ſhe was not ignorant how angry the king of Spain was, for that whole bodies of Engliſh troops ſerved in the army of the ſtates of the Low-Countries, under the command of Norris. Though theſe men were called volunteers, that is, owned by none, and who ſerved at their own charge, it was eaſy to judge that they were not there in ſuch numbers, without the tacit or expreſs conſent of their queen. Beſides, it was hardly poſſible for Elizabeth to conceal the ſupplies of money ſhe had given prince Caſimir and the duke of Anjou, for the maintenance of their armies. Philip II. was the moſt potent prince in Europe, and the conqueſt of Portugal had lately rendered him ſtill more formidable, particularly to the Engliſh. He was ſupported by the pope, and had but too much influence in the king of France's council. But Elizabeth had no friend on whom ſhe could depend. The duke of Guiſe was now labouring to take from her the king of Scotland. The Iriſh wanted only a favourable opportunity to revolt, and the Engliſh catholicks were inceſſantly excited to rebellion by the pope's emiſſaries. To theſe may be added a great number of proteſtants, the queen of Scots adherents, who only waited an occaſion to ſhow their affection for her. Elizabeth's miniſters could not without dread think of all theſe things. They were in continual apprehenſion that ſome terrible ſtorm was going to fall upon England. To this fear were owing, firſt, the league defenſive with France, and then, the project of the queen's marriage with the duke of Anjou; the miniſters judging it almoſt impoſſible for her to ſupport herſelf without ſome powerful alliance.

She relies on her people's affection,

Mean while, whether Elizabeth thought herſelf able to prevent or repel the danger, ſhe took but few precautions, relying wholly on the affection of her people. This was her beſt, or rather her only refuge. And therefore to endeavour to corrupt, and cauſe them to loſe the love and eſteem they had for her, was wounding her in a very ſenſible part. To this muſt be aſcribed her tender expreſſions whenever ſhe ſpoke to her people. It muſt however be confeſſed, that ſhe won her people's love, not only by words and other external demonſtrations, but chiefly by very ſubſtantial deeds. Let a man peruſe the whole Hiſtory of England, and he will find no reign wherein juſtice was adminiſtered ſo impartially, or the ſub-

and wins it by good means.

jects enjoyed their privileges more peaceably, or were freer from wars abroad and at home, or from extraordinary taxes and impoſitions; in a word, wherein the kingdom was more flouriſhing. The queen ſpent no unneceſſary money, and her treaſury being regularly managed, the people had no occaſion to complain, ſince whatever they gave was employed for their own good.

She ſends the order of the garter to the king of Denmark. Camden.

But it was not only at home that the queen laboured to make her people happy, her care reached alſo abroad. This year ſhe ſent an ambaſſador [u] to Frederick II. king of Denmark, under colour of carrying him the Order of the Garter. But the chief motive of the embaſſy was to induce that prince to deſiſt from certain cuſtoms paid by the Engliſh merchant-ſhips in paſſing the Sound, in which however it was not poſſible to ſucceed. Frederick gratefully received the Collar of the Order, but refuſed to take the uſual oath, becauſe he had denied the ſame thing before, when admitted into the order of St. Michael by the French king.

Henry III. warns Elizabeth of the duke of Guiſe's deſigns. Camden. Strype's Ann. t. iii. p. 78.

Tho' Henry III. had no reaſon to be pleaſed with Elizabeth, he gave her notice however, that the duke of Guiſe was plotting ſomething in favour of the queen of Scots, and was to embark in Normandy ſome troops deſigned either for England or Scotland, tho' he pretended to ſend them into Flanders. For this reaſon ſhe recalled ſir Walter Mildmay, who had been ſent to treat with the queen of Scots, or at leaſt to pretend to do ſo.

She minds the affairs of Scotland. Melvil. Camden. Strype, t. iii.

As there was no likelihood the duke of Guiſe would invade England directly, but on the contrary every thing looked as if he intended to execute ſome project in Scotland, the queen turned her thoughts wholly to the affairs of that kingdom. They were then in a violent convulſion. Some perſons of great diſtinction, among whom were the earls of Mar, Lindſay, Goury, full of indignation to ſee the realm governed by a young prince of fifteen years and two raſh unexperienced miniſters, who had nothing leſs in view than the kingdom's welfare, conſpired together to ſeize the king's perſon, and remove his two favourites. To that end, taking their opportunity whilſt they were both abſent from court, and the king intent upon hunting near Athol, they ſent and invited him

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[u] Peregrine Bertie, whom ſhe, as being ſparing in conferring honours, had with much ado made baron Willoughby of Ereſby, though his mother Catherine was the only daughter and heir of William lord Willoughby of Ereſby. She married firſt Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, by whom ſhe had no iſſue; and ſecondly, Richard Bartue, or Bertie, Eſq; father of this Peregrine. See Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 87, 408. Strype's Ann. tom. ii. p. 670.

The Ruthven conſpiracy in Scotland. Melvil, p. 129, 132. Camden. Spotiſwood.

by the earl of Goury to paſs a few days at his houſe at Huntingtoun, and when he came there ſecured his perſon [w]. This was called the Ruthven-conſpiracy, becauſe Ruthven was the name of the earl of Goury's family [x]. For the ſame reaſon the conſpirators were called the lords of Ruthven. The earl of Arran, one of the king's favourites, drew together ſome people, and attempted to free his maſter, but was repulſed and forced to retreat to Ruthven caſtle, where the earl of Goury received him and ſaved his life, but kept him priſoner. The duke of Lenox hearing what had paſſed, ſpeedily retired to Dunbarton, of which he was governor, and the king was carried to Stirling, free in appearance, but priſoner in reality.

James avows the conſpiracy. Melvil, p. 132. Camden.

Melvil, p. 132. Camden. Spotiſwood.

Queen Mary agrees to ſhare the royalty with her ſon. Camden.

Upon this news, Elizabeth, who probably was not ignorant of the conſpirators deſign, ordered Henry Carey to go immediately and offer her ſervice to the king of Scotland. But James, terrified by thoſe who had him in their power, anſwered, that every thing was done with his conſent; and he was very well pleaſed with the lords who were about him. Melvil affirms however that the king found means to tell Carey in private the contrary to what he had ſaid in publick. The king of France ſent likewiſe La Mothe Fenelon into Scotland [y] to try to ſupport the favourites, knowing thoſe who had ſeized the king were all friends to England. La Mothe had alſo orders to inform the king, that the queen his mother, who had hitherto refuſed to own him for king, agreed to make him partner in the royalty.

Mary's letter to Elizabeth. Camden, p. 489.

Shortly after queen Mary writ to Elizabeth, to try to engage her in the deliverance of the king her ſon. But ſhe took a very improper way to obtain this favour, ſince her letter is full of reproaches for the barbarous uſage ſhe met with [z].

The calendar is reformed.

This year, pope Gregory XIII. publiſhed his bull for reforming the calendar, and ordered ten days of this very year to be cut off at once. As England and the reſt of the proteſtant ſtates refuſed to comply with this ordinance, becauſe it flowed from the papal authority, there began from that time to be a difference of ten days in the dates, the one reckoning it the firſt day of the month, when it was the tenth with the others. This difference ſtill ſubſiſts in ſome places, and particularly in England and Swedeland, where the old way of reckoning is ſtill uſed, with the addition however of the new [a].

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[w] And publiſhed a proclamation, of which the reader may ſee an account in Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 79.

[x] William Ruthven had been very lately created earl of Goury. Camden, p. 488.

[y] He went along with Daviſon, queen Elizabeth's ambaſſador. Camden, p. 491.

[z] This year, about the end of September, died the learned George Buchanan. Spotiſwood, p. 325.—— This year alſo, one Peter Morris, a Dutchman, invented an engine and pipes for conveying the Thames water for the uſe of the city of London. Stow, p. 696.

Elizabeth makes as if ſhe deſires to releaſe the queen of Scots. Camden.

Camden pretends that Elizabeth was very much moved with Mary's letter, and that compaſſion for the afflicted queen made her adviſe with her council upon what terms ſhe could be releaſed. We ſhall ſee preſently that this proceeding was far from demonſtrating a deſire to ſet her at liberty. It is much more likely, ſhe ſought only to amuſe her, and by putting her in hopes of deliverance had no other view than to put a ſtop to the continual plots which were contriving in her favour, and free herſelf from the ſollicitations ſhe was perpetually troubled with. However this be, ſome time after the receipt of her letter, ſhe ſent to her Robert Beal [b], one of the clerks of the council, with certain articles founded upon Mary's offer of aſſociating her ſon in the government. Conſequently they ſuppoſed a previous agreement betwixt them; but never had there been a more improper juncture to negotiate this agreement, ſince king James was captive in the hands of queen Elizabeth's adherents. Here follow the articles with ſome remarks, which will ſerve to ſhow Elizabeth's aim in feigning a deſire to releaſe her priſoner.

Conditions propoſed. Camden. Spotiſwood.

I. 'The queen of Scots and the king her ſon ſhould pro-
'miſe to attempt nothing prejudicial to England.'

It is eaſy to perceive that this article is expreſſed in ſuch general terms as required a large explanation.

II. 'She ſhould diſclaim as unjuſt whatever was done by
'Francis II. her firſt huſband, and ratify the treaty of Edin-
'burgh.'

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[a] Three hundred and ſixty-five days ſix hours, exceeding a year by about eleven minutes, a day is gained in about a hundred and thirty-two years, by which means, from the year 325, wherein the council of Nice was held, to the year 1582, ten whole days were gained. Whereupon, to ſet matters right again, pope Gregory ordered the 5th of October, 1582, to be called the 15th, and to prevent the like error again, he decreed, that three days ſhould be taken out of every four hundred years (which comes to almoſt the ſame as taking out one day every hundred and thirty-two years) and this was done by making every hundredth year common, which, according to the Julian account, is always Leap-year, but every four hundredth year to continue Leap-year. Tho' this be the trueſt and moſt exact way of reckoning, yet ſuch was the perverſeneſs of the Engliſh, that they ſtill kept to the old way, till the year 1752, when the calendar was reformed by an act of parliament: the Swedes and Ruſſians ſtill keep to the old ſtile.. And hence comes what we call old and new ſtiles, which differ now by eleven days, and are thus written $\frac{1}{11}$ of July, 1733.

[b] To treat with her, together with George Talbot earl of Shrewſbury, in whoſe cuſtody Mary was. Camden, p. 491.

Eliz. 1582.

The former part of this article was very general, and liable 'to many cavils. As to the latter part, it muſt be obſerved, that Mary could not ratify the treaty of Edinburgh but with the reſtriction ſhe had offered. So, in propoſing to her the ratifying of that treaty ſimply and abſolutely, a ſnare was laid for her, or elſe ſhe was put under a neceſſity of rejecting the article.

III. 'She ſhould diſcover and condemn all the conſpi-'racies againſt queen Elizabeth that were come to her know-'ledge.'

This was accuſing her of being concerned in theſe conſpiracies, and making her own it, which was very hard meaſure for Mary. She could have done no more, had ſhe been fully convinced of Elizabeth's ſincerity, which is not very likely.

IV. 'She ſhould contrive nothing againſt the government 'of England, eccleſiaſtical or civil.'

Mary was a catholick, and the laws of England excluded the catholicks from all poſts. So if ſhe agreed to this article without farther explanation, it might have been inferred, that ſhe excluded herſelf from ſucceeding Elizabeth.

V. 'She ſhould claim no right to the crown of England 'during queen Elizabeth's life, and after Elizabeth's death 'ſhould refer her title to the judgment of the parliament.'

This was alſo laying a ſnare for Mary, in making her own that her title was dubious, though ſhe did maintain, and had always maintained, that it was inconteſtable.

VI. 'She ſhould ſwear to theſe articles, to the end there 'might be no room for the objection taken from her not 'being at liberty.'

VII. 'The king her ſon ſhould ratify them by oath and 'writing.'

To enable the king of Scotland to ratify theſe articles, it was neceſſary firſt that he ſhould agree in an authentick manner that he was king only as aſſociated by the queen his mother, which was not then in his power, ſince he was in the hands of the lords of Ruthven, who by no means acknowledged Mary's authority.

VIII. 'For the performance of this article, the queen of 'Scots ſhould give hoſtages to the queen of England.'

This article was alſo liable to many difficulties, concerning the number and quality of the hoſtages.

It is therefore evident Elizabeth propoſed theſe articles to Mary only to amuſe her and the world, at a time when it was not poſſible even to enter into a treaty upon this ſubject; beſides

ſides their being almoſt all enſnaring and liable to diſcuſſions, which the court of England might have prolonged as they pleaſed. Camden ſays, the Scots of the Engliſh party were utterly againſt the agreement, affirming it was owing to the intrigues of the French court. It is true, if the conditions propoſed had been advantageous to Mary, it is not unlikely Elizabeth would have ſet the Scots to oppoſe the concluſion of the treaty. But there was no occaſion for this, ſince ſhe had taken ſufficient care to hinder Mary from accepting them.

Eliz. 1582.

P. 491.

Affairs of Scotland. Melvil, p. 132. Spotiſwood.

I muſt now proceed to relate what paſſed in Scotland this year. If a man is confined to what Camden ſays, his idea of things will be very imperfect. This is one of thoſe paſſages wherein that hiſtorian has thought fit to be very ſhort for fear of injuring king James's reputation, for whoſe ſake he wrote the Annals of queen Elizabeth. But by good fortune, we have Melvil's Memoirs, which give us a fuller information.

The duke of Lenox ſeeing the king in the hands of the lords of Ruthven, and the little probability of forming a party ſtrong enough to free him, withdrew into France, where he died ſoon after.

Mean while, the lords of Ruthven, whoſe ſole aim had been to remove from the king his two favourites, finding that one was in priſon and the other in France, thought proper to convene the ſtates, where the king was preſent. He declared, whatever they had done was with his conſent and to his ſatisfaction. He writ the ſame thing to the general aſſembly of the Kirk; whereupon the ſtates and the Kirk approved by authentick acts all that was paſſed. This done, the king was no longer watched, but left entirely at liberty.

Spotiſwood.

Melvil, p. 136.

Shortly after, the king aſſembled the nobility in the city of St. Andrew's, before whom he declared, that tho' he had been detained againſt his will, he owned however it was done for his ſervice: that he did not intend to call any perſon to an account, but would ſpeedily publiſh an act of oblivion. To ſhow that he forgot all that was paſt, he viſited the earl of Goury, who caſting himſelf at his feet, begged pardon, which he very readily obtained.

P. 137.

All being thus quiet, the king appointed twelve counſellors to aſſiſt him to govern the ſtate. But ſhortly after, his affection for the earl of Arran reviving, he wiſhed to ſee him; and as all his counſellors were unanimouſly againſt it, he proteſted he would ſend him away again within four and twenty hours, but was not as good as his word, for he kept him for ever. In a ſhort ſpace, the favourite had ſuch an influence over

P. 138.

Eliz. 1582. over him, that he would not ſuffer any but him to meddle in the publick affairs. Whereupon the council of twelve being no longer conſulted, broke up of themſelves. As ſoon as the earl of Arran ſaw himſelf fully reſtored, he ſuggeſted to the king, that he had made a falſe ſtep in not puniſhing the inſolence of the lords of Ruthven, and perſuaded him at length to alter his reſolution [c]. So, inſtead of an act of oblivion, he iſſued out a proclamation, commanding the complices of the Ruthven conſpiracy to come and beg pardon for their crime. Every one plainly ſaw the difference between the proclamation and the promiſed act of oblivion. The king being free, had declared that they who had detained him, intended him no ill, and for that reaſon he had promiſed them a pardon. But by the proclamation he conſidered them as guilty, and obliged them to ſubmit to his mercy, at a time when he ſuffered himſelf to be governed by one of thoſe very favourites againſt whom they had conſpired. This was ſufficient to induce the lords to retire, ſome to their own homes, and others into England, to wait for another opportunity to ruin their enemy [d].

1583. Elizabeth's letter to the king of Scotland. Melvil, p. 139, 140. Elizabeth being informed of the king of Scotland's proceedings, and the danger of the earl of Arran's entirely ruining the Engliſh party, writ to the king, repreſenting the conſequences, and mixed in her letter ſome reproaches for breach of promiſe. She told him moreover, ſhe intended to ſend ſecretary Walſingham to talk with him from her. James rereturned a ſtout anſwer, and vindicated himſelf for not performing his promiſe, ſince it was extorted from him when a captive. This excuſe might have ſerved with reſpect to what he ſaid to the ſtates; but it was inſufficient, ſince he repeated the ſame thing to the nobility when at full liberty. However, he promiſed the queen to proceed no farther till Walſingham's arrival. In the mean time, the favourite made the earl of Gowry undergo ſo many mortifications, that he forced him at length to quit the court. She ſends Walſingham to him. p. 147. Walſingham being arrived, imparted to the king, in two private audiences, the queen's advice concerning the management of his affairs. But as this ad-

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[c] Arran inſinuated to the king, that it would be a troubleſome buſineſs to be incumbered with ſo many contrary opinions. He deſired him to recreate himſelf with hunting and hawking, and he would attend the council, and report to his majeſty all their opinions and concluſions. This he did two or three times, but at length he gave account of no man's advice but his own, and made the king believe it was all their opinions, that it was his intereſt to follow a violent courſe. Melvil, p. 139.

[d] Camden turns this whole affair to the king's advantage, by paſſing over in ſilence all the particulars related by Melvil. Rapin.

advice tended to the earl of Arran's ruin, the ambaſſador brought back no very ſatisfactory anſwer [e].

The duke of Anjou's attempt upon the Low-Countries is fruſtrated. Grotius. Strada. Stow.

The beginning of the year, the duke of Anjou being too much confined by the terms laid upon him by the ſtates, attempted to ſeize on the ſame day Antwerp, and ſeven or eight other towns of the Netherlands. But miſſing his aim, he was forced to retire to Dunkirk, and from thence into France. Mean while, the affairs of the ſtates were in a melancholy ſituation. The prince of Parma made great progreſs this year, and very likely would have ſucceeded at length, in obliging all the United Provinces to return to the obedience of the king of Spain.

Affairs of France. Mezerai. Thuanus.

Henry III. behaved in France after ſo ſtrange a manner, that he daily incurred the contempt of his ſubjects. In publick he affected an over-ſtrained devotion, whilſt in private he plunged himſelf into the moſt criminal pleaſures. Philip II. taking advantage of Henry's indolence with regard to his moſt important affairs, ſtrove by all ſorts of ways to raiſe him troubles, which ſhould hinder him from undertaking the defence of the Netherlands, who ſhowed a ſtrong inclination to put themſelves under the dominion of France. He tried firſt to perſuade the king of Navarre to take up arms, promiſing to aid and protect the Huguenots. This way failing, he applied to the duke of Guiſe, who accepted the ſuccours offered by Philip, to revenge the mortifications he daily received from the king's minions [f].

1584. Affairs of Scotland. Melvil, p. 150.

Whether queen Elizabeth's advice to the king of Scotland had a good effect upon him, or Melvil's remonſtrances, as he hints himſelf in his Memoirs, made ſome impreſſion on his mind, he ſeemed reſolved to put a ſtop to the proſecution of the lords of Ruthven. To that purpoſe, he aſſembled the nobility at Edinburgh, to end the affair with the advice of the great men, as he had at firſt projected, by publiſhing an act of oblivion. But the earl of Arran, a bold and daring man, defeated this project in ſpite of the king himſelf. When the great men were come to Edinburgh, he went and talked with every one apart, intimating, that the king's intention was only to get his conduct approved with regard to the lords of Ruthven, after which he would pardon them, when they had acknow-

p. 152, &c.

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[e] The earl of Arran put all the affronts that could be invented upon him. See Melvil, p. 148.

[f] June 9, this year, died Thomas Ratcliffe earl of Suſſex, lord chamberlain; and was buried at Newhall, or rather Boreham, in Eſſex.---Alſo, July 6, died Edmund Grindal, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and was ſucceeded by Dr. John Whitgift. Stow, p. 697. Grindal was the firſt who brought tamariſk into England. Camden, p. 494.

Eliz. 1584. ledged they owed that favour to his clemency. The great men ſeeing the point was only to ſave the king's honour, and thinking the fugitives would receive no prejudice, promiſed the favourite to do as the king deſired. So, when the king aſked their advice in the affair, they anſwered, it was their opinion he acted with great clemency in opening the fugitives Spotiſwood. a way to obtain their pardon. This done, the earl of Arran told him, if, after this declaration, he publiſhed an act of oblivion without the fugitives owning themſelves guilty, he would diſoblige the nobility by neglecting their advice, and extremely injure his own dignity. Thus the fugitives obtained no advantage, though the aſſembly was convened purely for their ſake.

Melvil, p. 154. The declaration of the nobility drove the lords of Ruthven to deſpair. They were required to aſk pardon for a thing which the king had approved, as done for his ſervice. Nay, they could not be ſure of their pardon, ſince, as the king had once departed from his word, they could not truſt him any more. The earl of Arran having obtained his deſire, grew more proud and inſolent, and ſo perſecuted all his enemies, that he forced them at length to form a new conſpiracy againſt him [g]. Tho' the earl of Goury had ſaved his life, and procured him the king's pardon, he never ceaſed to moleſt him, till he had forced him to aſk leave to go out of the p. 155. kingdom. He was now at Dundee, in order to retire into Spotiſwood. England, when he heard that the earls of Mar, Angus, and Glames, who were fled into Ireland, had ſome enterprize in hand againſt the favourite. This news made him ſtay in Scotland, and at laſt he entered into the conſpiracy himſelf, without ſtirring however from Dundee. The conſpirators had ſo well laid their meaſures, that arriving unexpectedly in Scotland, they immediately took Sterling.

Melvil, p. 155, 156. Camden. Spotiſwood. April 16. Mean while, the court having before received ſome confuſed intelligence of the conſpiracy, and knowing the earl of Goury was concerned, ordered him to be arreſted, which was done, juſt as the conſpirators became maſters of Sterling. April 24. This arreſt quite diſheartened them. As he was a near relation of the king, they fancied he had deſignedly ſuffered himſelf to be taken, and believing they were betrayed, abandoned their enterprize, and fled out of the kingdom. It coſt the earl his life, who being brought to Edinburgh was there beheaded.

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[g] He made all the inhabitants of Scotland to tremble under him, and every man to depend upon him, daily inventing and ſeeking out new faults againſt ſeveral perſons, to get the gifts of their eſcheats, lands, benefices, &c. Melvil, p. 155.

headed[h]. Thus the earl of Arran ſtill kept his poſt in ſpite of his enemies. He was extremely odious to the whole kingdom, becauſe he was a wicked atheiſtical man, and of an inſatiable avarice. There was alſo another thing which very much troubled the Scots. And that was, the king for ſome time had held private intelligence with the queen his mother, which bred a fear that he would engage in deſigns deſtructive of the ſtate and religion. He had privately accepted of the aſſociation ſhe had offered him, and it was ſeen that none but the queen's known friends had acceſs to him. Nay, it was whiſpered, he intended to turn catholick, and began to liſten to the propoſals of the French court, or rather of the duke of Guiſe.

Melvil, p. 158.

Elizabeth ſends Daviſon into Scotland to gain the earl of Arran. Melvil, p. 157.

All theſe things were but too apt to give Elizabeth great uneaſineſs. She was afraid the king of Scotland would be perſuaded to take a French wife, and ſuch a marriage produce ill effects for England. To try therefore to prevent the miſchiefs which might happen from that quarter, ſhe ſent Daviſon into Scotland, under colour of excuſing her protection of the Scotch fugitives, though the king had demanded them by virtue of the treaty of alliance concluded between the two kingdoms. But Daviſon's chief buſineſs was to endeavour to win the earl of Arran to the queen's intereſt. This method was better and ſpeedier than to ſupport the malecontents of Scotland, who were always to be ſupplied with money, without being certain of the ſucceſs of their undertakings. Beſides, the queen ran the hazard of entirely loſing king James. That prince had ſenſe, but as he was young, unexperienced, and too much governed by his favourites, it was to be feared he would be drawn into projects detrimental to both kingdoms for the ſake of others. Daviſon ſucceeded entirely in his negotiation with reſpect to the earl of Arran, and by means that are eaſy to be gueſſed, prevailed with him to be guided by the queen. Before his return to England, it was agreed between the two courts, that the earl of Hunſdon for England, and the earl of Arran for Scotland, ſhould meet upon the borders, and make a regulation proper to preſerve a good underſtanding between the two kingdoms. Under this pretence, theſe two lords conferred together, and before they parted made a private treaty, whereby the earl of Arran engaged to keep the king unmarried for three years. Elizabeth pretended, ſhe deſigned

Daviſon ſucceeds.

Melvil, p. 158.

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[h] Becauſe the earl of Arran was fully reſolved to have his lands, and therefore to effect his deſign, he engaged to divide them with ſeveral others, upon condition they would aſſiſt him in ruining the earl of Goury. Melvil, p. 156.

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to give him a princeſs of the blood-royal of England, who was not yet marriageable. This was at leaſt the pretence with which the treaty was coloured.

Elizabeth diſcovers Mary's ſecrets by Gray the Scotch ambaſſador. Melvil, p. 158.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the maſter of Gray, a young Scotch lord, inſinuated himſelf ſo far into king James's favour, that the earl of Arran growing jealous, found means to remove him, by cauſing him to be ſent ambaſſador to Elizabeth. Gray was no ſooner in England, but the queen won him by her careſſes and bounties. From that time the ambaſſador feigned to be ſtrongly attached to queen Mary's intereſt, and by that means drew ſecrets from her, which Elizabeth knew how to improve. The earl of Arran having ſome intelligence of the intrigue, informed the king of it, in order to ruin his rival; but as in all likelihood he could bring no proof of what he advanced, Gray being returned to Scotland, was very well received by the king, and ſpared no pains in his turn to ruin the favourite.

A conſpiracy diſcovered. Camden. Hollingſh. p. 1370, &c.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in Scotland, plots were forming in England in favour of the captive queen. But ſome intercepted letters to queen Mary from Francis Throckmorton [i] beginning to diſcover the conſpiracy, Throckmorton was arreſted. Immediately Thomas lord Paget and Charles Arundel fled into France, and gave out that the catholicks were ſo cruelly perſecuted in England, that it was not poſſible for them to ſtay there without danger of their lives: That the court had ſpies every where, not only to watch the catholicks, but alſo to lay ſnares for them: That forged letters from the queen of Scots were left in their houſes, to force them either to bring them to the ſecretary of ſtate, or render themſelves guilty by concealing them. There is no doubt, the queen had ſpies to watch the motions of the catholicks, having but too much reaſon to ſuſpect their fidelity [k]. Nay, it is very poſſible that among theſe ſpies there were ſome who, to improve their ſervices, laid ſnares for the catholicks. Thoſe who take upon them ſuch an office, of what religion ſoever they be, are not uſually the moſt honeſt men. But the behaviour of the catholicks had made theſe precautions neceſſary, the knowledge of what paſſed among them being of the utmoſt conſequence to the queen.

Stow. Hollingſh.

Several books, as well printed as in manuſcript, were handed about, wherein the queen was ſlandered to the higheſt degree. She was taxed with putting to death many catholicks without cauſe, having firſt racked them, to compel them to confeſs crimes of which they were innocent. Her maids of honour were exhorted to ſerve her in the ſame manner as Judith did Holofernes, and render themſelves, by ſuch an action, worthy of the applauſe of the church throughout all future ages[l]. Theſe books, with what had been diſcovered after Throckmorton's arreſt, made it thought ſome plot was ready to break out.

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[i] Eldeſt ſon of John Throckmorton, chief juſtice of Cheſter, who had lately been put out of the commiſſion. Camden, p. 497.

[k] Theſe perſons were particularly ſuſpected, Henry Percy earl of Northumberland; and his ſon; Philip Howard earl of Arundel, and his brother William, with the earl of Arundel's wife; and Henry Howard, their uncle, the duke of Norfolk's brother. Camden, p. 497.

The queen blames the judges ſeverity. Camden.

Mean while the queen, willing to ſhow it was not for their religion that ſome catholicks had been puniſhed, ſent for the judges of the realm, and ſharply reproved them, for having been too ſevere in the tortures they had made theſe men ſuffer. Probably, this was done to afford them an opportunity to clear themſelves from this charge, by an apology which was made publick. They affirmed, "That no perſon had "been made to ſuffer for his religion, but only for dangerous "practices againſt the queen and ſtate; that indeed Campian "the jeſuit had been put to the rack, but with ſo little vio-"lence, that he was preſently able to walk and ſubſcribe his "confeſſion: That Brian, one of his complices, obſtinately "refuſing to ſpeak or write the perſon's name who penned "the papers found about him, was indeed denied food, till "he aſked it in writing." However, the queen, willing to take from her enemies all occaſion of ſlandering her in foreign parts, forbid the putting of any perſon whatever to the rack, and was ſatisfied with tranſporting out of England ſeventy prieſts who were in priſon, and of whom ſome were under ſentence of death. Among theſe were certain jeſuits[m], who afterwards proved very ungrateful for this favour. Perhaps indeed ſhe acted, upon this occaſion, not ſo much from a motive of clemency, as to ſeparate two things which were always endeavoured to be confounded, namely, religion and the crimes againſt the ſtate, under pretence that moſt of the conſpirators were catholicks.

They clear themſelves. Hollingſh. p. 1357.

The Spaniſh ambaſſador is diſcovered to be in the plot. Camden. Hollingſh. p. 1371, &c.

Before Throckmorton was apprehended, he ſent a cabinet full of papers to Mendoza the Spaniſh ambaſſador, of which the court had notice[n]. He denied all at his firſt examination:

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[l] The author of theſe books was never diſcovered, but the ſuſpicion lighted upon Gregory Martin an Oxford man, very learned in the Greek and Latin tongues. Carter a bookſeller was executed, who procured them to be printed. Camden, p. 497. Stow, p. 698.

[m] Gaſper Haywood, James Boſgrave, John Hart, and Edward Riſhton, were the chief. Camden, p. 497.

[n] The reſt of Throckmorton's coffers being ſearched, there were found in them two catalogues; one, of the ports in England, that were convenient to land

but at the ſecond, confeſſed, "that going ſome few years "ſince to the Spaw, he conferred ſeveral times with Jeney "and ſir Francis Inglefield, two Engliſh fugitives, how Eng"land might be invaded[o]: That after his return, Morgan, "another fugitive in France, told him, the catholick princes "had formed a deſign to free the queen of Scots, and to em"ploy the duke of Guiſe for that purpoſe: That nothing was "wanting, but to know what ſuccours might be depended "upon from the Engliſh catholicks: That in order to take "their meaſures the better, Charles Paget, under the coun"terfeit name of Mope, was ſent into the county of Suſſex, "where the duke of Guiſe intended to land: That he "(Throckmorton) imparted the project to the Spaniſh am"baſſador, who had been already informed of it, and ſhowed "him the ports where it would be moſt proper to land: That "he moreover acquainted the ſame ambaſſador with the "names of the great men to whom he might freely open his "mind, becauſe, as he was a publick perſon, he would not "be ſo narrowly watched. Finally, that he conferred with "him how to raiſe ſoldiers privately in England, to have them "ready when the foreign troops ſhould arrive."

He is ſent for by the council. Camden. He makes a poor defence.

Upon theſe depoſitions, the Spaniſh ambaſſador was deſired to come to the council, where he was told what Throckmorton had witneſſed againſt him. As he did not think himſelf, doubtleſs, innocent enough to clear himſelf from theſe accuſations, he choſe by way of recrimination to charge the queen with detaining the Spaniſh money ſhe had ſeized, and with aſſiſting the duke of Anjou. Then he ſpoke againſt the miniſters, ſaying, that by their ill counſels they inceſſantly laboured to ſow diſcord between the queen and the king of Spain. A few days after, the queen commanded him to depart the kingdom, which he readily obeyed, thinking himſelf very happy in coming off at ſo eaſy a rate. However, when he came into France, he loudly complained, as if in England the law of nations had been violated in his perſon. Mean while, the queen diſpatched Wade[p] to Spain, to inform the king of what had paſſed, and to tell him ſhe was ready to receive another ambaſſador from him. But Philip would not give Wade audience, who refuſed alſo in his turn to impart the contents of his embaſſy to the prime miniſter.

He is ordered to depart the land. Camden. Strype's Ann. t. iii, c. 14. The queen ſends to inform Philip of it, who refuſes audience.

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land forces at; and the other of the gentlemen all over England, that profeſſed the Romiſh religion. Camden, p. 498.

[o] And to that end, he had drawn theſe two catalogues. Ibid.

[p] He was clerk of the council. Camden calls him Waadus, or Waad, but others ſir William Wade, which laſt was his true name.

When Throckmorton was brought upon his trial, he denied what he had confeſſed at his examination, affirming, he had invented it on purpoſe to avoid the rack. But after his condemnation, upon the evidence of his own letters to the queen of Scots, and the papers found in his coffers, he owned all, and even made a more circumſtantial declaration than at firſt. And yet when he came to the gallows, he denied again whatever he had confeſſed.

Throckmorton is executed. July 10. Stow. Camden.

Elizabeth, as ſhe could not doubt her enemies were perpetually contriving to deprive her of the crown, and ſet it on the head of the queen of Scots, lived in a conſtant uneaſineſs, and under the apprehenſion that ſome one of their plots would at laſt ſucceed. So, to diſcover more fully the deſigns of her enemies, ſhe ſeemed willing to reſume the negotiation begun with the queen of Scots. To that end ſhe ſent Wade, at his return from Spain, to tell her ſhe was ready to renew the treaty which had been interrupted, and would diſpatch to her very ſoon ſir Walter Mildmay for that purpoſe. But withal, ſhe let her know ſhe inſiſted upon two conditions, namely, that ſhe ſhould prevail with the king her ſon to grant the pardon promiſed to the lords of Ruthven, and to put a ſtop to the plots of the biſhop of Glaſcow her ambaſſador in France.

Elizabeth renews the negotiation with the queen of Scots,

and ſends Wade to her, Camden.

At this time happened the ſurpriſe of Sterling, the impriſonment of the earl of Goury, and the flight of the conſpirators into England. Whereupon Elizabeth ſent Beal to deſire the queen of Scots to intercede with the king her ſon for the fugitives, and inform her of the duke of Guiſe's deſigns, as ſhe had promiſed Wade. Mary anſwered, ſhe had promiſed nothing, but on condition ſhe ſhould be releaſed: That ſhe would readily intercede for the Scotch fugitives, provided any advantage would accrue from thence to herſelf or the king her ſon, and in caſe they would confeſs their fault. She did not deny, ſhe had deſired the duke of Guiſe to uſe his endeavours to free her; but ſaid ſhe knew nothing of his deſigns, nor, if ſhe did, would ſhe diſcover them, unleſs ſhe was aſſured of her freedom. She beſought Elizabeth to uſe her with more humanity, and deſired the treaty might be concluded with her before the Scots were treated with. Laſtly, ſhe added, that as the king of France had owned and received her ambaſſador jointly with her ſon's, as princes aſſociated, Elizabeth would be pleaſed to cauſe this aſſociation to be publiſhed in Scotland.

and then Beal. Camden.

Mary's anſwer.

Elizabeth took care not to ſerve her in what ſhe deſired, her aim being only to draw from her a ſollicitation in behalf of the Scotch fugitives, and an information concerning the

The negotiation is broken off.

duke

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duke of Guiſe's deſigns, upon the uncertain hope of an agreement which ſhe flattered her with. But finding ſhe could get nothing out of her, ſhe relinquiſhed the negotiation as needleſs. However, perceiving by Mary's anſwer, that the king of Scotland had accepted the aſſociation, ſhe was afraid ſome dangerous plot was contriving in Scotland. It was this chiefly that made her reſolve to gain the earl of Arran at any rate, wherein ſhe ſucceeded as I ſaid before.

Other plots diſcovered. Camden.

Shortly after, Elizabeth alſo diſcovered that her enemies did not ceaſe their ſecret practices. Chreichton, a Scotch jeſuit, going by ſea into Scotland, and his ſhip being attacked by pirates, tore ſome papers he had about him, and threw them into the ſea. But by a very extraordinary accident, the wind hindered the torn papers from falling into the water, and blew them back into the ſhip, where ſomebody took the pains to gather them up. Theſe papers being delivered to Wade, he paſted them together upon another paper with great labour and patience, and by that means a plot was diſcovered, framed by the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Guiſe, to invade England. Whereupon, by the earl of Leiceſter's means, a general aſſociation of men of all degrees and conditions was formed in England, who bound themſelves by oath to proſecute to the death thoſe that ſhould attempt any thing againſt the queen.

A general aſſociation in favour of the queen. Camden.

Mary ſends propoſals to Elizabeth. Camden.

The queen of Scots eaſily perceived that the plots of her friends were diſcovered, ſince the aſſociation was a clear evidence that Elizabeth thought herſelf in danger. As ſhe was afraid ſhe could not avoid the efforts of this aſſociation, in caſe it came to be known that ſhe was concerned in theſe plots, ſhe uſed freſh endeavours to free herſelf from captivity. To that purpoſe ſhe ſent Naue her ſecretary to Elizabeth with theſe propoſals;

That if ſhe might be releaſed, ſhe offered to enter into a cloſer amity with the queen of England: To renounce the title of queen of England, and never lay claim to the crown of that kingdom ſo long as Elizabeth was alive: To ſign the aſſociation: To make a league defenſive with England, (ſo far as might ſtand with the alliance between France and Scotland) provided that nothing was done in England to her diſadvantage, before ſhe herſelf or the king her ſon was heard in the parliament: To ſtay in England till hoſtages were given: To make no change in the religion eſtabliſhed in Scotland, provided ſhe might have the free exerciſe of her own: To bury in oblivion all injuries done to her in Scotland, on condition that whatever had been enacted to her diſgrace ſhould be repealed: To recommend to her ſon ſuch counſellors as were inclined to preſerve a good underſtanding with England: To procure a pardon for the fugitives, provided they would own themſelves guilty: To treat of no match for the king her ſon without Elizabeth's knowledge. She required on her part, that the treaty ſhould be made with her and the king her ſon jointly, and promiſed to have it ratified by the duke of Guiſe. Moreover, ſhe deſired matters might be ſpeedily concluded, for fear ſome accident ſhould obſtruct the treaty. Laſtly, ſhe prayed Elizabeth to give her ſome token of her eſteem, by granting her a little more liberty. Eliz. 1584.

Had Mary made theſe offers at any other time, perhaps Elizabeth would have regarded them. But in the preſent juncture, they only ſerved to increaſe her ſuſpicions, ſince it was evident they were an effect of the fear inſtilled into the priſoner, by the aſſociation and the diſcovery of the plots. Camden pretends, contrary to all appearance, that Elizabeth being ſatisfied with theſe propoſals, was going to ſet Mary at liberty, had ſhe not been hindered by the clamours of the Scots. Hence he takes occaſion to make a long invective againſt the preſbyterians and their preachers, and to accuſe them of inſolence, contempt of the king's perſon, and rebellion againſt the laws. Here alſo he ſpeaks of the ſuppreſſion of Buchanan's writings, which was foreign to the purpoſe. In a word, he would have preſbytery to be conſidered as the ſole cauſe of the obſtacles to Mary's deliverance, in ſpite of Elizabeth's good intentions towards her. This is no wonder, for it was the modiſh ſtile in England in the reign of James I. to whom court was made by inveighing againſt the puritans. I own however, it is not wholly improbable, that on this occaſion Elizabeth even ſet the Scots upon forming the obſtacles mentioned by Camden. But it is very unlikely, that at a time when ſhe ſaw her enemies in league againſt her to place Mary, though a priſoner, on the throne of England, ſhe ſhould really intend to releaſe her, and ſo enable her the better to execute her deſigns. To take Elizabeth's diſſimulation for her real intention, was an artifice of Camden, thereby to inſinuate, ſhe thought Mary innocent of the plots which were continually framing. But he contradicts himſelf by ſaying a little after, that Mary loſing all hopes of agreement, hearkened at length to dangerous counſels, and writ to the pope and the king of Spain, ſolliciting them "to haſten what they had in hand "with all ſpeed, let what would happen to her." It is therefore evident, there was now ſome project on foot which ſhe knew, Remark upon this ſubject. p. 499. p. 501.

Mary is put into Drury's cuſtody. Camden, p. 501.

knew, and had hearkened to dangerous counſels before the time mentioned by Camden. But Elizabeth, better informed than Mary imagined, knowing what meaſures were taken to carry her away, took her out of the hands of the earl of Shrewſbury, and committed her to the cuſtody of ſir Drue Drury, a watchful man, if ever there was one [q]. Camden ſays, the earl of Leiceſter, willing at once to free Elizabeth from the uneaſineſs the queen of Scots created her, bribed certain murderers to aſſaſſinate the priſoner; but as none durſt give them an order for leave to approach her, Drury's watchfulneſs hindered them from getting acceſs to her. If this ſhows the earl of Leiceſter's villany, and perhaps, in Camden's intention, that of Elizabeth herſelf, it ſhows too how dangerous a perſon the queen of Scots was deemed, ſince it was thought Elizabeth's life could not be ſafe but by her death. It is not likely therefore, that Elizabeth ſhould then think of releaſing her. The ſame author ſays, that to alienate queen Elizabeth's affection entirely from the queen of Scots, it was whiſpered in her ears, that a reſolution was taken to deprive her of the crown, and ſet it on Mary's head: That a council had been held, wherein cardinal Allen for the Engliſh eccleſiaſticks, Inglefield for the laity, and the biſhop of Roſs for the queen of Scots, all three impowered by the pope and the king of Spain, had agreed, that Elizabeth ſhould be aſſaſſinated, king James depoſed, and Mary given in marriage to ſome Engliſh catholick nobleman: That this nobleman ſhould be elected king of England, and the crown ſettled upon his heirs. He adds, Walſingham diligently inquired who this Engliſh nobleman might be, and that the ſuſpicion fell upon Henry Howard, the late duke of Norfolk's brother [r].

Ibid.

Affairs of the Low-Countries. Grotius. Strada. Du Maurier.

During this year, the affairs of the United Provinces daily grew worſe, the prince of Parma from time to time conquering towns upon them. At laſt, to reduce them, as it were, to the laſt extremity, God permitted the prince of Orange to be aſſaſſinated by one Balthazar Gerrard, a Burgundian. Philip his eldeſt ſon being then in the hands of the king of Spain, and educated in the catholick religion, the ſtates conferred the government of Holland and Zealand upon his ſecond ſon Maurice, about eighteen years old. Mean while, the prince of Parma improving the conſternation of the ſtates, laid ſiege to Antwerp. In this diſtreſs, the ſtates, finding it was not poſſible to ſupport themſelves with their own forces, debated, whether they ſhould put themſelves under the protection of France or England, and at length reſolved for France. But Henry III. was then involved in troubles, which ſuffered him not to accept their offer. So, finding no encouragement from that quarter, they were forced to apply to the queen of England. We ſhall ſee the next year the ſucceſs of this negotiation.

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[q] Sir Amias Powlet was alſo joined in the commiſſion with him, to take care of Mary. She was then in Tutbury-caſtle. Camden, p. 501.

[r] This year, in April, Walter Raleigh, eſq; went to diſcover the country adjoining to Florida in the Weſt-Indies, and returned in Auguſt, bringing two of the natives along with him. Hollingſh. p. 1369.---Within the compaſs of this year alſo, Charles Nevil, the laſt earl of Weſtmoreland of this houſe, ended his life in a miſerable exile. From this family ſprung (beſides ſix earls of Weſtmoreland) two earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, an earl of Kent, a marquiſs Montacute, a duke of Bedford, a baron Ferrars of Oſley, barons Latimers, barons Abergavenny, one queen, five dutcheſſes, not to reckon counteſſes and baroneſſes, an archbiſhop of York, and a great number of inferior gentlemen. Camden, p. 501.

Affairs of France.
Thuanus.
Mezerai.
Hollingſh.
P. Daniel.

The troubles with which France had been ſo long diſturbed, and which ſeemed to be a little appeaſed, were renewed by the death of the duke of Anjou in June. As the king had no children, and was thought incapable of having any, the duke of Guiſe projected to ſeize the throne, as deſcended from Charles the Great. This at leaſt is what ſeveral have accuſed him of, not without great probability. But as Henry of Bourbon king of Navarre was become firſt prince of the blood, ſince the death of the duke of Anjou, a pretence was to be found to exclude him from the throne, otherwiſe it would not be poſſible for the duke of Guiſe to execute his project. It was not difficult to find a pretence, ſince the king of Navarre profeſſed the reformed religion. So the duke of Guiſe hiding his ambition under the veil of religion, pretended to have no other view but to maintain the catholick religion, which would be in great danger if a Huguenot aſcended the throne. The king, who knew his deſign, did his utmoſt to perſuade the king of Navarre to change his religion, and the duke perceiving endeavours were uſed to break his meaſures, renewed the league firſt at Paris, and then in the provinces. By this means he could have an army ready on the firſt occaſion. The people were ſo blind and ſtupid as to imagine he only aimed at the preſervation of the catholick religion. Mean while, the duke having notice that the king would cauſe him to be arreſted, withdrew to his government of Champagne, where on the laſt day of December, he ſigned a private league with the king of Spain, who, on pretence of religion, ſought only to foment the troubles in France. But as the duke would not have it appear that he aſpired to the crown, the treaty ran, that the cardinal of Bourbon ſhould be raiſed to the throne, after the death of Henry III. and to that end, the king of Spain ſhould

Eliz. 1584.

find fifty thouſand crowns a month. Thus by means of the duke of Guiſe, Philip II. kindled in France a flame which long conſumed that kingdom, and hindered the French from thinking of the acquiſition of the Netherlands [t].

1585. Parry's conſpiracy. Camden.

D'Ewes, p. 340.

Hollingſh. p. 1382--1396. Feb. 11.

In the beginning of the year 1585, Elizabeth diſcovered a conſpiracy, of which William Parry was the author. He was a gentleman of Wales, member of the houſe of commons, and had ſignalized his zeal for the catholick religion in oppoſing alone a bill preferred in the lower houſe againſt the jeſuits. He ſpoke upon that occaſion with ſo much paſſion and vehemence, that he was committed to cuſtody [u]; but his ſubmiſſion being made, he was in a few days re-admitted into the houſe. Hardly was he at liberty, when Edmund Nevil, who claimed the inheritance of the earl of Weſtmoreland lately deceaſed in the Low-Countries [w], accuſed him of conſpiring againſt the queen; whereupon he was ſent to the Tower. He owned, "he had a deſign to kill "the queen, and was perſuaded to it by Morgan an Engliſh "catholick refugee in France; that he held intelligence with "jeſuits, the pope's nuntios and cardinals [x]; that the better "to deceive the queen, and procure free acceſs to her perſon, "he returned from France into England, and diſcovered "the whole conſpiracy to her; that afterwards, repenting of "his wicked intention, he laid away his dagger every time "he waited on her, leſt he ſhould be tempted to commit the "murder; but at length, cardinal Allen's book, wherein he "maintained it to be not only lawful but honourable to kill "princes excommunicated, falling into his hands, he read "it, and felt himſelf ſtrongly encouraged to purſue his firſt "deſign; that Nevil his accuſer coming to dine with him, "propoſed to attempt ſomething for the deliverance of the "queen of Scots, to which he anſwered, he had a greater "deſign in his thoughts; that a few days after, Nevil "coming to ſee him, they reſolved to kill the queen as ſhe "rode abroad to take the air, and ſwore upon the Bible to

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[t] Henry king of France having the laſt year been choſen into the order of the garter, queen Elizabeth ſent this year, in January, Henry earl of Derby to France, to inveſt the king with the robes and enſigns of the order. Camden, p. 501. Stow, p. 700.

[u] He ſaid, that the bill favoured of treaſons, was full of blood, danger, deſpair, and terror to the Engliſh ſubjects of this realm, and full of confiſcations, &c. D'Ewes, p. 340.

[w] Rapin, by miſtake, calls him Henry. He claimed the inheritance of the Nevils earls of Weſtmoreland, and the title of lord Latimer as next heir-male. Camden, p. 501.

[x] During his ſtay abroad, he held a correſpondence with the lord Burghley, pretending to be mighty zealous for queen Elizabeth. See Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 79, &c. 188.

"keep the ſecret; but that in the mean while, Nevil hearing the news of the earl of Weſtmoreland's death, accuſed him, in hopes of procuring the earl's inheritance, to which he laid claim." Upon this confeſſion, he was condemned and executed. March 2.

The parliament confirms the aſſociation. Act againſt the queen of Scots.

This conſpiracy occaſioned the parliament to take extraordinary care of the queen's and the kingdom's welfare. The general aſſociation was admitted, approved, and confirmed by unanimous conſent [y]. It was alſo enacted, "that twenty-four or more commiſſioners choſen and appointed by the queen ſhould make inquiſition concerning thoſe who ſhould endeavour to raiſe a rebellion in the kingdom, or attempt the queen's life, or claimed any right to the crown of England. That the perſon for whom, or by whom any attempt ſhould be made, ſhould be utterly incapable of ſucceeding to the crown, deprived for ever of all right and title to it, and proſecuted to death, if declared guilty by the four and twenty commiſſioners."

It was impoſſible not to ſee that the queen of Scots was directly aimed at, for whoſe ſake all theſe plots were contriving. Wherefore, very probably from this time her death began to be determined; the two queens being no longer able to ſubſiſt together. The council of England at leaſt was of that opinion. Mary doubted not that the law was enacted againſt her. Perhaps ſhe would have prevented the fatal effects of it, could ſhe have reſolved to renounce all correſpondence in the kingdom and in foreign countries. But ſhe had not the prudence to take that wiſe courſe, or perhaps to avoid the ſnares laid for her, nor was quick-ſighted enough to perceive ſhe only ſerved for a blind to her pretended friends to execute other projects.

Another againſt the papiſts. Statut. c. 2.

The parliament was not contented with this ſevere ſtatute for the queen's preſervation. It was farther enacted, "That all popiſh prieſts ſhould depart the realm within forty days: That thoſe who ſhould afterwards return, ſhould be guilty of high-treaſon: That to receive or harbour them ſhould be felony." It was declared alſo, "That thoſe who were educated in foreign ſeminaries, if they returned not into England within ſix months, after notice, and made not their ſubmiſſion within two days after their

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[y] This was done in the 4th ſeſſion of the parliament, which met by prorogation November 23, 1584, and was prorogued again March 29, 1585. In this ſeſſion, the lords and commons granted the queen two fifteenths and a ſubſidy; and the clergy a ſubſidy of ſix ſhillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. See Statut.

"return before a biſhop, or two juſtices of peace, ſhould be guilty of high-treaſon: That if any perſon ſubmitting himſelf, ſhould within ten years approach the court, or come within ten miles thereof, his ſubmiſſion ſhould be void: That thoſe who ſhould directly or indirectly convey any money to ſtudents or others in ſuch ſeminaries, ſhould incur the penalty of a Præmunire, loſs of goods, and perpetual exile: That if any of the peers of the realm ſhould offend againſt this act, they ſhould be brought to their trial by their peers: That if any perſon ſhould know any popiſh prieſt or jeſuit lurking in the kingdom, and ſhould not diſcover him within four days, he ſhould be fined and impriſoned at the queen's pleaſure: That if any man ſhould be ſuſpected to be a prieſt or jeſuit, and refuſe to ſubmit himſelf to examination, he ſhould be impriſoned till he did ſubmit: That they who ſhould ſend their children to popiſh colleges or ſeminaries, ſhould be fined in one hundred pounds ſterling: That if thoſe who were ſent thither, did not return within a year, they ſhould be incapable to ſucceed as heirs to any eſtate: That if the wardens of the ports ſhould ſuffer any beſides merchants to croſs the ſeas, without the queen's licence, ſigned by ſix privy-counſellors, they ſhould be turned out of their places: That the maſters of ſhips who received any paſſengers without ſuch licence, ſhould forfeit their ſhips and goods, ſuffer a year's impriſonment, and be incapable of exerciſing navigation for the future."

This is the ſevereſt act againſt the catholicks in the reign of queen Elizabeth. But they could blame only themſelves, or rather the indiſcreet zeal of ſome amongſt them, who never ceaſed plotting againſt the queen, and endeavouring to ſet the queen of Scots on the throne of England. Even this ſtatute was not capable of ſtopping them, till at laſt they carried their zeal to ſuch a height, that the deſtruction of one of the queens became neceſſary for the preſervation of the other [z].

The earl of Arundel is apprehended as he is going out of the land. April 25. Camden. Stow, p. 703.

Philip earl of Arundel, eldeſt ſon of the duke of Norfolk, had, through the queen's grace and favour, been reſtored in blood [a] and to his father's eſtate three years before. But afterwards he embraced the catholick religion, and being twice cited before the council to anſwer to certain accuſations entered againſt him, was confined to his own houſe. Six months after he was releaſed, and came to the houſe of lords, but withdrew the very firſt day, not to be obliged to be preſent at the ſermon. As he was extremely addicted to his religion, he reſolved to leave the kingdom to enjoy the free exerciſe of it, and before his departure writ a letter to the queen, which was not to be delivered till after he was gone. The letter was full of complaints that his innocence was oppreſſed. He ſaid, " that to avoid the misfortune befallen his grandfather " and father, and to ſerve God with freedom according to " his conſcience, he had reſolved to quit the kingdom, but " not his allegiance to his ſovereign." But being betrayed by his own ſervants, he was apprehended as he was going to embark, and ſent to the Tower.

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[z] Beſides the two acts already mentioned, it was alſo enacted in this ſeſſion, That no perſon ſhall be returned to ſerve upon juries, but what has an eſtate of freehold lands, tenements, or hereditaments, to the clear yearly value of four pounds at the leaſt.

[a] As his brother Thomas was in the parliament held this year. See D'Ewes, p. 341, 342.

The earl of Northumberland kills himſelf.
Camden.
Stow, p. 706, &c.
Hollingſh. p. 1403, &c.

Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, brother to him that was beheaded, was in the ſame Tower, having been charged with being concerned in Throckmorton's conſpiracy, and with holding correſpondence with the lord Paget and the duke of Guiſe. June 21, this year, he was found dead in his bed, ſhot with three bullets under his left pap. As he was alone in his room, which was bolted on the inſide, it was eaſy to ſee he had killed himſelf.

Elizabeth is threatened from ſeveral quarters.
Camden.

The calm Elizabeth had enjoyed for ſome years, began to be turned into ſtorms which threatened her from all quarters. This change muſt be aſcribed to three principal cauſes. The firſt was the duke of Guiſe's power, which was almoſt equal to that of the French king himſelf. Philip II's flouriſhing condition may be reckoned a ſecond, who, after acquiring the kingdom of Portugal, was upon the point of reducing to his obedience the revolted provinces of the Netherlands. The third was the hopes queen Elizabeth's enemies flattered themſelves with, of gaining the king of Scotland, and making uſe of him to invade England. I mention not the court of Rome, or the Engliſh catholicks, who always continued in the ſame diſpoſition, ſo there was nothing new in that reſpect. The queen of Scots was ever the ſtumbling-block. It was ſhe that gave birth to all the contrivances. Her deliverance from captivity was deſired, in order to ſet on her head the crown of England and Scotland, and reſtore by her means the catholick religion in both kingdoms. Such was the ſcheme of Elizabeth's enemies. She could not be ignorant of it, ſince they had purſued it from the beginning of her reign; as, on her part, ſhe had made it her whole buſineſs

Eliz. 1585.

to break their meaſures. But ſome advantages ſhe had hitherto enjoyed, began to fail her. Theſe were, firſt, the jealouſy between the crowns of France and Spain, which had reſtrained both from attacking her openly. Secondly, the French Huguenots had been ſufficiently ſtrong to ſupport themſelves, and diſable the court from attempting any thing againſt England. Thirdly, whilſt the affairs of the confederates in the Netherlands were proſperous, they had ſo employed the Spaniſh forces, that it was not poſſible for Philip II. to think ſeriouſly of foreign affairs. But at the time I am ſpeaking of, the ſcene was entirely changed. France was in ſuch a way, as Elizabeth could no longer reſt her ſafety upon the jealouſy between the French and Spaniſh crowns, that foundation being grown too weak. The duke of Guiſe, her mortal enemy, was more powerful in France than the king himſelf, and beſides, was ſupported by the king of Spain. Very probably, the Huguenots would be entirely oppreſſed, and the Low-Countries ſoon brought under the Spaniſh yoke; after which, there was no doubt, England would be invaded. Elizabeth therefore was to think betimes of preventing the impendent danger, or reſolve to ſuſtain alone the efforts of her enemies. Prudence required that ſhe ſhould in the firſt place try to avoid the aſſaults which were preparing againſt her, without neglecting however the means of withſtanding them, if ſhe ſhould be forced to it. The ſcheme ſhe laid was this, as will plainly appear in the ſequel. Firſt, ſhe reſolved to make alliances, if poſſible, with the two Northern crowns and the German proteſtants, tho' it were only to raiſe the jealouſy of her enemies. Secondly, to ſend a ſtrong aid to the confederates of the Low-Countries, to keep the king of Spain employed there. Thirdly, to aſſiſt the French Huguenots, to prevent their being too eaſily oppreſſed, knowing the duke of Guiſe would be unable to attempt any thing againſt her, ſo long as the civil wars held him employed in France. Laſtly, ſhe thought there was no better way to break her enemies meaſures, than to endeavour, if poſſible, to have the king of Scotland in her power; or, if that failed, to raiſe troubles in Scotland, which ſhould hinder that young prince from framing projects detrimental to England. It is alſo very likely, that at this time the death of the queen of Scots was determined, ſince her life was the foundation of all the plots againſt Elizabeth both at home and abroad. At leaſt, if this reſolution was not abſolutely taken, very probably Elizabeth and her council were determined not to ſpare Mary, when the neceſſity of affairs required her to be ſacrificed to the publick ſafety. I own this is only a conjecture, but it is built upon the ſituation of Elizabeth's affairs at that time.

She ſends an ambaſſador into Germany. Camden.

To execute the firſt part of her ſcheme, ſhe ſent ſir Thomas Bodley into Germany and Denmark, to endeavour to perſuade the proteſtant princes to make a league defenſive with England.[b]. He had orders, among other things, to acquaint the king of Denmark, that the duke of Lorrain, when he courted Elizabeth, pretended a right to the crown of Denmark, as grandſon to Chriſtiern II. by his daughter. I do not know the ſucceſs of Bodley's negotiations; but as Elizabeth was extremely frugal of her money, it is likely ſhe uſed not the propereſt means to gain the German princes to her intereſt. I ſhall ſpeak preſently of the ſecond and third articles of Elizabeth's ſcheme relating to France and the Netherlands. As to the fourth concerning Scotland, we find it explained in Melvil's Memoirs, if we may however give entire credit to this author, who ſeems extremely prejudiced againſt Elizabeth.

She tries to break off the project of the king of Scotland's marriage. Melvil, p. 158, 161.

The king of Scotland being determined to marry, caſt his eyes on the king of Denmark's eldeſt daughter, who having ſome notice of it, reſolved to ſend an embaſſy into Scotland, under colour of propoſing an alliance between the two kingdoms, and withal to give king James an opportunity to propoſe his marriage. Melvin pretends, Elizabeth having intelligence of the project, reſolved to uſe her endeavours to render it abortive [c]. Not that the marriage was unſuitable for the king of Scotland, but it was requiſite for Elizabeth that he ſhould not marry, unleſs he would take an Engliſh wife of her chuſing, or rather, ſhe wiſhed to have him in her power before he was married. She writ to him therefore, that to preſerve with him always a good underſtanding, ſhe intended to ſend an ambaſſador, who ſhould reſide at his court, not to trouble his majeſty with buſineſs, but entertain him with merry diſcourſe, and bear him company in his recreations: that ſhe had choſen for that purpoſe Edward Wotton, a man of wit and a great traveller, imagining he would be very proper to divert him agreeably, and hoped he would take great delight in his converſation. Melvil, who was ordered to receive the ambaſſador, remembered to have ſeen him formerly at Paris, at his uncle Dr. Wotton's the Engliſh ambaſſador;

Camden. Spotiſwood. Melvil, p. 159.

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[b] He was ſent to the king of Denmark, the elector palatine, the dukes of Saxony, Wirtenberg, Brunſwick, and Lunenburg, the marquis of Brandenburg, and the landgrave of Heſſe. Camden, p. 504.

[c] The earl of Arran had promiſed her, that he would not let the king marry within the ſpace of three years. Melvil, p. 166.

Melvil, p. 161.

and that, young as he was, he had enſnared that able miniſter the old conſtable Montmorency [d]. He warned the king of it, who regarded it not. On the contrary, he made the ambaſſador partner of all his pleaſures, and one of his greateſt favourites.

Affairs of Scotland. p. 162, &c.

p. 165, 166.

p. 167.

The Daniſh ambaſſadors being arrived in Scotland, Wotton and ſome of the king's miniſters ſo ordered it, that they received ſo many mortifications that they were going to return in very great diſcontent [e]. But Melvil informing them of the ſtate of affairs, perſuaded them to have patience; and indeed, the king being undeceived of ſome notions inſtilled into him againſt the king of Denmark, ſent them back better ſatisfied. Shortly after he diſpatched Peter Young [f] his almoner to the ſame prince, to thank him for his embaſſy, and to acquaint him that he would very ſoon ſend ambaſſadors to him. The real motive of Young's voyage was to ſee the king of Denmark's two daughters, and inform the king his maſter of their qualifications.

Francis Ruſſel killed on the borders. Camden. Melvil, p. 166. Stow.

July 16.

In the mean while, the earl of Arran's credit ſenſibly decreaſed by the addreſs of the maſter of Gray his rival, who knew better how to manage the king. Moreover, Wotton helped with all his power to ruin the favourite; for, beſides that Elizabeth had no farther need of him ſince ſhe had won Gray, he was a man on whom ſhe could not much rely. An accident alſo on the borders did the earl of Arran great injury. Thomas Carr the laird of Fernihurſt, who had married his niece, holding a conference with ſir Francis Ruſſel [g], the earl of Bedford's ſon, upon affairs relating to both kingdoms, an Engliſhman being taken pilfering, raiſed a quarrel between the two guards [h], wherein Ruſſel was ſlain. The Engliſh ambaſſador made great noiſe about the affair, pretending the earl of Arran had raiſed this quarrel by his nephew, to breed a rupture between the two kingdoms. Upon his complaints, the earl of Arran was confined to his own houſe, and Fernihurſt ſent to priſon, where he died quickly after.

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[d] See towards the end of queen Mary's reign, where mention is made of this ſnare.

[e] They were ſeveral times upon the point of returning to their country. Wotton was ſo deceitful, that he frequently viſited them, ſeemed ſorry they were ſo abuſed, offered to lend them money, &c. See Melvil, p. 162, 163.

[f] Rapin calls him Patrick. See Melvil, p. 167.

[g] And ſir John Forſter, wardens of the middle marches. Camden, p. 505. The earl of Bedford, ſir Francis's father, died the next day. Stow, p. 709.

[h] The Scots were about three thouſand in number, and the Engliſh not above three hundred. Camden, p. 505.

Elizabeth having notice of the fact, demanded a ſolemn reparation. James did not refuſe it; but pretended he could do nothing before he had proofs. This was not eaſy, by reaſon of the cuſtom which allowed not the evidence of the Engliſh againſt the Scots, or of the Scots againſt the Engliſh, concerning what paſſed on the borders. This difficulty cauſing the affair to be prolonged, and the earl of Arran having his liberty, Elizabeth took occaſion to permit the Scotch fugitives who had fled into England to return home. Wotton being informed of the queen's deſign, laboured to corrupt ſeveral Scotch courtiers [i], and gain them to Elizabeth's intereſt. If Melvil is to be credited, the king's greateſt confidents were of this number. So Wotton, finding himſelf well ſupported, formed the project to ſurpriſe the king in Sterling park and carry him into England. But being diſappointed, he reſolved to force the guard of the caſtle, and had now prepared every thing neceſſary to execute his deſign, when the king having ſome intelligence of it, broke his meaſures by a ſudden departure from Sterling. Then Wotton perceiving he was diſcovered, privately retired without taking leave. This was the man ſent by Elizabeth to king James to entertain and divert him.

The queen demands ſatisfaction. Camden.

She ſuffers the Scotch fugitives to return home. Camden.

Wotton reſolves to carry away the king of Scotland. Melvil, p. 167, 168.

He is diſappointed, and flies.

But all the danger was not over. James was ſurrounded with perſons who correſponded with the fugitives, and hindered him from providing for his ſafety. The fugitive lords were now entered Scotland, where they had drawn together three thouſand men, and were marching directly to Sterling, where the king was returned, without any precaution taken at court to ſtop their proceedings. This negligence, cauſed by the traitors about the king's perſon, afforded the malecontents an opportunity to come to the gates of Sterling, where the king was ſo ſurpriſed, that he was forced to put himſelf into their hands; but the earl of Arran had time to eſcape. The malecontents having the king in their power, treated him with ſuch reſpect and ſubmiſſion, that they perſuaded him at length they were not his enemies, as he had been made to believe. He owned he had been miſled by Arran's pernicious counſels; and conſented that the exiles ſhould be reſtored to their eſtates. By this revolution, Elizabeth had the ſatisfaction to ſee the king of Scotland guided by counſellors from whom ſhe had nothing to fear, whereas before ſhe was under continual apprehenſions with reſpect to the affairs of that

The fugitives return into Scotland. Melvil, p. 168, 169. Camden. Spotiſwood.

They ſeize the king's perſon,

and are reſtored.

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[i] Namely, the earl of Bothwell, the lord Humes, Maxwell lately created earl of Morton, Patrick Gray, Belenden juſtice-clerk, and Maitland lord ſecretary. Camden, p. 505.

Eliz. 1585.

kingdom. Shortly after, colonel Stewart going to Copenhagen, began there a treaty about the king's marriage with one of the princeſſes of Denmark.

Treaty about the king's marriage. Melvil, p. 171.

Camden. Hollingſh. p. 1411, &c. Stow, p. 707, &c.

In the mean time, the affairs of the United Provinces were in ſo dangerous a ſituation, that the ſtates could no longer hope to withſtand the king of Spain, unleſs they were ſtrongly aſſiſted. Henry III. having refuſed the ſovereignty offered him by the ſtates, they applied to Elizabeth, who alſo refuſed it, for fear of engaging in a very troubleſome affair. She perceived a war with Spain for the preſervation of that ſovereignty would draw her into extraordinary charges, which ſhe ſhould not be at liberty to leſſen as ſhe pleaſed. She choſe rather, in purſuance of her ſcheme, to give the ſtates a powerful aid, and the king of Spain a diverſion, becauſe the aid might be increaſed or leſſened, according to the ſituation of her affairs. She made therefore a treaty with them, promiſing to find them five thouſand foot [k] and a thouſand horſe, under the command of an Engliſh general. It was agreed, ſhe ſhould pay theſe troops, on condition of being repaid at the end of the war, namely, in the firſt year of the peace, the expences advanced in the firſt year of the war, and the reſt in four years: That for ſecurity of payment, Fluſhing and Rammekins in Zealand, and the Briel in Holland, ſhould be delivered into her hands: That the governors, ſhe ſhould place there [l], ſhould exerciſe no authority over the inhabitants: That the money being repaid, theſe places ſhould be reſtored, not to the king of Spain, but to the ſtates: That the Engliſh general, and two others, whom ſhe ſhould name, ſhould have a place in the council of ſtate, and no peace or truce be made without a mutual conſent: That if the queen ſhould ſend a fleet to ſea, the ſtates ſhould be obliged to join it with an equal number of ſhips, under the command of the Engliſh admiral: Laſtly, That the ports ſhould be open and free to both nations [m].

The queen's treaty with the ſtates. Act. Pub. xv. p. 793, &c. Camden. Speed, p. 855.

The treaty being concluded, the queen appointed for general of her auxiliary forces the earl of Leiceſter, for whom ſhe had ever a great affection; but he came not into Flanders till about the end of the year. Some time after, ſhe pub-

The earl of Leiceſter is made general of the Engliſh troops. Act. Pub. xv. p. 799.

The queen's manifeſto. Stow. Comp. Hiſt. t. ii. p. 654.

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[k] Of which ſir John Norris was appointed general. Speed, p. 855.

[l] Sir Philip Sidney was appointed governor of Fluſhing, and ſir Thomes Cecil of the Briel, Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 801, 802.

[m] The king of Sweden, when he heard of this treaty, ſaid, Queen Elizabeth has now taken the diadem from her head, and adventured it upon the doubtful chance of war. Camden, p. 508.

liſhed a manifeſto, wherein ſhe alledges as a reaſon for her aiding the confederate provinces, that the alliance between the kings of England and the princes of the Netherlands, was not ſo much between their perſons, as between their reſpective ſtates. Whence ſhe inferred, that without breach of the alliance, ſhe might aſſiſt the inhabitants of the Low-Countries, oppreſſed by the Spaniards.

She ſends a fleet into America, againſt the Spaniards. Camden. Hollingſh. p. 1401.

Mean while, as ſhe judged this reaſon would not be ſatiſfactory to the king of Spain, and that he would doubtleſs conſider this extraordinary aid given his rebellious ſubjects as a declaration of war, ſhe reſolved to prevent him. To that purpoſe, ſhe equipped a fleet of one and twenty ſail, whereon were embarked two thouſand three hundred ſoldiers, beſides mariners, to carry war into America, where the Spaniards little expected any ſuch thing. The fleet was commanded by the earl of Carliſle, who had under him the famous ſir Francis Drake [n]. The Engliſh immediately took St. Jago, one of the Iſles of Cape Verd. After that they ſailed to St. Domingo, or Hiſpaniola, and became maſters of the capital. Having ſpent there all January of the year 1586, they went and took Carthagena. Then they burnt the towns of St. Antonio and St. Helena in Florida. A violent ſtorm diſperſing the fleet, as they were going upon new expeditions, they joined not again till they came into England [o], where they brought a booty valued at ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling; but in this expedition ſeven hundred men periſhed.

Davis's Streight in the North. Camden.

At the ſame time, John Davis, an Engliſhman, went [p] in ſearch of a ſhorter paſſage through the North of America to the Eaſt-Indies. The ice preventing his paſſing, he long roved on the northern ſeas, and accidentally diſcovered a Streight, under the polar circle, which ſtill bears his name, but was not what he ſought [q].

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[n] Sir Francis Drake was admiral of the fleet, and Chriſtopher Carliſle general of the land forces. Camden, p. 509.

[o] Keeping on their courſe along a deſolate coaſt, they lighted upon ſome Engliſhmen, who had planted themſelves in Virginia, ſo named in honour of the Virgin Queen Elizabeth; and whom ſir Walter Raleigh had, in April this year, carried over thither for a colony. See Hollingſh. p. 1401.--- Ralph Lane, one of them, came home with Drake, and was the firſt that brought tobacco into England. Camden, p. 509. Tobacco was ſo named from the iſland Tobago, one of the Caribbee iſlands, where it plentifully grows.

[p] He ſailed with two ſhips, ſet forth at the charge of William Sanderſon, a globemaker, and other Londoners. Camden, p. 510.

[q] This year alſo, licence was granted to ſeveral merchants of London to trade to Barbary. Camden, p. 510. --- In January, this year, died Edward Fynes lord Clinton, earl of Lincoln, and lord high-admiral, and was buried at Windſor. He was ſucceeded by Charles lord Howard of Effingham. Stow, p. 700, 709.

Affairs of France. Mezerai. Thuanus. P. Daniel.

Before I leave the year 1585, it will be neceſſary to relate what paſſed in France. After the duke of Guiſe had concluded his treaty with the king of Spain, he tried all ways to corrupt the French, and gain them to his party. His aim was to ſeize the crown, either before or after Henry III's death. He could not expect that the king, who hated him mortally, would countenance his deſign; and, on the other hand, he had no manner of colour to aſpire to the crown, except his pretended deſcent from the houſe of Charles the Great. And even in that caſe, the duke of Lorrain, head of that houſe, would have been before him. To aſſert therefore ſo extraordinary a title, the people's affection and a religious zeal were to ſupply all defects, otherwiſe there was not the leaſt appearance, that in cold blood the French ſhould ſet on the throne, after the king's death, a foreign prince, in prejudice of the king of Navarre, who was deſcended from St. Lewis. To accompliſh his project, the duke of Guiſe began, by means of his emiſſaries, to diſparage the king as a favourer of hereticks, and to rouze the zeal of the catholicks againſt the Huguenots, and particularly againſt the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, who profeſſed the reformed religion after a publick abjuration. Mean while, as the duke of Guiſe did not think proper to diſcover his deſigns, he publiſhed a manifeſto in the cardinal de Bourbon's name, wherein he pretended to demonſtrate, that the crown belonged to the cardinal after the king's death. Not that he deſired to place him on the throne; but it was ſufficient firſt to ſet aſide the king of Navarre. That done, under colour of hindering the throne from being filled with a heretick, he poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral places, pretending however, it was for the king's ſervice and the good of the realm.

Mezerai.

The life led by the king for ſome time, cauſed him to forfeit the eſteem of moſt of his ſubjects. The duke of Guiſe's intrigues, who repreſented him a favourer of hereticks, becauſe he ſupported the houſe of Bourbon's title, helped alſo to alienate the people from him. In ſhort, the court of Rome, the clergy, the friers, were for the duke of Guiſe, and ſerved him to the utmoſt of their power. So the king being unable to reſiſt, was forced to forſake the king of Navarre, publiſh an edict againſt the Huguenots, and join with the duke in their extirpation. Nay, he had the vexation to be obliged to give him the command of the army.

Elizabeth aids the Huguenots. Camden. Thuanus.

The king of Navarre and the Huguenots, finding themſelves thus attacked, aſſembled all their forces in their abſence. But theſe forces were ſo inconſiderable in compariſon of their enemies, that there was no likelihood of withſtanding them long. The prince of Condé, attempting to relieve the caſtle of Angers, which was beſieged, was ſuddenly ſurrounded by enemies, and forced to ſteal away from his army, and fly into England. Elizabeth received him very civilly, and as ſhe knew the enemies of the Huguenots were alſo hers, promiſed to aſſiſt him[r]. It was not without reaſon that ſhe concerned herſelf with the affairs of the Huguenots, ſince the league was not limited to their deſtruction, but aimed at the ruin of the proteſtant religion throughout Europe, and eſpecially in England. Of this had been ſeen a very ſenſible proof this ſame year. Gregory XIII. dying in April, Sixtus V. his ſucceſſor, thundered the cenſures of the church againſt the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, calling them not only hereticks and relapſes, but alſo a baſtard progeny. Hence it was eaſy to ſee, how much the pope countenanced the duke of Guiſe's deſigns, and the queen of England might infer, how great reaſon ſhe had to fear, if the duke ſhould one day become king of France, being ſupported by the pope and the Spaniard. Upon this account it was ſhe ſupplied the prince of Condé with fifty thouſand crowns, to aſſiſt him in maintaining the war, and lent him ten ſhips, with which he raiſed the blockade of Rochelle.

1586.
Elizabeth complains of the authority given by the ſtates to the earl of Leiceſter.
Grotius.
Camden.
Strada.
Stow, p. 712.
Hollingſh. p. 1420.

The earl of Leiceſter being arrived in Holland the beginning of the year 1586, was received as a guardian angel[s]. The ſtates, under colour of expreſſing their gratitude to Elizabeth, declared him[t] governor and captain-general of Holland, Zealand, and the United Provinces, and inveſted him with almoſt an abſolute power[u]. Very probably, their aim was to engage the queen farther than ſhe intended. She had refuſed the offered ſovereignty, and it was deſigned to give it her in ſome meaſure, whether ſhe would or no, by inveſting her general with almoſt a ſovereign authority. But Elizabeth was too wiſe to be enſnared by this artifice. She ſharply complained to the ſtates of this ſort of deceit, and gave withal the earl of Leiceſter a ſevere reprimand for accepting the

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[r] He came before, in 1580, to ſollicit for ſuccours, but could not obtain any. See Strype's Ann. tom. ii. p. 619.

[s] He ſet out from England, December 8, with fifty ſail, and a ſplendid retinue, being accompanied by the earls of Eſſex, Oxford, and Northumberland; the lords Audley, Willoughby, Sheffield, Burroughs, and North; ſir William Ruſſel, ſir Thomas Shirley, ſir Arthur Baſſet, ſir Walter Waller, ſir Gervaſe Clifton, ſir Philip, Robert, and Henry Sidney, ſir William Pelham, and other knights, with a ſelect troop of five hundred gentlemen. Camden, p. 510. Stow, p. 710, 711.

[t] On February 6. See Stow, p. 712.

[u] He was attended with a noble guard, and ſaluted by all men with the title of Your Excellency, upon which he began to take upon him as if he were a perfect king. Camden, p. 511.

honour,

Camden.

honour, without having firſt conſulted her. She told him, he had acted directly contrary to her intention, ſince ſhe had publickly declared in her manifeſto, that ſhe was very ready to relieve her diſtreſſed neighbours, but never meant to aſſume any power over them[w]. The ſtates excuſed themſelves by ſaying, the neceſſity of their affairs had obliged them to confer ſuch an authority on the earl of Leiceſter, that he might be the better able to heal their diviſions, which put them in continual danger of periſhing: That they could not revoke the authority granted to her general without great inconveniences, and had not however diveſted themſelves of the ſupreme power. The earl of Leiceſter appeaſed the queen by his ſubmiſſions. In fine, ſhe conſented the patent ſhould ſubſiſt; but intimated to the ſtates, they vainly hoped to induce her to accept of the ſovereignty of their country, and that her intention was to keep within the bounds ſhe had preſcribed to herſelf, that is, not to be obliged to aſſiſt them any farther than her affairs would permit.

The earl of Leiceſter's ambitious projects. Grotius. Speed.

The earl of Leiceſter, a man of great pride and ambition, was no ſooner clothed with this exorbitant power, than he began ſecretly to form projects deſtructive of the liberties of the country he was come to defend. At leaſt, this is what all the Dutch hiſtorians tax him with. They pretend, his deſign was to render himſelf ſovereign or perpetual dictator of the provinces, with whoſe government he had been entruſted. He made uſe of ſuch means as bred an univerſal diſcontent againſt him. In ſhort, after a campain, wherein he performed no great exploits, he returned to England, to take proper meaſures to facilitate the execution of his projects, and probably to perſuade the queen to ſupport him[x].

He returns into England. Decemb. 3.

Elizabeth propoſes a league with Scotland. Camden.

Whilſt France and the Netherlands were in commotion, Elizabeth wiſely provided for her own and her people's ſecurity. This ſhe did not only by aſſiſting the Huguenots and the confederate provinces, but alſo by preventing the dangers which might come from Scotland, in caſe the king of Spain and the duke of Guiſe ſhould be ever able to invade her[y].

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[w] She alſo added theſe words, "We little thought, that one whom we had "raiſed out of the duſt, and proſecuted "with ſuch ſingular favour above all "others, would with ſo great contempt "have ſlighted and broken our com-"mands, in a matter of ſo great con-"ſequence." Camden, p. 511.

[x] In an engagement near Zutphen, the learned and ingenious ſir Philip Sidney received a wound in the thigh, of which he died, October 17; and was buried in St. Paul's cathedral. Camden, p. 512. Stow, p. 737, 739.

[y] The jeſuits began about this time to forge a new and pretended title to the ſucceſſion of the kingdom of England for the Spaniards; and to that end, ſent into England one of their ſociety, to draw noblemen and gentlemen to the Spaniard's party. Camden, p. 513.

The preſent juncture was very favourable. The king of Scotland had about him only men well-affected to the reformed religion, and the intereſts of England. The opportunity therefore was not to be neglected of ſtrictly uniting the two kingdoms; this union being of the utmoſt conſequence to Elizabeth. Accordingly ſhe diſpatched Randolph to king James, to repreſent to him, that the enemies of the proteſtant religion openly joining together for its deſtruction, it was the intereſt of the proteſtant ſtates to unite alſo for their common defence. That England and Scotland were the bulwarks of the true religion, and the union of their forces the only poſſible means to preſerve it. That therefore ſhe thought it their common intereſt to join in a league for the defence of their religion, againſt all who ſhould attempt to deſtroy it, at leaſt in England and Scotland. The better to perſuade the king to do what the queen deſired, Randolph told him, that as his revenues were extremely diminiſhed, by reaſon of the troubles which had ſo long afflicted his kingdom, the queen was willing to grant him a penſion to aſſiſt him in ſupporting his dignity[z]. James readily conſented to what was propoſed to him, but on condition, nothing ſhould be done in England in prejudice to his right to the crown of that kingdom, and this article, with that of the penſion, be inſerted in the treaty. Randolph anſwered, he did not believe that would be poſſible. As to the penſion, he ſaid, if it was put into the treaty, the queen would ſeem to be tributary to Scotland, to which ſhe would never agree. As to the article of the ſucceſſion, the queen could not ſettle it by a publick treaty without the concurrence of the parliament, and the diſcuſſion of ſuch an affair might retard the treaty too long, and perhaps give birth to great difficulties, becauſe of the queen his mother's religion: but he did not queſtion, Elizabeth would be very willing to ſatisfy him in theſe two points, by means of two ſecret articles. James being contented with this expedient, Deſneval the French ambaſſador did all that lay in his power to diſſuade him from the league. He told him, that Elizabeth's aim was only to ſecure herſelf from the attacks of thoſe who were combined for the deliverance of queen Mary. That it was a ſtrange thing he ſhould think of uniting with a queen, who kept his mother in priſon, againſt thoſe who were labouring to free her from captivity. He added, the king his maſter could not but conſider the league as an expreſs breach of the ancient alliance

Strype's An. tom. iii. p. 304, &c. Camden.

Camden.

The French ambaſſador oppoſes it. Camden.

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[z] The intended penſion was to be 5000 l. ſterling a year. Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 302.

The king's anſwer.

between France and Scotland. James anſwered, that the queen his mother's misfortunes proceeded wholly from her own friends, who, under colour of ſerving her, only aimed at executing their own projects. That, as to the alliance between France and Scotland, he did not ſee wherein he ſhould violate it, ſince France pretended not to break it, when, without ſignifying it to him, ſhe made a league defenſive with England.

James having reſolved upon what the queen deſired, the plenipotentiaries of the two kingdoms met at Berwick, and ſigned a treaty of alliance and ſtricter amity between the two crowns [a].

Treaty of league between Elizabeth and James. Act. Pub. xv. p. 803. Camden.

The motive of the treaty was, that whereas the princes, who called themſelves catholicks, were entered into leagues for extirpating the proteſtant religion, not only in their own dominions, but alſo in foreign countries, it was neceſſary the proteſtants ſhould unite for its defence. That therefore the queen of England and king of Scotland did agree upon the following articles.

I. By this treaty, they ſhall be obliged to defend the evangelical religion againſt all thoſe who ſhall attack it in either kingdom.

II. This league ſhall be offenſive and defenſive againſt thoſe who ſhall hinder the free exerciſe of the ſaid religion in either of the two kingdoms, all other treaties and alliances to the contrary notwithſtanding.

III. If one of the two parties be invaded, the other ſhall not directly or indirectly aſſiſt the invader, notwithſtanding any alliance or treaty formerly entered into.

IV. If England be invaded in any parts remote from Scotland, the king of Scotland ſhall find the queen of England two thouſand horſe and five thouſand foot, at the queen's charges from the day of their entering England; and in the like caſe, the queen ſhall ſend the king of Scotland ſix thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe.

V. If England be invaded in any place within ſixty miles of Scotland, the king of Scotland ſhall draw together all his forces, and join the ſame with the queen's, in order to purſue the invaders for the ſpace of thirty days together; or if neceſſity require, for ſo long time as the vaſſals of Sc[illegible]nd are bound to furniſh the king with troops for the defence of the kingdom.

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[a] This league was ſigned July 5. The Engliſh plenipotentiaries were, Edward earl of Rutland, William lord Euers, vice-preſident of the council of the north, and Thomas Randolph, eſq; And the Scotiſh were, Francis earl of Bothwell, Robert lord of Boyle, and ſir James Home. Rymer's Foed. tom. xv. p. 803.

VI. If Ireland be invaded, the king of Scotland ſhall hinder the inhabitants of the county of Argyle from entering in a hoſtile manner into that kingdom.

VII. The king and queen ſhall mutually deliver all rebels, who ſhall have attempted any thing againſt either of the two kingdoms, or at leaſt, they ſhall compel them to retire from their dominions.

VIII. Within ſix months, commiſſioners ſhall be ſent to compound and adjuſt all differences, which have happened on the borders between the two nations.

IX. Neither of the two princes ſhall make any treaty, to the prejudice of the articles of this preſent league, without the conſent of the other.

X. This treaty ſhall be ratified on both ſides by letters-patents.

XI. This preſent treaty ſhall in no way derogate from former treaties between the two kingdoms, or from thoſe before made by the two crowns with any princes or ſtates, what relates to religion excepted. As to the article concerning religion, it is agreed, this alliance and league offenſive and defenſive ſhall remain firm and inviolate.

XII. The treaties ſhall be confirmed by the ſtates of Scotland, as ſoon as the king ſhall attain to the age of twenty-five years; and in like manner, the queen ſhall cauſe it to be approved by the parliaments of England and Ireland.

Remarks on Camden's Annals.

Shortly after the concluſion of this league, a conſpiracy was diſcovered in England, which coſt the queen of Scots her life. As this is one of the moſt important events of queen Elizabeth's reign, it will be neceſſary to relate all the particulars. But it is a ſad thing, theſe particulars muſt be taken from the Annals of Elizabeth, written by Camden, a very ſuſpicious author with reſpect to the queen of Scots. In all the former reigns, there is no remarkable event but what is traced and in ſome meaſure cleared in the Collection of the Publick Acts. But as to this, all the acts relating to queen Mary are utterly deſtroyed [b]. On the other hand, James I. ſon of Mary, ſucceeding Elizabeth, there was not an Engliſh-

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[b] Mr. Rapin, in his account of Rymer's Foed. ſuſpects, that king James I. ordered the archives to be cleared of every act relating to the queen his mother, on purpoſe to deprive poſterity as far as poſſible of the knowledge of her affairs. Acta Reg. vol. iv. p. 2.

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man who dared to write in his reign the truth of what paſſed in the foregoing, whilſt the memory of it was yet freſh. Camden was the only perſon that undertook to publiſh the Annals of queen Elizabeth's reign, not ſo much to make known as to diguiſe the events, as far as they concerned queen Mary, and to give an air of innocence to whatever ſullied her reputation when alive. This evidently appears in his account of king Henry Stewart's murder, which has given occaſion to preſume he has been no faithfuller in what he ſays of Mary's trial and death. He affirms however, he has followed the Memoirs of Edward Barker[c] principal regiſter to the queen, of Thomas Wheeler publick-notary, cryer of the court of Canterbury, and other perſons of credit whom he does not name. I don't know whether the Memoirs he ſpeaks of were ever publiſhed, or are ſtill extant. However, from Camden's Annals the following account is taken, for want of a more impartial hiſtorian.

Conſpiracy againſt the queen. Camden. Hollingſh.

William Gifford, doctor of divinity in the ſeminary at Rheims, Gilbert Gifford[d] and Hodgeſon, Engliſh prieſts, had inſtilled into one John Savage their countryman, that it would be a meritorious act to kill Elizabeth, and had cauſed him to vow it during the Eaſter-holidays this year 1586[e]. At the ſame time, Ballard an Engliſh prieſt of that ſeminary, who had been in England notwithſtanding the prohibition, returned into France, where he had ſeveral conferences with Mendoza and the lord Paget, how to invade England[f]. As the chief end of the conſpiracy was to reſtore the catholick religion in England, the point was not only to make away Elizabeth, but forces alſo were to be ready to deliver Mary and ſet her on the throne of England. Theſe two projects could not be ſeparated. Ballard was accompanied by one Maud, whom he thought a friend, but who was however ſecretary Walſingham's ſpy.

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[c] Rapin, by miſtake, calls him Stephen Parker.

[d] Rapin has miſtaken the chriſtian names, which are rectified from Camden and Hollingſh.

[e] At the ſame time they wrote a ſort of paſtoral letter to the Engliſh Roman catholicks, not to diſturb the government, or attempt any thing againſt their queen; but to have recourſe to tears, prayers, watchings and faſtings, the only juſtifiable weapons of chriſtians againſt perſecution. They alſo got a report ſpread, that George Gifford, one of the queen's gentlemen penſioners, had ſworn her majeſty's death, and had received a ſum of money from the duke of Guiſe for that purpoſe. All this was done to amuſe the queen and council. Camden, p. 515.---Thuanus ſays, that the day pitched upon for the queen's aſſaſſination was Auguſt 24, lib. 86.

[f] This was judged to be a very proper time, whilſt the beſt Engliſh troops were employed in the Netherlands, and the Spaniard, the duke of Guiſe, and the prince of Parma, ready to invade England. Camden, p. 515.

About

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1586.

Camden.
Hollingſh.

About Whitſuntide, Ballard was ſent back into England by the conſpirators, to gain proper perſons to facilitate the execution of the project. They told him, he would meet at London with a young gentleman called Anthony Babington [g], whom he might truſt. This Babington, who was a zealous catholick, having been lately in France, was gained there by the biſhop of Glaſcow, Mary's ambaſſador, and by Morgan an Engliſh fugitive. He was ſo prepoſſeſſed in favour of the queen of Scots, that he was thought qualified for any enterprize, and for that reaſon had been recommended to Mary without his knowledge. So, upon his return to England, ſhe writ to him, and from that time he was employed to convey to her the letters which came from France, till ſhe was committed to the cuſtody of ſir Amias Powlet and ſir Drue Drury. Then Babington, fearing the watchfulneſs of the new keepers, would have nothing more to do with the letters either to or from her.

Ballard, when he came to England, ſaw Babington, and imparted to him the deſign to invade England, free the queen of Scots, and ſet her on the throne. Babington anſwered, he very much doubted the poſſibility of executing this project ſo long as Elizabeth lived. Whereupon Ballard acquainted him alſo with Savage's vow, to which Babington replied, it was too hazardous to commit the execution of ſuch a deſign to a ſingle perſon; that there ſhould be ſix at leaſt, and Savage, not to break his vow, might be one of the number [h]. Then they conferred together how a foreign army might be brought into the kingdom, otherwiſe they judged the death of Elizabeth would ſignify nothing.

Mary's letter to Babington.
Camden.

A few days after, Babington received, by an unknown hand, a letter in cypher from the queen of Scots, blaming him for his ſilence, and deſiring him to ſend her the pacquet of letters come from Morgan, and delivered by the French ambaſſador's ſecretary. Babington returned an anſwer, and after excuſing his ſilence, by reaſon of his fear of Powlet's and Drury's great watchfulneſs, imparted to her the plot he had laid with Ballard. In a ſecond letter from Mary of the 27th of July, ſhe highly commended his zeal for the catholick religion, but adviſes him to attempt nothing till he was ſure of foreign aſſiſtance. Beſides this, ſhe preſcribed ſeveral things for executing the project, as to ſend privately for the earl of Weſtmoreland and the lord Paget[i]. She chalked out the way for her deliverance[k], and charged him to promiſe in her name a good reward to the ſix perſons.

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[g] Of Dethick in Derbyſhire. Ibid.

[h] Rapin ſays, Babington offered to be one of the ſix; which is a miſtake, for Babington tells queen Mary in his letter to her, that whilſt theſe ſix perſons were to commit the tragical execution (as he called it) he himſelf, with an hundred more, was at the ſame time to ſet her at liberty. Ibid.

Five others engage to kill the queen. Camden.

Mean while, Babington had gained ſome other perſons[l], among whom was Polly, Walſingham's ſpy, who by his means was daily informed of what paſſed among the conſpirators. He learnt from him, that the ſix who had engaged to aſſaſſinate the queen, were, Savage, Tilney, Charnock, Abington, Tichbourn, and Barnwel, and that they were all ſix drawn in one picture with Babington in the middle, and a certain motto obſcurely ſignifying their deſign[m]. Nay, he found means to ſhow this picture to the queen, who knew only Barnwel[n]. She retained however the idea of their faces ſo well, that walking abroad a little after, and ſeeing Barnwel, ſhe looked ſtedfaſtly on him, and then turning to the captain of the guard, ſaid, 'Am not I fairly guarded, that 'have not a man in my company that wears a ſword?'

Babington was ſo impatient to ſee the foreign ſuccours ready to depart for England, that he gave Ballard money, who had undertaken to go into France and haſten them. But as it was not eaſy to procure paſſports, Babington found means to be introduced to ſecretary Walſingham[o], who, knowing what he was, received him very civilly, and expreſſed a great value for him. Encouraged by this kind reception, he deſired a paſſport for himſelf and another for Ballard under a counterfeit name, and affirmed, that by means of his friends at Paris, he ſhould diſcover many ſecrets concerning the queen of Scots. Walſingham commended his zeal, and promiſed him a good reward, if he did the queen any conſiderable ſervice. He put him likewiſe in hopes of the paſſports he deſired.

Gifford diſcovers all to Walſingham. Camden.

Polly was not the only perſon from whom Walſingham learnt the ſecrets of the conſpiracy. Gilbert Gifford, who had been employed to corrupt Savage, being ſent into England to confirm the villain in his reſolution, ſerved at the ſame time to convey letters to the queen of Scots, and ſend back her anſwers. To make trial of his fidelity, ſeveral blank papers, made up like letters, were ſent at firſt, and as it was known by the anſwers that they were delivered, he was employed without ſcruple. Some time after, Gifford, whether ſtruck with remorſe, or allured with the hopes of reward, came to Walſingham, and informed him of all he knew. The ſecretary received him very kindly, and promiſed to uſe his intereſt for him with the queen, and procure him a good reward. Then inſtructing him how to behave, he ſent him to the place where the queen of Scots was kept, with a letter to ſir Amias Powlet, deſiring him to connive at the bearer's corrupting one of his ſervants to deliver letters to the queen of Scotland, and bring back her anſwers. But Powlet would not ſuffer any of his domeſticks to be concerned in ſuch an intrigue. He only hinted at a certain brewer, whom he thought fit for the purpoſe, and who indeed ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted. By this means, Gifford conveyed to the captive queen letters, whereof Walſingham had takes copies [p], and received her anſwers, which were ſerved in the ſame manner. At length, when the court was ſufficiently inſtructed, Ballard was apprehended, under colour, that being a popiſh prieſt, he had entered the kingdom without a licence. At this news, Babington was in the utmoſt conſternation. He recovered however out of his fright, as it did not appear, that Ballard was arreſted for the conſpiracy, and nothing was ſaid at court intimating the diſcovery of the plot. He reſolved therefore to try to ſave Ballard, and to that end repreſented to Walſingham, that he would be of great ſervice to him in France, to diſcover the ſecret practices of the queen of Scots, and intreated him for his releaſe. Walſingham laid the blame of Ballard's being arreſted upon the watchfulneſs of the ſpies, employed to diſcover the popiſh prieſts and jeſuits. He promiſed to endeavour to procure his releaſe, and fed him with hopes that the paſſports would be ready very ſoon. Mean while, he ſo managed that Babington was narrowly watched. In ſhort, Babington and all the reſt of the conſpirators were ſeized at the ſame time, and being ſeverally examined, impeached one another, and diſcovered the whole plot [q].

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[i] And to gain privately the earls of Northumberland and Arundel, and the latter's brothers to her party. Alſo, that the aſſociation amongſt them ſhould be entered into, upon pretence that they ſtood in fear of the puritans. There were likewiſe commotions to be raiſed in Ireland. *Ibid.*

[k] Either by overturning a cart in the gate, ſetting the ſtables on fire, or carrying her away, as ſhe rid abroad for diverſion in the fields, betwixt Chartley and Stafford. Camden, p. 516.

[l] Edward Windſor, Thomas Saliſbury of Denbighſhire, Charles Tilney, one of the gentlemen penſioners, Chidioc Tichbourne, Edward Abington, Robert Gage of Surrey, John Travers, and John Charnock of Lancaſhire, John Jones, Barnwel an Iriſhman, and Henry Dun. Ibid.

[m] The motto was, "Quorſum haec "alio properantibus?"

[n] Camden ſays, he had often come to her about the earl of Kildare's buſineſs. Camden, p. 516.

[o] By Polly. Camden.

who makes uſe of him to deliver Mary's letters, and bring back her anſwers.

The conſpirators are arreſted. July. Camden. Stow. Hollingſh.

It

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[p] Thomas Philips was his decypherer, and one Arthur Gregory opened and ſealed them again. Camden, p. 517.

[q] Walſingham had carried on matters himſelf as far as Ballard's taking up, without acquainting the reſt of the queen's council, and would have gone on, but the queen would not ſuffer him. Wherefore he ſent a note to his man Scudamore, whom he had ordered to watch

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It is very likely, as I ſaid, that queen Elizabeth's council had reſolved, on the firſt pretence, to put the queen of Scots to death. Her life continually endangered Elizabeth's, and of this there was but too much reaſon to be convinced by the late diſcoveries. So this opportunity was embraced. Great care was taken to hinder her being informed of the ſeizing of the conſpirators, and ſir Thomas Gorges an officer was ſent to acquaint her with it, who ſurpriſed her with the news, juſt as ſhe had taken horſe to ride a-hunting. She would have returned to her apartment, but was not permitted,[r] till ſuch time as all her papers were ſeized and ſent to court. Naue and Curle her ſecretaries, the one a Frenchman, the other a Scot, were apprehended at the ſame time, and without being ſuffered to ſpeak with her, conducted to London. But to have ſtill more convincing proofs againſt her, a method was uſed which ſucceeded according to expectation. Gifford having revealed, that he had delivered to the French ambaſſador ſeveral papers of moment concerning the queen of Scots, a falſe action, no way relating to the conſpiracy, was brought againſt him, for which he was baniſhed the realm. Before his departure, he waited on the ambaſſador, and acquainting him with the ſentence paſſed upon him, left a paper cut after a certain manner, and charged him to deliver the queen of Scots papers to him only that ſhould produce the counter-part. Which counter-part he gave to Walſingham, who by that means came at every thing the ambaſſador had in his hands[s].

Mary's papers are all ſeized, with her two ſecretaries. Camden.

Artifice to get Mary's papers from the French ambaſſador.

The court being thus ſufficiently informed of all the circumſtances of the plot, fourteen of the conſpirators were arraigned, who received ſentence of death, and confeſſed all[t].

The conſpirators are executed. Sept. 13, 15, ---20, 21. Camden. Stow. State Try.

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watch Babington, that he ſhould obſerve him more ſtrictly. The man read the note ſo, that Babington ſitting near him, read it along with him. Whereupon ſuſpecting all was diſcovered, he roſe from the table, as they were at ſupper in a tavern, and leaving his cloak and ſword behind him, went out of the room, as if he intended to pay the reckoning, and made all the haſte he could to Weſtminſter, and changing cloaths with Charnock, withdrew into St. John's wood with him and others, and lurking about for ten days, were at laſt diſcovered near Harrow on the Hill, hid in barns, and dreſſed like countrymen. Ibid.

[r] She was led from one gentleman's houſe to another in the neighbourhood. Camden, p. 518.

[s] Camden ſays, the ambaſſador was to deliver the letters from the queen or the fugitives, to the perſon who ſhould bring him the counter-part; but mentions no papers left in the ambaſſador's hands by Gifford, p. 518.

[t] On the 13th of September, ſeven were arraigned and condemned of high treaſon; and two days after, the other ſeven were ſentenced in like manner. The firſt ſeven were executed on the 20th, cut down, their privities cut off, and their bowels taken out whilſt alive. But on the morrow, the other ſeven, by the queen's order, hung till they were dead before they were cut down and bowelled. Camden, p. 518.

Care was taken, before their execution, to record all their confeſſions. Naue and Curle, Mary's ſecretaries, being examined, confeſſed they had writ in cypher the letters found in the queen their miſtreſs's cabinet[u], or intercepted by Gifford's means. Camden inſinuates here, that Curle was bribed by Walſingham with the promiſe of a reward, which he afterwards refuſed to perform. However, ſir Edward Wotton was ſent to the court of France with authentick copies, atteſted by ſeveral lords, of the queen of Scots letters, that he might ſhow them to the king. Probably, theſe letters diſcovered how far Mary was concerned in the plot, and her correſpondence with the king of Spain and the duke of Guiſe. p. 518.

The court is determined to try Mary. Camden.

At laſt, the reſolution being taken of trying and condemning queen Mary[w], as the prime cauſe of the dangers to which Elizabeth was continually expoſed, it was debated, on what ſtatute ſhe ſhould be proceeded againſt. But there was only one that could ſerve for that purpoſe, namely, the act paſſed the laſt year, which concerned her in particular. It was ſo uncommon a caſe to try a foreign queen, who was come unarmed into the kingdom to ſeek for refuge as a ſupplicant, that it would have been in vain to ſearch, in all the antient ſtatutes, after any thing to ſerve for ground to ſuch a proceeding. This gives occaſion to preſume, when the act was made the laſt year, the queen of Scots death was already determined, and this ſtatute was to ſerve for foundation to her ſentence. Some however pretend, the intent of the act was only to keep her in awe, and let her ſee what ſhe was to expect if ſhe continued her practices, and that it was her own fault if ſhe did not make a good uſe of the warning. Wherefore in virtue of the act, Elizabeth, by letters patents under the great ſeal, appointed forty-two commiſſioners, with whom ſhe joined five judges of the realm, to try the queen of Scots. Some days before, certain lords, as well privy-counſellors as others, fell on their knees, and beſought her to take pity on herſelf, the whole nation, and all their poſterity, by puniſhing the queen of Scots. It muſt be obſerved, that throughout this whole affair, Elizabeth always pretended to act with regret,

Commiſſioners are appointed. Melvil, p. 172.

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[u] There were found in it many letters from perſons beyond ſea, from ſeveral Engliſh noblemen, &c. and anſwers to them, with about ſixty tables of private cyphers and characters. Camden.

[w] Some hiſtorians ſay, that queen Elizabeth endeavoured to have her poiſoned by her cook, And that afterwards, the earl of Leiceſter adviſed to diſpatch her by poiſon, and privately ſent a divine to Walſingham to perſuade him to it. But Walſingham urged, that, beſides the injuſtice of the thing, it was both dangerous and diſhonourable to the queen. Martyre de Marie, p. 275. Camden, p. 519. Spotiſwood, p. 351.

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and from the neceſſity ſhe was under of ſaving her people, whom ſhe beheld in extreme danger. So, the proceeding of theſe lords agreed with her deſigns. The queen's commiſſion ran in this manner.

The queen's commiſſion. Camden.

‘ Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, queen, defender of the faith, &c. To the moſt reverend father in Chriſt, John archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate and metropolitan of all England, and one of our privy-council; and to our truſty and well-beloved ſir Thomas Bromley knight, chancellor of England, and &c. Greeting [x].

‘ Whereas by an act of parliament held in the 26th year of our reign, it was enacted that, &c.’

Here was inſerted the act mentioned under the laſt year.

‘ And whereas ſince the firſt day of June, in the ſeven and twentieth year of our reign, divers matters have been compaſſed and imagined, tending to the hurt of our royal perſon, as well by Mary daughter and heir of James V. king of Scotland, and commonly called queen of Scots, and dowager of France, pretending title to the crown of this realm of England, as by divers other perſons, with the privity of the ſame Mary, as we are given to underſtand: And whereas we do intend and determine that the act aforeſaid be in all and every part thereof duly and effectually executed, according to the tenour of the ſame, and that all offences abovesaid in the act abovesaid mentioned, as aforeſaid, and the circumſtances of the ſame be examined, and ſentence or judgment thereupon given, according to the tenour and effect of the ſaid act. To you, and the greater part of you, we do give full and abſolute power, faculty, and authority, according to the tenour of the ſaid act, to examine

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[x] The reſt of the commiſſioners were, the lord Burleigh, the marquis of Wincheſter, the earl of Oxford great chamberlain, the earl of Shrewſbury earl marſhal of England; the earl of Kent, the earl of Derby, the earl of Worceſter, the earl of Rutland, the earl of Warwick maſter of the ordnance; the earls of Pembroke, Leiceſter, and Lincoln; viſcount Montague; the lord Howard high-admiral of England; Hunſdon lord chamberlain; Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Cobham lord warden of the Cinque-Ports; Stafford, Grey of Wilton, Lumley, Stourton, Sandes, Wentworth, Mordant, St. John of Bletſho, Buckhurſt, Compton, Cheney; ſir Francis Knolles treaſurer of the houſhold, ſir James Crofts comptroller, ſir Chriſtopher Hatton vice-chamberlain, ſir Francis Walſingham and William Daviſon ſecretaries of ſtate, ſir Ralph Sadler chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaſter, ſir Walter Mildmay chancellor of the exchequer, ſir Amias Powlet captain of Jerſey, John Woolley, Eſq; ſecretary for the Latin tongue; ſir Chriſtopher Wray, ſir Edmund Anderſon, ſir Roger Manwood, ſir Thomas Gawdy, William Periam, judges. Camden, p. 519.

'all and ſingular matters compaſſed and imagined, tending to the hurt of our royal perſon, as well by the aforeſaid Mary, as by any other perſon or perſons whatſoever, with the privity of the ſame Mary, and all circumſtances of the ſame and all other offences aboveſaid, in the act aboveſaid, as aforeſaid, mentioned, and all circumſtances of the ſame, and of every of them; and thereupon, according to the tenour of the act aforeſaid, to give ſentence or judgment, as upon good proof of the matter ſhall appear to you. And therefore we do command you, that you at certain days and places which you or the greater part of you ſhall thereunto fore-appoint, diligently proceed upon the premiſſes in form aforeſaid, &c. [y].'

Remark on the judges.

It muſt be obſerved, that among the commiſſioners were the lord treaſurer Burleigh and ſecretary Walſingham, both Elizabeth's moſt truſty miniſters, known enemies of the queen of Scots, and probably authors and promoters of the reſolution to bring her to a trial. As it was hard to believe that Elizabeth had taken ſuch a reſolution without imparting it to her miniſters and council, and without her council's approbation, it ſhould ſeem ſhe ought not to have appointed her miniſters and privy-counſellors for Mary's judges. But on the other hand, as ſhe was willing to be ſure of the ſucceſs of the trial, ſhe had a mind doubtleſs that perſons of ſo great weight as miniſters and privy-counſellors ſhould be ready to turn the ſcale, in caſe of oppoſition from the other judges.

The commiſſion is notified to Mary.

Thirty-ſix of the commiſſioners meeting the 11th [z] of October at Fotheringhay caſtle in the county of Northampton, where the queen of Scots was then in cuſtody, ſent her queen Elizabeth's letter [a], which when ſhe had read, ſhe anſwered,

Her anſwer. Camden. State-Trials.

"She was ſorry the queen her ſiſter was miſinformed of her. That ſhe had ever thought the aſſociation and the ſubſequent act of parliament aimed wholly at her, and that ſhe ſhould bear the blame of whatever was contrived in foreign countries. That it was very ſtrange the queen of England ſhould conſider her as a ſubject, and command her to ſubmit to a trial. That ſhe was a ſovereign queen, and would do nothing prejudicial to royal majeſty, to herſelf,

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[y] Very great care was taken in drawing up this commiſſion, as the reader may ſee in Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 362, &c.

[z] Rapin, by miſtake, ſays the 9th. See Camden.

[a] Rapin ſays, by miſtake, the commiſſion was ſent to her. The letters were ſent next day to Mary, by ſir Walter Mildmay, Powlet, and Edward Barker publick notary, who were deputed by the commiſſioners. Camden, p. 520.

" or the king her ſon. That beſides, the laws and ſtatutes " of England were unknown to her, and who were her peers " ſhe could not tell. That ſhe was deſtitute of counſellors, and all her papers were taken from her. That ſhe " had ſtirred up no man againſt Elizabeth, nor committed " any crime. That ſhe was not to be charged but upon " her own words or writings, and ſhe was ſure nothing criminal could be produced againſt her, except the recommending her cauſe to foreign princes, which ſhe did not " pretend to deny."

She refuſes to anſwer.

On the morrow, the commiſſioners ſent her [b] a copy of her anſwer, and after it was read to her, ſhe ſaid, " It was rightly " taken, but ſhe had forgot one very material thing, namely, that it was ſaid in Elizabeth's letters [c], ſhe was ſubject to the laws of England, becauſe ſhe had long lived " under their protection, but all the world knew ſhe came " into England to crave the aſſiſtance of the queen her ſiſter, " and had been ever ſince detained in priſon; and therefore had not enjoyed the protection of the laws, nay, had " not been able to underſtand what manner of laws they " were."

Hatton perſuades her to plead. Camden.

In a word, ſhe diſputed two whole days the authority of the judges, and would not own that in any caſe Elizabeth had other juriſdiction over her than what was uſurped by force. Nay, ſhe perſiſted in it after ſhe was threatened to be ſentenced for non-appearance, as an abſent perſon. But at laſt Hatton, one of the commiſſioners, made a ſpeech to her which ſhook her reſolution. He told her, " that indeed ſhe " was accuſed, but not condemned: That if ſhe were innocent, ſhe injured her reputation extremely in avoiding a " trial: That the queen would be very glad nothing could " be proved againſt her, as he heard her ſay himſelf when " he took his leave of her [d]."

Had Mary been provided with council, ſhe would doubtleſs have been told that Hatton's ſpeech tended only to enſnare her, and engage her to anſwer that ſhe might be condemned by a peremptory ſentence. If ſhe had perſiſted in her refuſal, Elizabeth would have been perhaps greatly embaraſſed. Tho' ſhe was reſolved to put her to death, ſhe wiſhed how-

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[b] By ſir Amias Powlet and Barker. Camden.

[c] Rapin ſays again, by miſtake, in the commiſſion.

[d] To this the queen replied, That ſhe refuſed not to anſwer in full parliament, provided ſhe might be declared the next in ſucceſſion; yea, before the queen and her council, ſo as her proteſtation was admitted, and ſhe was acknowledged the next of kin to the queen; but to the judgment of her adverſaries ſhe would never ſubmit. Camden, p. 521.

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ever that the publick was convinced of the juſtice of the thing, in order to avoid part of the blame of ſo rigorous a proceeding. But a ſentence given upon non-appearance would not have produced this effect, ſince it could not be denied, that the refuſing to plead was founded upon very good reaſons. Mary ſtood out however till the 14th of October, when ſending for ſome of the commiſſioners, ſhe told them, Hatton's arguments had convinced her of the neceſſity to make her innocence appear. Adding, ſhe conſented therefore to anſwer before them, provided her proteſtation were admitted; to which the commiſſioners agreed, without approving however the reaſons on which it was grounded.

Continuation of Mary's trial. Camden.

Preſently after, the judges met in the hall of the caſtle, to the number of thirty-ſix, and the queen came to the ſame place [d]. When they were ſeated, the chancellor turning to Mary, ſaid, "She was accuſed of conſpiring the deſtruction "of the queen, the realm of England, and the proteſtant "religion, and they were commiſſioned to examine the truth "of the accuſation, and to hear her anſwer." The chancellor having done ſpeaking, the queen roſe up and ſaid, "That ſhe came into England to crave the aid which had "been promiſed her: That ſhe was a queen, and no ſub"ject of Elizabeth, and if ſhe appeared before them, it was "only to ſecure her honour and reputation." The chancellor would not own that any aid had been promiſed her. As to the proteſtation, he anſwered, "it was in vain, ſince the "law upon which the accuſation was grounded, allowed of "no diſtinction in the perſons of the tranſgreſſors, and there"fore it was not to be admitted." The court ordered however that the proteſtation ſhould be recorded, with the chancellor's anſwer.

This done, the attorney-general read to her aloud the commiſſion, with the act of parliament [e], and after an ac-

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[d] At the upper end of the room was placed a chair of ſtate for the queen of England, under a canopy of ſtate. Over againſt it, below, at ſome diſtance, near the beam that ran acroſs the room, ſtood a chair for the queen of Scots. By the walls on both ſides were placed benches, on which ſat the commiſſioners. Camden, p. 522.--- Thuanus obſerves, that ſome of theſe commiſſioners were papiſts --- Inter quos fuere nonnulli majorum religioni addicti --- l. 86.

[e] He read the commiſſion to her, in which the act was ſpecified. Whereupon ſhe boldly and reſolutely offered her proteſtation againſt the ſaid act, as made directly and purpoſely againſt her. But upon the lord treaſurer's ſaying, Every perſon in the kingdom was bound by the laws, though never ſo lately made; and that the commiſſioners were reſolved to proceed according to that law, what proteſtations ſoever ſhe interpoſed, ſhe anſwered at length, 'That ſhe was 'ready to hear and anſwer touching any 'fact whatſoever committed againſt the 'queen of England.' Camden, p. 522.

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count of Babington's plot, concluded that Mary had broken the act, becauſe ſhe knew of the conſpiracy, and even ſhowed the ways and means to effect it. She anſwered, "She knew "not Babington, or ever received any letters from him, or "wrote any to him. She never plotted the queen's deſtruc-"tion, and to prove any ſuch thing, letters under her own "hand ought to be produced, which was impoſſible. She "knew not Ballard, nor ever heard of him; and, in a "word, being a priſoner, ſhe could not hinder the plots of "others."

Whereupon the copies of Babington's letters to her were read, containing all the circumſtances of the conſpiracy [f]. It ſhould ſeem, ſince her papers were ſeized, Babington's original letters might have been produced. But as probably ſhe had burnt them, only the copies could be uſed, which Walſingham took when he had the originals in his hands. To this Mary anſwered, "Babington might poſſibly write theſe "letters, and therefore the point was not to know whether "he writ them or not, but whether ſhe received them." To prove this, there was read Babington's confeſſion before his execution, wherein he ſaid, he had ſent ſeveral letters to the queen of Scots and received ſeveral from her. After that, were read the copies of certain letters in cypher from Mary to Babington, which he had received, where mention was made of the earls of Arundel and Northumberland. Then the queen with tears in her eyes, ſaid aloud, 'Alas! what has the noble 'houſe of the Howards endured for my ſake!' She added, "That Babington might write what he pleaſed: That as for "her own letters in cypher, which were produced, ſhe knew "nothing of them, and it was very eaſy for her enemies to get "her cyphers, and write forged letters in her name: That "in ſhort, the letters were not her hand-writing; and be-"ſides it was not likely, that to execute the deſign ſhe was "charged with, ſhe ſhould employ the earl of Arundel, who "was priſoner in the Tower, or the earl of Northumberland, "who was very young, and to her entirely unknown."

There were alſo read Savage's and Ballard's confeſſions, which ran, That Babington communicated to them ſeveral letters which he had received from the queen of Scots. To this ſhe anſwered with a proteſtation, that Babington never received any from her.

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[f] What ſhe ſaid to this, was, That there had paſſed letters betwixt her and many men, yet it could not thence be inferred, that ſhe was privy to all their wicked deſigns. Camden.

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Before I proceed, I ſhall here make two or three ſhort remarks. Firſt, it is ſurpriſing that Babington, Savage, and Ballard ſhould be executed before the queen of Scots trial, ſince their teſtimony was uſed againſt her. In the next place, hitherto the whole evidence conſiſted only in Babington's confeſſion, that he had received letters from the queen of Scots; but as he was dead, it could not be proved that theſe were the ſame letters that were read, which too were only copies of letters decyphered. My third remark is, that tho' Mary proteſted ſhe never received any letters from Babington, nor writ any to him, Camden muſt have been ſatisfied of the contrary, ſince in his account of the conſpiracy, he ſpeaks of a correſpondence by letters between Mary and Babington as a thing certain. This is farther confirmed by a little book, entitled, The Hiſtory of the Martyrdom of the Queen of Scots, printed at Paris in 1589, where the author, though a great friend of queen Mary, does not deny that ſhe held a correſpondence with Babington [g].

Jebb's Col. t. ii. p. 282, 285.

After this were produced ſeveral letters in cypher from the queen of Scots, wherein ſhe approved of the conſpiracy. Theſe were probably the letters Walſingham intercepted by Gifford's means, or thoſe he artfully drew out of the hands of the French ambaſſador. The queen anſwered, She writ not thoſe letters; and probably they were forged by her alphabet of cyphers in France, and accuſed Walſingham of doing it, who ſo cleared himſelf as ſhe ſeemed ſatisfied with his anſwer [h]. But

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[g] Thuanus alſo affirms, that Babington and Ballard confeſſed, and their intercepted letters confirmed the ſame, that Mary was informed of the conſpiracy, and the deſign of deſtroying queen Elizabeth was undertaken for her ſake, and upon her account --- Qui ſeorſim interrogati, ac poſt confeſſiones inter ſe commiſſi, atque ex epiſtolis interceptis poſtremo convicti, in eo conveniebant, ut Mariam facti non ignaram, atque ejus cauſſa conjurationem ſuſceptam ad Eliſabetham è medio tollendam dicerent, l. 86. And the continuator of Hollingſhead ſays, that the conſpirators owned the Scottiſh queen to be the principal comforter, director, and embracer of theſe treaſons, p. 1578.

[h] Upon her charging Walſingham with forging the letters, he roſe up, and proteſting that his heart was free from all malice, ſaid, 'I call God to witneſs 'that, as a private perſon, I have done 'nothing unbecoming an honeſt man; 'neither in my publick condition and 'quality have I done any thing unworthy of my place. I confeſs that, out 'of my great care for the ſafety of the 'queen and realm, I have diligently endeavoured to ſearch and ſift out all 'plots and deſigns againſt the ſame. If 'Ballard had offered me his aſſiſtance, 'I ſhould not have refuſed it, yea, I 'ſhould have rewarded him for his pains 'and ſervice. If I have tampered any 'thing with him, why did he not diſcover it to ſave his life?' With this anſwer (ſhe ſaid) ſhe was ſatisfied; and prayed him not to be angry that ſhe had ſpoken ſo freely what ſhe had heard reported; and that he would give no more credit to thoſe that ſlandered her, than ſhe did to ſuch as accuſed him. Spies, (ſhe ſaid) were men of little credit; and deſired he would not in the leaſt believe, that ever ſhe had conſented to queen Elizabeth's deſtruction. Camden, p. 523.

to

Eliz. 1586. to prove that ſhe writ them, the confeſſions of Naue and Curle her ſecretaries were produced, who owned they writ them by her order.

This is all that paſſed in the firſt ſeſſion the 14th of October. In the afternoon were read the copies of the letters received by Mary, concerning the conference at Paris between Ballard, Paget, and Mendoza, for invading England; and it was proved by the teſtimony of Curle her ſecretary, that ſhe had received them. She anſwered, This did not prove her intention to kill the queen. It is proper to obſerve here, ſhe was accuſed of three things, of conſpiring the queen's death; of procuring England to be invaded; and of contriving the deſtruction of the proteſtant religion. She conſidered the firſt as the principal, to which ſhe was very ready to anſwer, well knowing ſhe could not without great injuſtice be condemned for the other two. In anſwer to the proof taken from the teſtimony of her ſecretaries, ſhe ſaid, "She believed "Curle the Scot to be an honeſt man [1], but had not the ſame "opinion of Naue the Frenchman, who might poſſibly be "corrupted: beſides, he abuſed Curle's eaſineſs in ſuch a "manner, that he made him write what he pleaſed. In a "word, her ſecretaries might inſert in her letters things which "ſhe never dictated; and therefore, ſhe ought to be convicted only by her own hand-writing, and not by that of "her ſecretaries, who would aſſuredly clear her if they were "preſent."

Remark on the proceedings. It cannot be denied that this proceeding was very irregular; firſt, becauſe three men had been put to death, on whoſe evidence it was pretended to convict the queen; ſecondly, as her ſecretaries, who were alive, were never brought face to face, tho' their teſtimony was uſed. This was the more ſtrange, as by an act of parliament paſſed in the 13th year of this very reign, it was expreſsly ordained that the witneſſes ſhould be confronted with the parties accuſed.

Upon this account doubtleſs it was, that the lord treaſurer Burleigh, perceiving the embaraſſment occaſioned by the queen's anſwer grounded on the laws of England, thought proper to proceed to other matters. He charged her therefore with having intentions to ſend the king her ſon into Spain, and reſign to Philip II. her right to the kingdom of England. It is eaſy to perceive the firſt of theſe accuſations was very foreign to the purpoſe, ſince the affairs of Scotland were not in diſpute. Accordingly ſhe made no anſwer to it. As to the ſecond, ſhe only ſaid, "That by her birth ſhe was preſumptive heir to queen Elizabeth, and it was lawful to convey her right to whom ſhe pleaſed; but that all this amounted not to any proof of her having conſented to the project of killing the queen."

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[1] But no competent witneſs. Camden.

It being objected to her, that ſhe had ſent an alphabet of cyphers to ſome Roman catholicks, as Curle had teſtified, ſhe denied it not, and briefly anſwered, "It was not unlawful to hold correſpondence and negotiate her concerns with men of her religion." But theſe objections ſerved only to divert them from the main point, ſince none of theſe things were contained in the accuſation. At laſt, ſhe was again urged with the teſtimonies of her ſecretaries, to which ſhe made the ſame anſwer as before, proteſting ſhe knew neither Babington nor Ballard. 'But (ſaid the lord treaſurer) you know Morgan very well, who ſent Parry over to kill the queen, and have aſſigned him a penſion.' To this ſhe anſwered, "She was ignorant of what Morgan had done, but knew that he had loſt all for her ſake, and ſhe might as well give him a penſion, as Elizabeth give one to Patrick Gray and the king himſelf."

Then they proceeded to the other two articles of the impeachment, concerning the invaſion of the kingdom and the deſtruction of the proteſtant religion; and to prove that Mary was concerned in theſe plots, the letters were read which ſhe writ to Mendoza, Inglefield, and the lord Paget. She anſwered, "That theſe things did not prove ſhe had any hand in the conſpiracy againſt the queen's life: That ſhe had nothing to ſay to the reſt, and had often declared to the queen herſelf, ſhe would try all methods to procure her own liberty." In this manner paſſed the ſecond ſeſſion.

The next day the court being met, Mary repeated her proteſtation againſt the authority of her judges, and required it to be recorded, and a copy delivered to her. She complained, "That all her offers for an accommodation were rejected [k], and herſelf moſt unworthily dealt with, whilſt all her letters were publickly read, in which were many things no way relating to the impeachment." To this the lord treaſurer replied, 'That he was going to anſwer her in a double capacity, as commiſſioner and as privy-counſellor. As commiſſioner, he told her, her proteſtation was recorded, and a copy thereof ſhould be delivered her. As to their authority, it was grounded on the power conferred on them

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[k] Even though ſhe promiſed to deliver her ſon, and the duke of Guiſe's ſons in hoſtage. Camden, p. 524.

'by letters patents under the queen's own hand and the great 'ſeal. That for the peruſing her letters, which ſhe complained of, it was neceſſary to read them whole and entire, 'becauſe they contained things, which by their circumſtances 'were ſo interwoven that there was no ſeparating them.' Here ſhe interrupted him, and ſaid, "Though the circumſtances were proved, it would ſignify nothing if the principal fact was not: That her integrity depended not upon "the credit of her ſecretaries, ſince they might very poſſibly "be corrupted: That theſe letters having no ſuperſcription "might be directed to others, and many things inſerted without her knowledge; but if ſhe had her papers, ſhe could "the more eaſily vindicate herſelf." The lord treaſurer anſwered, 'Nothing ſhould be objected but what paſſed ſince 'the 19th of June laſt, concerning which her memory could 'furniſh her with what ſhe thought requiſite for her defence: 'That her papers would be of no ſervice to her, ſince Babington and her ſecretaries, without being put to the rack, 'had owned theſe letters came from her: That it was left 'to the commiſſioners to judge whether more credit were to 'be given to her bare negation than to their affirmation.' He added, as a privy-counſellor, 'That it was true ſhe had 'made ſeveral eſſays to procure her liberty; and if they 'proved fruitleſs, it was owing to herſelf and the Scots: That 'the lords of Scotland had refuſed to give the king in hoſtage; and when the laſt treaty was holden concerning her 'releaſe, Morgan her vaſſal ſent Parry into England to kill 'the queen.' Mary eaſily perceived the venom of theſe words, whereby, under colour of juſtifying the council, the lord treaſurer would have inſinuated to the other commiſſioners, that ſhe was concerned in Parry's plots. Wherefore upon hearing him ſay this, "Ah! (ſaid ſhe) you are my "adverſary." 'Yes (ſaid he) I am adverſary to all queen 'Elizabeth's enemies.'

Now were read again her letters to Charles Paget, wherein ſhe told him, there was no other way for the king of Spain to reduce the rebellious Netherlanders, but by ſetting a catholick on the throne of England. There was read likewiſe the copy of cardinal Allen's letter to her, wherein he called her his Moſt dread ſovereign lady, and told her, the buſineſs was recommended to the prince of Parma's care. She anſwered, ſtill adhering to the firſt article of the impeachment, "That Babington and her ſecretaries had accuſed her to ſave "themſelves: That ſhe had never heard of the ſix murderers; and all the reſt was of no ſervice to prove the princi-

" pal crime ſhe was accuſed of: That ſhe held Allen for a " reverend prelate, and acknowledged the pope for the true " head of the church; neither could ſhe hinder foreigners " from giving her what titles they pleaſed: That as for her " ſecretaries, ſhe was willing to add to what ſhe had al" ready ſaid of them, that they deſerved no credit; for as they " had ſworn ſecrecy to her, they could be deemed no other " than perjured perſons, when they gave in their evidence " againſt her: That Naue had often writ otherwiſe than ſhe " dictated, and Curle, whatever Naue bid him: That they " had poſſibly confeſſed ſeveral falſhoods to ſave their lives, " imagining that her royalty would ſcreen her from puniſh" ment: That ſhe had never heard of any ſuch man as " Ballard, but of one Hallard, who had offered her his ſer" vice, which however ſhe refuſed, becauſe ſhe knew him " to be one of Walſingham's ſpies." It muſt be confeſſed, Mary was afforded great advantage in not confronting the witneſſes, though it be a neceſſary formality in criminal trials.

Laſtly were read ſome particular paſſages out of Mary's letters to Mendoza, wherein mention was made of her deſign to convey to the Spaniard her right to the crown of England. To this ſhe anſwered, " That ſhe being cloſe priſoner and " in a declining condition, it ſeemed good to her friends, " that the ſucceſſion to the crown of England ſhould be ſet" tled upon the king of Spain, or ſome Engliſh catholick; " and that a book was ſent her to juſtify the Spaniard's title, " which ſhe would not read; but deſpairing to recover her " liberty by any other means, ſhe had reſolved not to refuſe " foreign aſſiſtance." When ſhe had done ſpeaking, the lord treaſurer aſked her, if ſhe had any more to ſay in her defence [l]. To which ſhe anſwered, " That ſhe required to be " heard in full parliament, or before the queen and council [m]." Then the court adjourned till the 25th of October, to the Star-chamber at Weſtminſter.

Remark on Camden's recital.

This is Camden's account of the queen of Scots trial at Fotheringhay. As there are no better Memoirs, we are forced as it were to ſuppoſe what he ſays to be true. There is however but too much cauſe to ſuſpect he has curtailed or altered

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[l] Before Burleigh aſked her this, the ſollicitor put the commiſſioners in mind, what would become of them, their honours, eſtates, and poſterities, if the kingdom were aſſigned to the Spaniard. But the lord treaſurer ſhowed, the kingdom of England could not be conveyed at all, but was to deſcend by right of ſucceſſion, according to the laws; and then aſked the queen if ſhe had any more to ſay. Camden, p. 525.

[m] Upon which ſhe roſe up, and had ſome conference with the lord treaſurer, Hatton, Walſingham, and the earl of Warwick, apart by themſelves. Camden, p. 525.

Eliz. 1586. in ſeveral places, what he pretends to take from the Regiſter's Memoirs. For inſtance, it may eaſily be remarked in this narrative, that whatever is objected to the queen of Scots, is indeterminate and general, without deſcending to particulars. Of all the letters that were read for her conviction, he cites not one extract; ſo that ſhe ſeems to have been accuſed of holding a correſpondence by letters with Babington, and other of Elizabeth's enemies, rather than of engaging in a ſettled plot to kill the queen, though this was the principal point. In a word, this hiſtorian's partiality for the queen of Scots on other occaſions, gives reaſon to think, he did not forget himſelf in this capital article, but uſed all his art to render doubtful the fact ſhe was accuſed of. However, as this is only a conjecture, I do not pretend to inſiſt upon it [n]: I ſhall content myſelf, in order to clear the affair, with making ſome obſervations on this famous trial.

Reflections on the trial. It is hardly to be queſtioned that Mary's death was determined, when Elizabeth and her council reſolved to have her tried by commiſſioners. But it muſt not be imagined, their intention was to puniſh her for attempting the life of Elizabeth. If that had been all, they would never have proceeded to extremities, but would doubtleſs have been ſatisfied with putting it out of her power to contrive any ſuch plots for the future, which would have been eaſy, by confining her more cloſely. But it was not ſo eaſy to hinder the pope, the king of Spain, the houſe of Guiſe, the Engliſh catholicks, the Iriſh, the Scotiſh malecontents, from conſidering her as a princeſs to whom of right belonged the two crowns of England and Scotland, and from uſing their continual endeavours to reſtore her to the throne of Scotland, and place her on that of England, even in Elizabeth's life-time. Though ſhe had been ſo cloſely confined, that ſhe could not herſelf have been concerned in theſe plots, it would not have prevented her friends from acting in her favour. Nothing therefore but her death could break their meaſures, and put an end to the plots which were daily framing on her account. So, it might with truth be ſaid, that as Elizabeth's death was Mary's life, ſo Mary's death alone could preſerve Elizabeth, and with her, liberty and the proteſtant religion in England. But as it was not likely Mary, who was the younger, ſhould die firſt by a natural death, recourſe was to be had to violence, that the queen and the realm might be freed from their imminent danger. The ſhare Mary had in Babington's conſpiracy, and which probably was greater than what Camden intimates, was not therefore the cauſe of her condemnation, but the pretence uſed to be rid of a queen, on whoſe life Elizabeth's adverſaries built all their hopes. It was therefore Mary's own friends that occaſioned her misfortune by ſerving her too zealouſly, or rather by making her their inſtrument to execute their grand projects againſt the proteſtant religion. The pope flattered himſelf with reſtoring, by her means, the catholick religion in England; and the Engliſh catholicks looked upon her as the only perſon that could free them from the intolerable yoke of a proteſtant government. Philip II. ſaw no other way to ſubdue the Netherlanders. In ſhort, the houſe of Guiſe, whoſe ambitious projects are well known, thought to find in her an infallible means to cruſh the Huguenots of France, who ſupported the title of the lawful heir to the crown of that kingdom. Mary herſelf gave too much countenance to all theſe plots. She was ſo imprudent, as, being a priſoner, inceſſantly to confound two things, which could well be diſtinguiſhed and ſeparated; I mean, her liberty, and her title to the crown of England. She thereby gave Elizabeth occaſion to confound them too, and to ruin her, in order to preſerve her own life and crown.

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[n] This conjecture is however grounded upon the difference between Camden's account, and that of Thuanus, lib. 86, tom. iii. p. 156 and 162. Rapin.

Theſe were the real motives of Mary's condemnation. If we conſider them politically, they may be ſaid to be good and neceſſary; but it happens very frequently that policy is repugnant to juſtice and equity. Upon this condemnation it is that Elizabeth's enemies have triumphed, and indeed it is a very fit ſubject for rhetorick. But if it is conſidered who they were that exclaimed the loudeſt againſt Elizabeth, they will be found to be the very perſons who would have murdered her to ſet Mary on the throne of England. Had they ſucceeded in their deſign, would their deed have been more juſt or more agreeable to the precepts of the chriſtian religion? Doubtleſs it would, were the thing to be tried by the principles of the adverſaries to Elizabeth and her religion. But if it were allowed by the laws of religion, juſtice, and equity, to take away the life of Elizabeth, in order to ſet Mary on the throne, and reſtore the catholick religion in England, was it leſs allowable for the Engliſh to put Mary to death, in order to preſerve their queen and religion from the deſtruction they were continually threatened with? Let us ſay rather, theſe maxims are equally blameable and repugnant to the rules of the Goſpel, to whatever party they are applied.

Having ſeen the real motives of queen Mary's condemnation, there is no great cauſe to wonder at the irregularities to be obſerved in her trial. The point was not ſo much to puniſh her for her part in the plot, as to ſatisfy the publick ſhe was concerned in it, that her condemnation might be thought the leſs ſtrange, or rather abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety of England. The queen and the council believed to have ſufficient evidence, that Mary was acquainted with the conſpiracy, had conſented to it, and promoted the execution to the utmoſt of her power. This ſufficed for their deſign. They knew the people would eaſily excuſe ſome irregularities in an affair where their own preſervation was concerned.

Since therefore Mary's condemnation can be conſidered only as the effect of Elizabeth's policy, it is in vain that the following queries are put concerning her trial. 1. What authority had Elizabeth over her? 2. Whether Mary could be conſidered as ſubject to the laws of England, under colour that ſhe had lived there eighteen years, being a priſoner? 3. Whether it could be ſaid, ſhe had enjoyed during that time the protection of the laws, and be thence inferred that ſhe ought to be liable to them? 4. Whether, even upon ſuch a ſuppoſition, ſhe had enjoyed in her trial the benefit of the laws of England? 5. Whether ſhe were tried by her peers according to the conſtant and immutable privilege of the Engliſh? 6. Who could be her peers? 7. Whether Elizabeth's commiſſion was according to law? 8. Whether the formalities requiſite in a trial of this nature were obſerved? 9. Whether ſhe can be ſaid to have been legally convicted by the teſtimony of perſons that were dead, and whom it lay in Elizabeth's breaſt to keep alive and bring face to face? 10. Whether the evidence of her ſecretaries, who were ſtill alive, could be deemed valid without being confronted, contrary to expreſs acts of parliament? 11. Whether a captive queen's conſent to the invaſion of a kingdom, where ſhe is unjuſtly detained, is a crime worthy of death? 12. Whether the letters in cypher, writ by her ſecretaries, were a ſufficient proof that the whole contents were dictated by her? 13. Laſtly, ſuppoſing ſhe had given a full and entire conſent to the plot, whether the manner of her being detained in England, her long confinement, the loſs of her kingdom procured partly by Elizabeth's ſecret practices, did not merit, that her crime ſhould be reckoned of a different nature from that of a ſubject who conſpires againſt his ſovereign? I do not think it poſſible to vindicate Elizabeth upon each of theſe queries. We muſt therefore keep to the neceſſity ſhe was under of deſtroying Mary to ſave herſelf, and juſtify her by the natural law of ſelf-preſervation, the only one which can be pleaded in her favour [o].

Sentence pronounced againſt Mary.

The commiſſioners being aſſembled [p] in the Star-chamber at Weſtminſter the 25th of October, ſent for Naue and Curle, who confirmed upon oath their former evidence, after which ſentence was pronounced. It ran in general, that Mary had broken the ſtatute paſſed the laſt year. This is all that was divulged. It is not known whether the commiſſioners expreſly condemned the queen of Scots to die, or whether, after their judgment of the fact, they left it to the laws and the queen to decide what puniſhment the crime deſerved. What follows is all that was publiſhed afterwards by the queen's order. 'That ſince the firſt day of June, in the 27th year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, divers matters have been compaſſed and imagined within this realm of England, by Anthony Babington and others, with the privity of the ſaid Mary, tending to the hurt, death and deſtruction of our ſaid lady the queen. And alſo, that ſince the foreſaid day, the ſaid Mary pretending a title to the crown of this realm, has compaſſed and imagined, within this realm, divers matters tending to the deſtruction of the royal perſon of our ſovereign lady the queen, contrary to the tenor of the ſtatute in the commiſſion aforeſaid ſpecified.'

It is eaſy to perceive by this very extract, that the ſentence muſt have been longer and fuller, as may be judged by the terms of the 'ſaid Mary,' which ſhow that ſhe was mentioned before. But the queen thought not proper to publiſh more of it. The author of the book entitled, 'The Hiſtory of the Martyrdom of Mary Stuart,' ſays, ſo great care was taken to conceal the ſentence, that he could never poſſibly recover a copy of it, notwithſtanding all his pains. 'Without doubt (continues he) there were myſteries in it which were not to be divulged.'

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[o] This is indeed the beſt, and the only excuſe that can be alledged in vindication of queen Elizabeth. Accordingly, Dr. Welwood obſerves, "That when every day produced ſome new conſpiracy againſt the life of queen Elizabeth, and that in moſt of them the queen of Scots was concerned, either as a party, or the occaſion, queen Elizabeth was put under a fatal neceſſity of either taking off the queen of Scots, or expoſing her own perſon to the frequent attempts of her enemies." Memoirs, p. 13. Du Maurier alſo expreſly ſays, That queen Mary was the cauſe of her own ruin, by her reſtleſs temper, and her repeated deſigns againſt queen Elizabeth's life. Preface to his Memoirs. For queen Mary's friends would never ſuffer her to be quiet, but were eternally plotting and contriving, bribing and conſpiring, how to murder queen Elizabeth, and ſet up the queen of Scots in her ſtead, to reſtore their beloved popery here in England. Bohun's Character of queen Elizabeth, p. 129.

[p] The earls of Shrewſbury and Warwick were abſent, being then ſick. Camden, p. 525.

Declaration of the judges in favour of the king of Scotland. Camden.

The ſame day the ſentence was pronounced, the judges declared, it did nothing derogate from the king of Scotland; that is, his title to the crown of England did ſtill remain intire. But was it their buſineſs to give ſuch a determination concerning the ſucceſſion, when they were not impowered by their commiſſion? It is viſible, they acted by the queen's direction, who was willing by this means to pacify the king of Scotland. Otherwiſe, the judges would not have taken upon them to make ſuch a declaration, which was beyond their power.

The parliament confirms the ſentence, D'ewes, p. 375, &c. and petition the queen to put it in execution. Novemb. 12. Camden. D'ewes, p. 380.

The parliament meeting four days after [q], on the 29th of October, approved and confirmed the ſentence given againſt the queen of Scots. But whether this was without a perfect knowledge or upon a diligent inquiry, it is hard to know, though afterwards Elizabeth pretended it was not till after a long and ſerious examination [r]. However, the parliament having confirmed the ſentence, preſented a petition to the queen, beſeeching her to order it to be put in execution. The petition contained reaſons taken not from the heinouſneſs of the crime, but the danger to which Elizabeth and the realm would be expoſed, if the queen of Scots were ſuffered to live [s]. The queen returned to the petition an anſwer, the intent whereof was to ſhow the parliament ſhe was extremely troubled and irreſolute. She had a mind to inſinuate, ſhe was inclined to mercy, but that her affection for her people extremely embarraſſed her. It was eaſy to conclude from this ſpeech, ſhe deſired to be preſſed, that ſhe might not ſeem to act from a motive of revenge. Here follows the anſwer, which perfectly diſcovers Elizabeth's character.

The queen's anſwer. State Trials, vol. i. p. 149. Hollingſh. p. 1582.

‘SO many and ſo great are the bottomleſs graces and immeaſurable benefits beſtowed upon me by the Almighty, that I muſt not only moſt humbly acknowledge them as benefits, but admire them as miracles, being in no ſort able to expreſs them. And though there liveth not any, that may more juſtly acknowledge himſelf bound to God than I, whoſe life he hath miraculouſly preſerved from ſo many dangers; yet am I not more deeply bound to give him thanks for any one thing, than for this which I will now tell you, and which I account as a miracle, namely, That as I came to the crown with the moſt hearty good will of all my ſubjects, ſo now after a twenty-eight years reign, I perceive in them the ſame, if not greater good will towards me; which if once I loſe, well might I breathe, but never think I lived. And now though my life hath been dangerouſly ſhot at, yet I proteſt there is nothing hath more grieved me, that that one not differing from me in ſex, of like rank and degree, of the ſame ſtock, and moſt nearly allied unto me in blood, hath fallen into ſo great a crime. And ſo far have I been from bearing her any ill will, that upon the diſcovery of certain treaſonable practices againſt me, I wrote unto her ſecretly, that if ſhe would confeſs them by a private letter unto myſelf, they ſhould be wrapped up in ſilence. Neither did I write thus in mind to intrap her, for I knew then as much as ſhe could confeſs. And even yet, though the matter be come thus far, if ſhe would truly repent, and no man would undertake her cauſe againſt me, and if my life alone depended hereupon, and not the ſafety and welfare of my whole people, I would (I proteſt unfeignedly) moſt willingly pardon her. Nay, if England might by my death obtain a more flouriſhing eſtate, and a better prince, I would moſt gladly lay down my life. For, for your ſakes it is, and for my people's, that I deſire to live. As for me, I ſee no ſuch great cauſe why I ſhould either be fond to live, or fear to die. I have had good experience of this world; and I know what it is to be a ſubject, and what to be a ſovereign. Good neighbours I have had, and I have met with bad; and in truſt I have found treaſon. I have beſtowed benefits upon ill-deſervers: and where I have done well, have been ill requited. While I call to mind theſe things paſt, behold things preſent, and expect things to come; I hold them happieſt that go hence ſooneſt. Nevertheleſs, againſt ſuch miſchiefs as theſe, I put on a better courage than is common to my ſex; ſo as whatſoever befal me, death ſhall not take me unprepared.

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[q] The laſt parliament was diſſolved September 15, this year; ſo that the preſent parliament was called upon the diſcovery of the plot, and in order to take the buſineſs of the queen of Scots into conſideration. See D'ewes, p. 374, 375, 377.

[r] In the Journals of the Houſe of Lords it is ſaid, that the committees of both houſes, "upon hearing the ſentence, and divers of the ſpecial evidences and proofs whereupon the ſentence was grounded, openly read unto them, after long deliberation and conſultation had betwixt them, both publickly and privately, they all with one aſſent allowed the ſame ſentence to be juſt, true, and honourable." D'ewes, p. 379.

[s] See the petition in D'ewes's Journal, p. 380; and in the Appendix to Elizabeth's reign, p. (667) of the ſecond volume of the Complete Hiſtory.

‘And as touching theſe treaſons, I will not ſo prejudicate myſelf or the laws of my kingdom, as not but to think that ſhe, having been the contriver of the ſame treaſons, was bound and liable to the ancient laws, though the late act had never been made. So far was it from being made to ‘intrap her, that it was rather intended to forewarn and terrify her from attempting any thing againſt it. But ſeeing it was now in force of a law, I thought good to proceed againſt her according to the ſame. But you lawyers are ſo curious in ſcanning the nice points of the law, and following of precedents and form, rather than expounding the laws themſelves, that by exact obſerving of your form, ſhe muſt have been indicted in Staffordſhire, and have holden up her hand at the bar, and have been tried by a jury of twelve men. A proper courſe, forſooth, of tryal againſt a princeſs! To avoid therefore ſuch abſurdities, I thought it better to refer the examination of ſo weighty a cauſe to a good number of the nobleſt perſonages of the land, and the judges of the realm: and all little enough. For we princes are ſet as it were upon ſtages in the ſight and view of all the world; the leaſt ſpot is ſoon ſpied in our garments, a blemiſh quickly noted in our doings. It behoveth us therefore to be careful that our proceedings be juſt and honourable. But I muſt tell you one thing, that by this laſt act of parliament, you have brought me to a narrow ſtraight, that I muſt give order for her death, which is a princeſs moſt nearly allied unto me in blood, and whoſe practices againſt me have ſtricken me into ſo great grief, that I have been glad to abſent myſelf from this parliament[†], leſt I ſhould increaſe my ſorrow, by hearing it ſpoken of; and not out of fear of any danger, as ſome think. But yet I will now tell you a ſecret, (though it is well known that I have the property to keep counſel) it is not long ſince theſe eyes of mine ſaw and read an oath, wherein ſome bound themſelves to kill me within a month. Hereby I ſee your danger in me, which I will be very careful to avoid.

‘Your aſſociation for my ſafety I have not forgotten, which I never ſo much as thought of, till a great number of hands, with many obligations, were ſhowed me. Which as I do acknowledge as a ſtrong argument of your true hearts and great zeal to my ſafety, ſo ſhall my bond be ſtronger tied to a great care for your good. But foraſmuch as this matter now in hand is very rare, and of greateſt conſequence, I hope you do not look for any preſent reſolution; for my manner is, in matters of leſs moment than this, to deliberate long upon that which is once to be reſolved. In the mean time, I beſeech Almighty God to illu-

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[†] The queen came not to the parliament the firſt day of the ſeſſion, but granted a commiſſion to John archbiſhop of Canterbury, William lord Burleigh, and Henry earl of Derby, to ſupply her place. See D'ewes, p. 375, 377.

‘ minate my mind, that I may foreſee that which may ſerve
‘ for the good of his church, the proſperity of the common-
‘ wealth, and your ſafety. And that delay may not breed
‘ danger, we will ſignify our reſolution with all conveniency.
‘ And whatever the beſt ſubjects may expect at the hands of
‘ the beſt princeſs, that expect from me to be performed to
‘ the full.’

Remark on the queen's ſpeech.

It is not very difficult to perceive in this ſpeech, notwithſtanding her affected obſcurity, the double view Elizabeth propoſed to herſelf. One was to make the publick believe, ſhe could not, without extreme concern, reſolve to put the queen of Scots to death: the other, to inſinuate to the parliament, that there was a neceſſity of diſpatching queen Mary, or reſolving to loſe the beſt of queens, who was very ready to lay down her life for the good of her ſubjects. She dwelt chiefly upon her tenderneſs for her people, that they might fear to be deprived of ſo gracious a queen, and earneſtly require the death of her adverſary. But leſt the parliament's affection for her ſhould not be ſufficiently ſtrong, ſhe took care to hint ſeveral times, that their own ſafety depended on her preſervation. She ſaid, if her welfare only were at ſtake, ſhe would readily pardon, ſince ſhe was not fond of life; but that it was ſolely the danger of the ſtate which made her uneaſy. Was not this very plainly ſaying, the death of the queen of Scots was neceſſary for the ſafety of the realm? She would have it believed, ſhe was inclined to favour Mary, but alledged no reaſon for her. On the contrary, ſhe uſed the arguments of ſex and kindred to aggravate her crime, and clearly ſet forth the reaſons which might determine her to conſent to her death. She magnified the care ſhe had taken, not to ſuffer her dignity to be debaſed by trying her like a common perſon. This was all the favour ſhe ſhowed her. But what favour was it to give her judges, among whom were her greateſt enemies, perſons who had before voted againſt her in the council, and had been for bringing her to a trial? Hatton, one of the judges, drew her into a ſnare by perſuading her to anſwer for herſelf, and the lord treaſurer acted in ſome meaſure the part of an accuſer. On the other hand, we ſee in ſeveral of Walſingham's letters ſent from France when he was ambaſſador, that it was his opinion, Elizabeth could never be ſafe ſo long as the queen of Scots was alive. Was it not a great favour to give her ſuch judges? In ſhort, with what intent did Elizabeth tell the parliament, ſhe knew for certain ſome had bound themſelves by an oath to kill her

Digges's Ambaſſ.

within a month? Was it not to incite the two houſes to prevent this misfortune by the ſpeedy execution of the ſentence againſt Mary? All this ſhows, that her aim was to engage the parliament to preſs her upon that head, that ſhe might in ſome meaſure be juſtified to the world, by aſcribing the execution of the ſentence to the inſtances of the parliament. But the ſequel will ſtill more plainly ſhow it.

Elizabeth deſires the two houſes to find out ſome expedient. They find none, and inſiſt upon their demand. Camden.

On the 12th day after, the queen ſent the lord chancellor to the upper houſe, and Puckering [u] to the lower, to deſire them to find ſome expedient, whereby the queen of Scots life might be ſaved, and her own ſafety provided for. The two houſes, after a ſerious debate, anſwered her, that her ſafety could not poſſibly be ſecured ſo long as the queen of Scots lived. That there were but four ways to be deviſed to that end, which were all inſufficient. The firſt was, that the queen of Scots ſhould ſeriouſly repent: but ſuch a repentance was not to be expected, ſince ſhe would not ſo much as acknowledge her fault. The ſecond, that ſhe ſhould be kept with a cloſer guard, and bound to her good demeanour by bond and oath. The third, that ſhe ſhould give hoſtages. But theſe two ways were inſufficient, ſince if the queen's life were once taken away, all theſe precautions would vaniſh. The fourth, that ſhe ſhould depart the kingdom. But this was the moſt dangerous: for if, whilſt a priſoner, ſhe ſtirred up ſo many in her favour, what would ſhe do if ſhe were at liberty? In a word, the two houſes in their anſwer repreſented to the queen, that if it were injuſtice to deny execution of the law to the meaneſt of her ſubjects, how much more to the whole body of the people, unanimouſly and with one voice ſuing for the ſame. They who have the leaſt knowledge what influence the court-party uſually have upon the two houſes, will very eaſily judge, that the parliament would never have expreſſed themſelves in this manner, if they had not known it to be grateful to the queen. But to diſcover more fully Elizabeth's character, it will be neceſſary to inſert her anſwer, which will evidently ſhow, not her perplexity and uncertainty, as ſhe pretended, but her extreme diſſimulation, on this article.

The queen's ſpeech to the parliament. Hollingſh. p. 1585. State Try.

‘FULL grievous is the way, whoſe going on and end yield nothing but cumber for the hire of a laborious journey. I have this day been in greater conflict with myſelf, than ever in all my life, whether I ſhould ſpeak, or hold my peace. If I ſpeak, and not complain, I ſhall diſſemble; and if I ſhould be ſilent, your labour taken were all in vain. If I ſhould complain, it might ſeem ſtrange and rare. Yet I confeſs, that my moſt hearty deſire was, that ſome other means might have been deviſed to work your ſecurity and my ſafety, than this which is now propounded. So I cannot but complain, though not of you, yet unto you, that I perceive by your petitions, that my ſafety dependeth wholly upon the death of another. If there be any that think I have prolonged the time, of purpoſe to make a counterfeit ſhow of clemency, they do me the moſt undeſerved wrong, as he knoweth which is the ſearcher of the moſt ſecret thoughts of the heart. Or if there be any that be perſuaded, that the commiſſioners durſt not pronounce other ſentence, as fearing thereby to diſpleaſe me, or to ſeem to fail of their care for my ſafety, they do but heap upon me moſt injurious conceits. For either thoſe whom I have put in truſt have failed of their duties; or elſe they ſignified unto the commiſſioners in my name, that my will and pleaſure was, that every one ſhould deal freely, according to his conſcience; and what they would not openly declare, that they ſhould reveal unto me in private. It was of my moſt favourable mind towards her, that I deſired ſome other means might be found out to prevent this miſchief. But ſince now it is reſolved, that my ſurety is moſt deſperate without her death, I have a moſt inward feeling of ſorrow, that I, which have in my time pardoned ſo many rebels, winked at ſo many treaſons, or neglected them with ſilence, muſt now ſeem to ſhow cruelty upon ſo great a princeſs.

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[u] Speaker of the houſe of commons. Camden, p. 527.---It was not he that was ſent with that meſſage, but ſir Chriſtopher Hatton; and then it was not the 12th, as Camden affirms, but the 2d day after. See D'ewes, p. 403.

'I have, ſince I came to the crown of this realm, ſeen many defamatory books and pamphlets againſt me, accuſing me to be a tyrant. Well fare the writers' hearts; I believe their meaning was to tell me news. And news indeed it was to me, to be branded with the note of tyranny. I would it were as great news to hear of their impiety. But what is it which they will not write now, when they ſhall hear that I have given conſent, that the executioner's hands ſhould be imbrued in the blood of my neareſt kinſwoman? But ſo far am I from cruelty, that, to ſave mine own life, I would not offer her violence; neither have I been ſo careful how to preſerve mine own life, as how to preſerve both: which that it is now impoſſible, I grieve exceedingly. I am not ſo void of judgment, as not to ſee mine own perils

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before mine eyes; nor ſo mad to ſharpen a ſword to cut mine own throat; nor ſo careleſs as not to provide for the ſafety of mine own life. But this I conſider with myſelf, that many a man would put his own life in danger to ſave a princeſs's life: I do not ſay, ſo will I. Yet have I many times thought upon it.

‘But ſeeing ſo many have both written and ſpoken againſt me, give me leave, I pray you, to ſay ſomewhat in my own defence, that ye may ſee what manner of woman I am, for whoſe ſafety you have paſſed ſuch careful thoughts. Wherein as I do with moſt thankful heart conſider your vigilant care; ſo am I ſure I ſhall never requite it, had I as many lives as you all.

‘When firſt I took the ſcepter, I was not unmindful of God the giver, and therefore began my reign with his ſervice and the religion I have been both born in, bred in, and I truſt ſhall die in. And though I was not ignorant how many perils I ſhould be ſet withal at home for altering religion, and how many great princes abroad of a contrary profeſſion would attempt all hoſtility againſt me; yet was I no whit diſmayed, knowing that God, whom only I reſpected, would defend both me and my cauſe. Hence it is, that ſo many treacheries and conſpiracies have been attempted againſt me, that I rather marvel that I am, than muſe that I ſhould now be alive at this day, were it not that God's holy hand hath protected me beyond all expectation. Then, to the end I might make the better progreſs in the art of ſwaying the ſcepter, I entered into long and ſerious cogitations, what things were worthy and fitting for kings to do; and I found it moſt neceſſary that they ſhould be abundantly furniſhed with thoſe ſpecial virtues, juſtice, temperance, prudence and magnanimity. As for the two latter I will not boaſt myſelf, my ſex doth not permit it. But for the two former, I dare ſay (and that without oſtentation) I never made a difference of perſons where right was one. I never preferred for favour whom I thought not fit for worth: I never bent my ear to credit a tale that was firſt told; nor was ſo raſh to corrupt my judgment with prejudice, before I heard the cauſe. I will not ſay but many reports might haply be brought me into much favour of the one ſide or the other; for we princes cannot hear all ourſelves. Yet this I dare ſay boldly, my judgment ever went with the truth, according to my underſtanding. And as full well Alcibiades wiſhed his friend not to give any an-

‘ ſwer till he had run over the letters of the alphabet; ſo have I not uſed raſh and ſudden reſolutions in any thing.

‘ And therefore as touching your counſels and conſultations, I acknowledge them to be ſo careful, provident, and profitable for the preſervation of my life, and to proceed from minds ſo ſincere, and to me moſt devoted, that I ſhall endeavour myſelf all I can to give you cauſe to think your pains not ill beſtowed, and ſtrive to make myſelf worthy of ſuch ſubject.

‘ And now for your petition, I pray you for this preſent to content yourſelves with an anſwer without anſwer. Your judgment I condemn not, neither do I miſtake your reaſons; but pray to accept my thankfulneſs, excuſe my doubtfulneſs, and take in good part my anſwer anſwerleſs. If I ſhould ſay, I would not do what you requeſt, I might ſay perhaps more than I think; and if I ſhould ſay I would do it, I might plunge myſelf into peril, whom you labour to preſerve; which in your wiſdoms and diſcretions, ye would not that I ſhould, if ye conſider the circumſtances of place, time, and the manners and conditions of men.’

This ſpeech, which was of the ſame nature and ſpirit with the former, was not an anſwer to the petition of the two houſes, as the queen herſelf owned, but only an intimation to the Engliſh, how imprudent it would be to hazard the life of ſo good a queen, in order to ſave Mary's. She ſeemed in a great perplexity, and yet gave to underſtand, ſhe was fully determined. And indeed ſince ſhe preferred the good of her ſubjects before all other things, and Mary's death was neceſſary to them, what could be the occaſion of her doubts? In comparing the reaſons which inclined her to mercy with thoſe which concerned her own ſafety, there was need of no great penetration to ſee to which ſide ſhe would turn, howſoever irreſolute ſhe ſeemed. So in this, as in the former ſpeech, her ſole aim was to make the publick believe ſhe yielded with reluctancy to the ſollicitations of the parliament, though ſhe took care not to object any ſtrong reaſons to theſe ſollicitations. But her actions were ſtill plainer indications than her ſpeeches of what paſſed in her mind.

Immediately after this anſwer without anſwer, the parliament was prorogued[w], for fear doubtleſs her feigned perplexities

The parliament is prorogued. D'Ewes, p. 382.

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[w] Or rather adjourned to February 15, when it met again, and was at laſt diſſolved March 23, after granting the queen one ſubſidy, and two fifteenths and tenths. The clergy granted alſo a ſubſidy of ſix ſhillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. And moreover, gave a contribution or benevolence of three

ties ſhould be taken literally, and ſome expedient found to ſave the queen of Scots. After what had been done, Elizabeth had no farther occaſion for the parliament; and in cauſing the ſentence to be executed, could ſay, ſhe only yielded to the preſſing inſtances of the two houſes. It will perhaps be thought ſtrange that I am thus peremptory in a thing ſo hard to be known, as Elizabeth's inmoſt thoughts. But in my opinion, very evident proofs may be drawn both from her actions and words, that throughout this whole affair ſhe acted with great diſſimulation.

Mary is informed of her ſentence. Camden.

A few days after the prorogation of the parliament, the lord Buckhurſt and Beale were ſent to the queen of Scots. They had orders to tell her, that her judges had condemned her to die, that the parliament had confirmed the ſentence, and deſired the execution thereof, believing, if ſhe remained alive, the religion eſtabliſhed in England could not ſubſiſt.

She ſhews great firmneſs of mind.

She received the news with great reſolution, and even ſeemed to triumph that religion was the cauſe of her death [x]. Then ſhe ſaid, with ſome emotion, 'It is no wonder if the Engliſh, 'who have often put their own ſovereigns to death, ſhould 'treat in the ſame manner a princeſs ſprung from the blood of 'their kings.'

The French ambaſſador ſollicits in her favour.

The ſentence is publiſhed, Decemb. 6. Camden. Hollingſh. p. 1586.

L'Aubeſpine the French ambaſſador, who was entirely devoted to the houſe of Guiſe, ſtopped for ſome days the publication of the ſentence by his ſollicitations. But at laſt it was proclaimed all over London [y] by the queen's expreſs order, who forgot not to declare to the people that her conſent was extorted by the preſſing intreaties of the parliament. In the proclamation the queen ſaid, that being informed of the queen of Scots devices, the lords of the council with many others earneſtly beſought her to bring her to juſtice, and try her in the moſt honourable manner. That upon theſe inſtances ſhe granted a commiſſion to forty-two lords, thirty ſix of whom met at Fotheringhay, and after a very ſtrict examination, gave ſentence to this effect: 'That Mary had broken 'the ſtatute made the laſt year.' That the parliament having examined the ſentence, and the proofs on which it was

founded,

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three ſhillings in the pound for the ſupport of the wars in the Netherlands. In this parliament were confirmed the attainders of Thomas lord Paget, and of the late executed rebels. See Statut. and D'Ewes, p. 375, 387, 390, 414, &c. Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 5. Stow, p. 742.

[x] She deſired to have a catholick prieſt allowed her, to direct her conſcience, and adminiſter to her the ſacraments. The lord Buckhurſt and Beal recommended a biſhop and a dean to her for this purpoſe, whom ſhe abſolutely refuſed. Camden, p. 528.

[y] On December 6, and then throughout the kingdom. Stow, p. 741. Camden, p. 528.

founded, required the execution thereof, notwithſtanding her frequent inſtances, that ſome other expedient might be found: that therefore, moved with her own and the nation's welfare, ſhe had ordered the ſentence to be notified to her good ſubjects.

Mary's letter to Elizabeth. Camden. Martyre de Marie.

Mary, when ſhe received the news of this publication, plainly ſaw there was no mercy to be expected. She writ a long letter to Elizabeth, deſiring certain favours concerning her death, burial, and ſervants [z]. But it is uncertain whether the letter was ever delivered. The king of Scotland writ alſo to queen Elizabeth, and ſent Patrick Gray and Robert Melvil to implore her mercy for the queen his mother; but it was to no purpoſe. Nay, it is ſaid, Gray, who had been many years attached to Elizabeth's intereſts, after having publickly ſollicited her to favour Mary, adviſed her in private to make her away, ſaying, 'A dead woman bites not.'

The king of Scotland intercedes for his mother. Melvil, p. 173. Camden. Spotiſwood.

Henry III. ſent alſo the preſident de Bellievre into England to intreat Elizabeth in behalf of the condemned queen. The ambaſſador diſcharged his commiſſion like a man who ſeemed very deſirous to ſucceed. He preſented a long memorial, which was publiſhed, containing the ſtrongeſt reaſons he could deviſe to perſuade Elizabeth to ſpare the unfortunate queen; to which memorial the queen returned an anſwer in the margin of each article. The ſubſtance of the anſwers was, "That things were come to that point, that one or "other of the two queens muſt periſh, and Elizabeth flat"tered herſelf that the king of France had her intereſts no "leſs at heart than Mary's." But if du Maurier is to be credited, in his preface to his father's Memoirs, the ambaſſador acted the counterfeit, and impoſed upon the world and Mary's friends. He affirms to have heard his father ſay, that Bellievre, though he feigned to have inſtructions to the contrary, had private orders to ſollicit the death of the queen of Scots [a]. This is not unlikely, conſidering the ſituation of the affairs of

The king of France ſends an ambaſſador into England. Thuanus. Camden.

The ambaſſador's ſecret orders. Du Maurier.

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[z] She deſired her body might be buried in catholick ground, particularly in France near her mother; that ſhe might not be put to death in private without queen Elizabeth's knowledge, but in the ſight of her ſervants, who might give a true teſtimony of her faith; that her ſervants might peaceably depart whither they pleaſed, and enjoy thoſe legacies which ſhe had bequeathed them by her will and teſtament.' Camden, p. 529. Spotiſwood, p. 354. --- In this her will, queen Mary provided, that if the prince her ſon did not renounce the falſe and heretical perſuaſion which he had drunk in, the inheritance of the crown of England ſhould never deſcend to him, but devolve to Philip king of Spain. Burnet, tom. iii. p. 327. Jebb endeavours to confute this account. Preface to Vol. II. of Queen Mary's Life.

[a] Nay, this was not ſo ſecret, but that after the death of the duke of Guiſe, Henry III. was accuſed by the leaguers of having cauſed the queen of Scots to be put to death. Rapin.

France at that time, and the king's juſt apprehenſions of the duke of Guiſe's ambitious deſigns [b].

The French ambaſſador's conſpiracy againſt the queen. Camden.

Whilſt all the world was in expectation of the effects of this extraordinary ſentence, the court diſcovered that L'Aubeſpine the French ambaſſador had bribed two aſſaſſins [c] to murder the queen. One of the villains repenting and informing the miniſters of the plot, the ambaſſador was deſired to come to the lord treaſurer's houſe where the council was aſſembled, and the two witneſſes were brought face to face. If Camden is to be credited, he made but an ill defence, contenting himſelf with pleading the privilege of ambaſſadors, who were accountable only to their own maſters. The lord treaſurer, without allowing or diſputing the privilege, gravely reproved him, and adviſed him to beware for the future how he provoked a queen, who was too much injured already, and had it in her power to be revenged. It muſt be obſerved, the French tranſlator of Camden's Annals thought fit to paſs over in ſilence this whole conſpiracy.

The people loudly call for Mary's death. Camden. Le Laboureur.

It was no proper ſeaſon to enquire any farther into the circumſtances of this plot, which probably was entirely owing to the ambaſſador's furious zeal for the houſe of Lorrain. Nay, who knows whether it were not a ſnare laid for him, to make him inſtrumental, contrary to his intention, in haſtening the queen of Scots execution? When the affair became publick, it was every-where ſaid, there was no ſafety for the queen ſo long as Mary was alive. This was preciſely what the court wiſhed, that the people being ſatisfied of the neceſſity of executing the ſentence, might be leſs attentive to the irregularities. Camden ſays, Elizabeth was ſtill in ſuſpenſe and diſtracted in her thoughts, not being able to reſolve to put to death a queen her near relation, over whom ſhe had no juriſdiction. He adds, means were found however to determine her, by ſpreading a report that England was going to be invaded: That the Spaniſh fleet was already arrived at Milford-Haven: That the duke of Guiſe was landed in Suſſex with an army: That the queen of Scots was eſcaped out of priſon, and was raiſing troops in the North: That ſeveral plots were on foot to kill the queen, and ſet the city of London on fire; yea, that the queen was dead. By theſe artifices, according to that hiſtorian, Elizabeth was prevailed with to ſign a warrant for Mary's execution. For my part, who verily believe Mary's death was reſolved, even before her trial, I rather think all theſe reports were ſpread by the emiſſaries of the court, to terrify the people, and to let them ſee how neceſſary Mary's death was. There is not the leaſt probability that the queen and her miniſters ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be deceived by ſuch reports, the falſhood whereof it was ſo eaſy for them to diſcover. But Camden's aim is to inſinuate, that Elizabeth was convinced of Mary's innocence, and therefore diſtracted in her thoughts.

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[b] This year, Thomas Cavendiſh ſailing from Plymouth on the 21ſt of July, with three ſhips and a hundred and twenty-five men, began his voyage round the world, entering in at the Streights of Magellan, and returning by the Cape of Good Hope. This voyage he performed in about two years and two months, arriving at Plymouth, September 9, 1588.---May 7, Philip Howard earl of Arundel was condemned in a fine of 10,000 l. and to remain in priſon at the queen's pleaſure. This year, Ludgate, in London, was rebuilt by the citizens, and the charges amounted to above 1500 l. Stow, p. 720, 741, Hollingſh. p. 1561.

[c] He bribed only one Edward Stafford, who, abhorring the fact, recommended one Moody as a fit perſon; but Stafford diſcovered the matter to the council. Camden, p. 532.

Elizabeth's extreme diſſimulation.

Melvil, p. 172. Thuanus, l. 86.

We are now come to the laſt act of the tragedy, for ſo it may well be called with reſpect to the queen of Scots, though with regard to Elizabeth it was a real comedy, or at leaſt a continued ſcene of diſſimulation, acted ſo artfully, that it can hardly be conceived how it could be carried farther. Before Elizabeth ordered the commiſſion to try Mary to be drawn, ſeveral lords, as I ſaid, caſt themſelves at her feet, and begged her to take pity of them and their poſterity, and to provide by Mary's death for the ſecurity of the church and ſtate. Afterwards, when ſentence was given, ſhe waited till ſhe was twice ſollicited by the parliament, with the ſharp reproach that ſhe denied her people juſtice. To carry on the farce, ſome formalities were likewiſe to be acted after the publication of the ſentence, before the warrant was ſigned for execution. All this was done: but there was ſtill ſomething more. Elizabeth undertook to make the publick believe the execution was done againſt her will and without her knowledge, and the method ſhe uſed to accompliſh it was this.

She draws Daviſon her ſecretary into a ſnare.

Camden.

Strype's Annals, t. iii. p. 375.

Daviſon, without his knowing it, was her inſtrument to act this ſort of comedy. A little before the queen of Scots trial, he was made ſecretary of ſtate, and very likely was put into that office on purpoſe to be enſnared and made accountable for Mary's death. All the forementioned rumours being ſpread, and the queen feigning to be terrified, delivered to Daviſon a writing ſigned with her own hand, and ſealed with her ſignet, commanding him to draw a warrant under the great ſeal for the queen of Scots execution, but enjoined him withal to keep the warrant by him [d], and acquaint no man there-

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[d] And only have it in readineſs, in caſe any danger happened to break out in that time of jealouſy and fear. Camden, p. 534. Melvil ſays, that it was not to be delivered without her majeſty's expreſs command; nevertheleſs, Daviſon being deceived by the council, delivered it to them, p. 172.

Eliz. 1587.

with [e]. The lord chancellor however muſt have been informed of it, unleſs ſhe had taken the great ſeal from him and given it to Daviſon, of which there have been inſtances. However, the next day ſhe ordered Daviſon by Killigrew not to draw the warrant [f]. Whereupon Daviſon came to the queen, and told her, it was drawn and under ſeal already; at which ſhe was angry, and blamed him for making ſuch haſte. The warrant was dated the 1ſt of February, and directed to the earls of Shrewſbury, Derby, Kent, Cumberland, and Pembroke; to ſee the queen of Scots executed in their preſence. Mean while, though the queen ſeemed diſpleaſed with the ſecretary for making too much haſte, ſhe left the warrant in his hands, without telling him what he was to do with it. This puzzled him extremely, ſince by her contrary proceedings with reſpect to the warrant, ſhe had not diſcloſed to him her intention. In this uncertainty, he choſe to impart the tranſaction to a privy-counſellor, who was of opinion that the reſt of the counſellors ſhould be informed, that nothing might be done raſhly; and Daviſon fell into the ſnare. Whereupon the council being met, it was unanimouſly reſolved to execute the warrant, though nothing was eaſier than to advertiſe the queen of their embarraſſment. To that end, the warrant was given to Beal, who took care to acquaint the four lords, to whom it was addreſſed, and departed for Fotheringhay with two executioners. Certainly, it is very hard to believe that a ſcore of privy-counſellors (among whom were the queen's miniſters and her intimate confidents) would have undertaken to order the warrant to be executed unknown to her [g], had they not been perſuaded it was agreeable to her will. Eſpecially as Daviſon had communicated the ſecret to them, only becauſe of his uncertainty concerning the queen's intention [h].

State-Trials, vol. i. p. 154.

After Beal's departure, the queen told Daviſon, ſhe had changed her mind. This ought to have aſtoniſhed the council, who had ordered execution by their own authority; and yet no care was taken to recall Beal, though there were ſeven days ſpace between his departure and Mary's execution. But what is ſtill more ſtrange, is, that during theſe ſeven days, though the queen had declared that her mind was al-

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[e] This Daviſon abſolutely denied in his examination. See Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 375.

[f] Rapin ſays, the queen ſent Daviſon word to haſten the warrant. But it is a miſtake; for Camden ſays, the queen changed her mind, and ſent to him not to draw it. Camden, p. 534.

[g] And yet Thuanus thinks ſo, l. 86.

[h] Camden ſays, Daviſon perſuaded the council that the queen had commanded it ſhould be executed, p. 534.

tered,

Eliz. 1587.

tered, not one of her counſellors or miniſters thought of informing her of what was tranſacting. This is a clear evidence, that it was very well known ſhe did not deſire to be informed.

The queen of Scots is beheaded. Camden.

However this be, the four lords, appointed to ſee execution done, being come to Fotheringhay, admoniſhed the queen of Scots to prepare for her death [i]; and on the morrow, being the 8th of February, they ſaw her beheaded. I ſhall not relate here all the circumſtances of this tragedy. It ſuffices to ſay in a word, that ſhe died with great reſolution, and in an inviolable attachment to her religion. The earl of Kent telling her, 'That her life would be the death of the proteſtant religion in England,' ſhe rejoiced and ſaid, ſhe was condemned as guilty of plotting againſt the queen of England's life, and yet the earl of Kent had juſt told her, ſhe was to die for her religion, wherein ſhe gloried. If Camden is to be credited, ſhe proteſted ſhe knew nothing of Babington's practices, and that her ſecretaries were ſuborned to witneſs againſt her [k].

The

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[i] Upon which ſhe told them, I did not think the queen my ſiſter would have conſented to my death, who am not ſubject to your law and juriſdiction; but ſeeing her pleaſure is ſo, death ſhall be to me moſt welcome. Camden, p. 534.

[k] When the earls had told her to prepare for death, ſhe deſired that ſhe might have a conference with her almoner, confeſſor, and Andrew Melvil the maſter of her houſhold. But they would not allow her confeſſor to come near her, but recommended to her the biſhop or dean of Peterborough, whom ſhe refuſing, the earl of Kent, out of his zeal to the reformed religion, ſaid to her the words abovementioned. After they were gone, ſhe ordered ſupper to be haſtened, that ſhe might have the more time to diſpoſe of her concerns. She ſupped temperately, as ſhe uſed to do. Towards the end of ſupper ſhe drank to all her ſervants, who pledged her in order upon their knees, begging pardon for their neglect of duty, as ſhe alſo did of them. After ſupper ſhe peruſed her will, and wrote down the names of thoſe to whom ſhe bequeathed her goods and jewels. At her wonted time ſhe went to bed, ſlept ſome hours, and then awaking, ſpent the reſt of the night in prayer. The fatal day being come, ſhe dreſſed herſelf as ſhe was wont to do upon feſtival-days, and calling her ſervants together, commanded her will to be read, and then retired into her oratory, where ſhe ſtayed till Thomas Andrews the ſheriff acquainted her that ſhe muſt now come forth. She appeared with a compoſed countenance and chearful look; her head was covered with a veil hanging down to the ground, her beads hanging at her girdle, with a crucifix in her hand. In the porch ſhe was received by the earls and other noblemen, where ſpeaking a ſhort ſpeech to Melvil, who bewailed his hard hap that he was to carry into Scotland the woeful tidings of the unhappy fate of his lady and miſtreſs, ſhe bade him farewel; and, turning to the earls, deſired that her ſervants might ſtand by her at her death. Then the earls of Kent and Shrewſbury, and Thomas Andrews, Eſq; ſheriff of Northamptonſhire, going before her, ſhe came to the ſcaffold, at the upper end of the hall, on which was placed a chair, a cuſhion, and a block covered with black cloth. As ſoon as ſhe was ſat down, Beal read the warrant, to which the queen liſtened with a careleſs, or rather merry countenance; which done, Dr. Fletcher dean of Peterborough began a long ſpeech to her, concerning her life paſt, preſent, and to

come,

Elizabeth expreſſes great grief at it. Camden. Spotiſwood, p. 357.

The news of Mary's execution being brought to Elizabeth, ſhe appeared extremely diſpleaſed. Sighs, tears, lamentation, and mourning, were the ſigns ſhe gave of her grief, which ſeemed immoderate. She drove the privy-counſellors from her preſence [l], and commanded them to be examined in the Star-chamber, and Daviſon to be tried for his diſobedience. A few days after ſhe ſent the following letter to the king of Scotland by Robert Carey.

My dear Brother,

‘I Would you knew, though not felt, the extreme dolour that overwhelmeth my mind, for that miſerable accident which farre contrary to my meaning hath befalne. I have ſent this kinſman of mine [m], whom ere now it hath pleaſed you to favour, to inſtruct you truly of that which is too irkſome for my pen to tell you. I beſeech you, that as God and many more know how innocent I am in this caſe, ſo you will believe me, that if I had done it, I would have abode by it: I am not ſo baſe minded, that the fear of any living creature ſhould make me afraid to do what is juſt; or done, to deny the ſame; I am not ſo degenerate, nor carry ſo vile a mind. But as not to diſguiſe, fits moſt a king, ſo will I never diſſemble my actions, but cauſe them ſhew as I mean them. This aſſure yourſelf from me, that as I know it was deſerved, if I had meant it, I would never over another's ſhoulders, and to impute to myſelf that which I did not ſo much as think of: I will not. The circumſtances you will be pleaſed to hear of this bearer: and for my part, think you have not in the

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come. She interrupted him, praying him not to trouble himſelf, for ſhe was reſolved to die in the catholick religion. Then they appointed the dean to pray: after which, the executioner having aſked her forgiveneſs, her women took off her upper garments, and covering her face with a handkerchief, ſhe laid down her head on the block, which was ſevered from her body at two ſtrokes. She was buried in a royal manner, in the cathedral of Peterborough, on Auguſt 1, where ſhe lay till her ſon king James's acceſſion to the crown of England; but he had her corps removed in 1612, into the ſouth iſle of king Henry VII's chapel at Weſtminſter, where it now lies, and a ſtately monument erected to her memory, of which the reader may ſee a print in Sandford, p. 533.---Camden, p. 534, 535. Melvil, p. 172, Martyre de Marie, p. 301, &c. Mort de Marie, p. 615, &c. Edit. Jebb.

[l] And particularly the lord Burleigh; who, upon his diſgrace, writ ſeveral very ſubmiſſive letters to the queen, which the reader may ſee in Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 371, 372. He chiefly pleaded ignorance, and offered to reſign his places. If there was any precipitation uſed in this affair of the death of the queen of Scots, the lord Burleigh, ſecretary Walſingham, and a few others, may reaſonably be ſuppoſed the authors of it, in order to ſecure themſelves; for they had acted ſo openly againſt Mary, that had ſhe ever mounted the throne of England, they muſt have been utterly undone.

[m] He was kin to her by Ann Boleyn her mother. Rapin.

‘ world a more loving kinſwoman, and more dear friend, nor any that will watch more carefully to preſerve you and your ſtate. And if any would otherwiſe perſuade you, think they bear more good will to others than to you. Thus in haſte, I leave to trouble you, beſeeching God to ſend you a long reign.’

Daviſon is tried.
State-Trials, vol. vii.
Camden.

Whilſt Carey was upon the road, Daviſon was cited into the Star-chamber, to anſwer to the accuſation of contempt and diſobedience entered againſt him. The accuſation ran, “ That he had contemned the queen's orders, broke his oath of allegiance, and neglected his duty: That the queen never intending (for reaſons beſt known to herſelf) that the queen of Scots, though condemned, ſhould have been put to death, had however for preventing of dangers, commanded a warrant for her execution to be drawn, and committed it to his truſt and ſecrecy: but that he forgetting his duty, had acquainted the council therewith, and put the warrant in execution unknown to the queen.”

His accuſation and reply.

Daviſon anſwered, “ That he was extremely ſorry to find himſelf accuſed of contempt to the queen, who had loaded him with favours: That he choſe rather to confeſs himſelf guilty of the crimes he was charged with than conteſt with her majeſty, ſince he could not vindicate himſelf without failing in the reſpect and duty he owed her. He proteſted however, he had offended wholly out of ignorance, being perſuaded he had done nothing contrary to the queen's will and pleaſure. He affirmed, that when the queen blamed him for making ſuch haſte to get the warrant ready, ſhe gave ſome intimation, but no expreſs command, that he ſhould keep it by him, neither did he believe himſelf guilty of breach of truſt by communicating it only to the council. As to his being accuſed of not recalling the warrant, after ſhe had told him ſhe had changed her mind, he proteſted, it was the opinion of the whole council, that it ſhould be preſently executed, leſt the queen or ſtate ſhould receive any hurt by too long a delay.”

After he had done ſpeaking, the queen's council preſſed him with his own confeſſion, and with what the lord treaſurer had teſtified, That doubting whether the queen had abſolutely conſented to have execution done, Daviſon affirmed, it was her intention. Then Daviſon, with tears in his eyes, prayed the queen's council not to urge him any farther, but remember that he would not conteſt with the queen, to whoſe conſcience, and his judges cenſure, he entirely ſubmitted himſelf. After that were made ſeveral ſpeeches, ſome tending to aggravate his offence, and others, to ſhow he had only acted imprudently [n]. In ſhort, he was condemned to be fined in ten thouſand pounds, and impriſoned during the queen's pleaſure. The lord Lumley, in his ſpeech on this occaſion, was not ſatisfied with blaming Daviſon; but, accuſing chiefly the whole council, ſaid, "Never was there ſuch a contempt againſt a prince heard or read of, that privy-counſellors, in the queen's palace, and when they had free acceſs to her, ſhould attempt ſuch a thing without her advice or knowledge; proteſting, that if his own ſon were guilty of the like fault, he would be the firſt to condemn him." But it was not the queen's intention to puniſh the counſellors, who probably had acted only by her private orders. And therefore to ſcreen them from theſe and the like reproaches, the lord privy-ſeal told the aſſembly, that though the queen, being juſtly offended with her council, had left them to a ſtrict examination; yet now being ſenſible they had tranſgreſſed out of an exceſs of zeal for her and the ſtate, ſhe forgave them. Thus Daviſon was the only ſacrifice, though the council was ſtill more guilty than he, ſuppoſing he had acted contrary to the queen's intention. Daviſon remained long in priſon without obtaining any other favour than ſome preſents of money from the queen, to relieve his wants.

Camden, whoſe aim was not to vindicate Elizabeth in any thing relating to the queen of Scots, has inſerted in his Annals an apology, which Daviſon, being in priſon, ſent himſelf to ſecretary Walſingham, and leaves his readers to give their judgment of it, without making himſelf any remark. The apology was worded in the following manner:

Daviſon's apology writ by himſelf. Camden.

"The queen, after the departure of the French and Scotch "ambaſſadors, of her own accord, commanded me to deliver her the warrant for executing the ſentence againſt the "queen of Scots. When I had delivered it, ſhe readily "ſigned it with her own hand: when ſhe had ſo done, ſhe "commanded it to be ſealed with the great ſeal of England; "and in a jeſting manner ſaid, Go, tell all this to Walſingham, who is now ſick; though I fear he will die for ſorrow when he hears it. She added alſo the reaſons of her deferring it ſo long; namely, leſt ſhe might ſeem to have been violently or maliciouſly drawn thereto, whereas in the mean time ſhe was not ignorant how neceſſary it was. Moreover ſhe blamed Powlet and Drury, that they had not eaſed her of this care, and wiſhed that Walſingham would feel their pulſes touching this matter.

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[n] The commiſſioners, being thirteen in number, made each a ſpeech, wherein they owned, that ſentence was juſtly pronounced againſt the queen of Scots; but that Daviſon deſerved to be puniſhed for acting without the queen's advice and conſent. Camden, p. 537.

“The next day after the warrant was under the great ſeal, ſhe commanded me by Killegrew, that it ſhould be done; and when I had informed her that it was done already, ſhe found fault with ſuch great haſte, telling me, that in the judgment of ſome wiſe men, another courſe might be taken. I anſwered, that the courſe which was juſt was always beſt and ſafeſt. But fearing leſt ſhe would lay the fault upon me (as ſhe had laid the putting of the duke of Norfolk to death upon the lord Burleigh) I acquainted Hatton with the whole matter, proteſting that I would not plunge myſelf any deeper in ſo great a buſineſs. He preſently imparted it to the lord Burleigh, and the lord Burleigh to the reſt of the council; who all conſented to have the execution haſtened, and every one of them vowed to bear an equal ſhare in the blame, and ſent Beal away with the warrant and letters. The third day after, when by a dream which ſhe told of the queen of Scots death, I perceived that ſhe wavered in her reſolution, I aſked her whether ſhe had changed her mind? She anſwered, No; but another courſe (ſaid ſhe) might have been deviſed: and withal ſhe aſked me, whether I had received any anſwer from Powlet? whoſe letter when I had ſhewed her, wherein he flatly refuſed to undertake that which ſtood not with honour and juſtice; ſhe waxing angry, accuſed him and others (who had bound themſelves by the aſſociation) of perjury and breach of their vow, as thoſe that had promiſed great matters for their prince's ſafety, but would perform nothing. Yet there are (ſaid ſhe) who will do it for my ſake. But I ſhowed her how diſhonourable and unjuſt a thing this would be; and withal into how great danger ſhe would bring Powlet and Drury by it. For if ſhe approved the fact, ſhe would draw upon herſelf both danger and diſhonour, not without cenſure of injuſtice; and if ſhe diſallowed it, ſhe would utterly undo men of great deſert and their whole poſterity. And afterwards ſhe gave me a light check the ſame day that the queen of Scots was executed, becauſe ſhe was not yet put to death.”

If this apology be true, one cannot deſire a more convincing proof of Elizabeth's diſſimulation. The point was not Mary's death, for that was fully determined, but the manner. It appears in this writing, that Elizabeth would have been glad the queen of Scots two keepers had diſpatched her, that ſhe might have been able to clear herſelf, which ſhe would not have failed to do, by putting them both to death. There remains but one ſcruple, which is, that we have this from Camden only, whoſe teſtimony cannot be reckoned very certain [o].

The king of Scotland ſhews at firſt a great deal of reſentment. Melvil, p. 153. Camden. Spotiſwood.

The king of Scotland having received the news of the queen his mother's tragical end, expreſſed a very lively reſentment at the ſame. His firſt thoughts prompted him to revenge. The ſtates of Scotland, then aſſembled, promiſed him their aſſiſtance, and there was not wanting ſome about him, who perſuaded him to join with the pope, France, and Spain, to revenge ſo great an affront. Others adviſed him not to break with England, for fear of hazarding upon the uncertain chance of war his undoubted title to the crown of that kingdom; eſpecially as the Engliſh only wanted perhaps a pretence to hinder a Scotch prince from aſcending the throne of England, which therefore he ought to take care not to furniſh him with. Some were of opinion, he ſhould declare openly for neither of the two religions, but keep himſelf always ready to improve the events time ſhould produce. Carey arriving ſhortly after, the king refuſed him audience, and it was not without great difficulty that he was perſuaded to receive Elizabeth's letter. We find however in Melvil's Memoirs, that ſome

p. 173.

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[o] This matter is alſo undeniably confirmed by two letters, inſerted by Mackenzie, in his Life of Queen Mary, (if they are genuine.) In the firſt, written on February 1, 1586-7, by Walſingham and Daviſon, to ſir Amias Powlet, and ſir Drue Drury, it is ſaid---"her majeſty doth note in you, both a lack of "that care and zeal for her ſervice, "that ſhe looketh for at your hands, "in that you have not in all this time, "(of yourſelves, without other provocation) found out ſome way to ſhorten "the life of the Scots queen, conſidering the great peril ſhe is hourly ſubject to, ſo long as the ſaid queen "ſhall live.---She taketh it moſt unkindly, that men profeſſing that love "towards her that you do, ſhould in a "kind of ſort, for lack of the diſcharge "of your duties, caſt the burden upon "her, knowing, as you do, her indiſpoſition to ſhed blood."---Sir Amias Powlet, in his anſwer, dated February 2, has theſe words, "---My anſwer --- I "ſhall deliver unto you with great grief "and bitterneſs of mind, in that I am "ſo unhappy, as living to ſee this unhappy day, in which I am required "by direction from my moſt gracious "ſovereign, to do an act, which God "and the law forbiddeth.---God forbid "I ſhould make ſo foul a ſhipwreck of "my conſcience, or leave ſo great a blot "to my poor poſterity, and ſhed blood "without law or warrant," p. 270---273. Oſborn alſo obſerves, that "our "queen may be found in many of her "letters, intimating ſo much [as the "making her away], to ſuch as kept "her, who were ſo wiſe, as not to underſtand what was meant." Mem. ſect. 4.

lords of the court of Scotland had writ to England, that whenever queen Mary ſhould be put to death, the king her ſon would not highly reſent it; and accordingly, Melvil affirms, he quickly forgot it. When Elizabeth heard that king James's grief began to abate, ſhe cauſed ſome of thoſe whom ſhe moſt truſted [p], to repreſent to him, 'That in the preſent ſituation of Scotland there was no room to expect that a war with England could be ſucceſsful: If he pretends to rely on foreign aid, his mother's ſad experience might teach him how uncertain that was. The king of France would be ſo far from countenancing him, that it was his intereſt to hinder the two kingdoms of Great Britain from being united under the ſame dominion. Nay, he would oppoſe to the utmoſt of his power the ſucceſs of his arms, for fear he ſhould afterwards aſſiſt the duke of Guiſe, who aſpired to the crown. The king of Spain, in pretending to aid him, would only ſerve himſelf, on account of his groundleſs claim to the crown of England, as deſcended from the houſe of Lancaſter. Even the queen his mother had made a will the night before her death, whereby ſhe excluded him from the ſucceſſion, in caſe he perſevered in the proteſtant religion, and nominated Philip II. for her heir, which will was ſent into Spain. He was therefore to expect no aſſiſtance from Philip, but rather to conſider him as an enemy. In a word, if he made war upon Elizabeth, and the parliament paſſed an act againſt him, he ran the hazard of being excluded for ever from a noble ſucceſſion, which he could not fail to enjoy, provided he would but remain in peace.' To all theſe arguments it was alſo added, 'That Elizabeth had an affection for him, and beſides, would think herſelf bound in honour and duty to repair the mother's wrongs by leaving her crown to the ſon, in caſe he gave her no occaſion to do otherwiſe.' Theſe repreſentations had their effect. James ſaw it to be his intereſt to keep fair with Elizabeth, and that, added to the ſentence given againſt Daviſon, which was ſent him, ſo ſtifled his reſentment, that he ſhowed no farther marks of it [q].

p. 173.

Repreſentations made to him. Camden. Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 377, &c.

Burnet, tom. iii. p. 327.

His grief is eaſed. Strype's Ann. tom. iii.

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[p] Some of her friends in Scotland, and the lord Hunſdon governor of Berwick. Camden, p. 539.

[q] He aſſigns himſelf theſe reaſons for not revenging his mother's death. 1. His tender youth, not trained up in arms. 2. His exceſſive cowhit (or poverty) from hand to hand, from neydie to neydie, to greedie and greedie. 3. The factions in his kingdom, &c. See Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 382.

Eliz. 1587.

The queen ſends a fleet againſt Spain. Camden. Burchett. Stow, p. 742. Strype's An. t. iii. p. 451.

Mean while, Elizabeth hearing the Spaniard was making great preparations to invade England [r], ſent Drake with a good fleet [s] upon the coaſt of Spain, with orders to burn all the Spaniſh ſhips he ſhould meet. The admiral's firſt expedition was to the port of Cadiz, where he burnt above a hundred veſſels laden with victuals and ammunition, and a large Galeon of the marquiſs of Santa Cruz, with another of Raguſa, full of rich merchandize. Then returning to Cape St. Vincent, he did great damage to the inhabitants along the coaſt; after which he came to the mouth of the Tagus, where he in vain provoked the marquiſs of Santa Cruz, by plundering and burning the ſhips he found there. From thence he ſailed to the Azores, and meeting in the way with a rich Carack called the St. Philip, returning from the Eaſt-Indies, eaſily took her [t]. The proviſions and ſtores which the Spaniards loſt at Cadiz, the taking of the Galeons and Carack, and the reſt of the damages they ſuſtained, obliged Philip to defer till the next year the expedition he had projected againſt England [u]. While Drake was acting in Europe againſt Spain, Cavendiſh was doing the ſame in America, having entered the South-ſea by the ſtraits of Magellan. He plundered without oppoſition the coaſts of Chili and Peru, and did the Spaniards great damage in thoſe parts.

The ſtates of the United Provinces complain of the earl of Leiceſter. Grotius. Strada.

I left, about the end of the laſt year, the earl of Leiceſter returning into England, after having ſet on foot his project to become ſovereign of the United Provinces, by cheriſhing confuſion and diſcord. Before his departure, the ſtates began to perceive his deſigns, and the orders he left when he went away, and which the officers his creatures punctually executed, fully confirmed their ſuſpicions. For this reaſon they ſent ambaſſadors to Elizabeth to complain of him: but his credit, and the queen of Scots affair, which then held the court employed, hindered the ambaſſadors from being ſo ſpeedily diſpatched as they deſired. It even happened in this interval, that Stanley and York, who held of the earl of Leiceſter the governments of Deventer and a fort near Zutphen, delivered theſe two places to the duke of Parma. So, the ſtates no longer truſting that general, gave the command of their army to count Maurice of Naſſau, the late prince of Orange's ſecond ſon. They did likewiſe ſome other things which plainly ſhowed that, having diſcovered the earl of Leiceſter's deſigns, they would not ſuffer him him to put them in practice. In the mean while, the duke of Parma beſieging Sluys, the earl returned from England to raiſe the ſiege, but had not the good fortune to ſucceed[w]. At laſt, finding he was every where miſtruſted, he reſolved to execute by force the project he had formed. To that end, he would have made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places at once in the heart of the country, to keep the reſt in awe. But his deſign to ſurprize Leyden being diſcovered in ſeaſon, all correſpondence between him and the ſtates entirely ceaſed. Whereupon the queen was obliged to recall him, and ſend in his room Peregrine Barty lord Willoughby of Ereſby, but with no other authority than the command of the Engliſh forces. Then the ſtates appointed count Maurice their captain-general.

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[r] Their preparations were ſo extraordinary great, that ſir Francis Drake ſays, in a letter, the Spaniards had proviſions of bread and wine ſufficient to maintain forty thouſand men a whole year. See Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 451 ---That theſe great preparations were aimed at England, was diſcovered by Walſingham in the following remarkable manner: he had intelligence from Madrid, that Philip had told his council, he had diſpatched an expreſs to Rome, with a letter writ with his own hand to the pope, acquainting him with the true deſign of his preparations, and aſking his bleſſing upon it; which for *ſome reaſons he would not yet diſcloſe to* them, till the return of the courier. The ſecret being thus lodged with the pope, Walſingham, by the means of a Venetian prieſt retained at Rome as his ſpy, got a copy of the original letter, which was ſtolen out of the pope's cabinet by a gentleman of the bed-chamber, who took the keys out of the pope's pocket while he ſlept. Welwood's Mem. p. 8, 9.

[s] With forty gallies. Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 391.

[t] The Engliſh ſo fully underſtood by the merchants papers the rich value of the Indian merchandizes, and the manner of trading into the eaſtern world, that they afterwards ſet up a gainful trade and traffick, eſtabliſhing a company of Eaſt-India merchants. Camden, p. 540.

[u] There was another remarkable thing which retarded this expedition, and was the contrivance of the great ſtateſman Walſingham; namely, he got all the *Spaniſh* bills, that were to ſupply the *king* with money to carry on his preparations, proteſted at Genoa. Welwood's Mem. p. 9.

Camden.

Strada.
Camden.

The earl attempts to become maſter of ſeveral places.

He is recalled.

Act. Pub. xvi. p. 13.

Mean time the king of Spain, ever intent upon the project of invading England, continued to make extraordinary preparations. The project was formed ever ſince the queen of Scots had been perſuaded to convey to him her right to England, as being the only means to reſtore the catholick religion. According to the received maxim in the church of Rome, that a heretick is unworthy and incapable of enjoying a crown, Philip II. thought he might juſtly claim that of England, as being the next catholick prince deſcended from the houſe of Lancaſter. But that the reader may the better know the ground of his pretenſions, it will be proper to caſt an eye upon his genealogy, which ſhows him ſprung from the two daughters of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter, fourth ſon of Edward III. Upon this deſcent therefore, and the queen of

Philip II. prepares to invade England.
Camden.

Ground of his title to England.

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[w] This place was defended a while by ſir Roger Williams, ſir Francis Vere, and captain Nicolas Baſkerville. Camden, p. 541.

He tries to amuſe Elizabeth. Camden.

Scots conveyance and will, he had projected the conqueſt of England. Elizabeth, not being ignorant of it, took all poſſible care to be in a poſture of defence, and both colour'd their preparations with divers pretences. To amuſe Elizabeth, Philip ſent and propoſed her mediation for a peace between him and the revolted provinces of the Netherlands. Elizabeth perfectly knew Philip's aim, and to amuſe him in her turn, accepted the mediation, in hopes the negotiation would give her more time to be prepared. She propoſed therefore to the ſtates a peace with Spain, intimating, they could not refuſe to enter into treaty, without incurring the blame of continuing the war out of obſtinacy. She promiſed them moreover to have their intereſts as much at heart as her own. But the ſtates abſolutely refuſed to treat, knowing, by frequent experience, that ſuch negotiations were ever fatal to them. Nevertheleſs, ſhe ſent plenipotentiaries [x] into Flanders, imagining the ſtates would be forced, as ſhe hinted, to agree to her deciſions with Spain. Three months paſſed before the place of congreſs could be ſettled. Elizabeth required as preliminaries, a general pardon for the confederates; that the towns of the Netherlands ſhould enjoy all their ancient privileges, and the old alliance between England and Spain be renewed; that ſome good fund ſhould be aſſigned her for the payment of what was due from the ſtates, and the forces on both ſides be diſbanded. As to religion, the Spaniards demanded, that it ſhould be entirely as the king pleaſed, ſince he did not hinder Elizabeth from ſettling it in her dominions according to her pleaſure. Elizabeth did not inſiſt much upon this article, whether ſhe believed every ſovereign to have a right to impoſe a religion upon his people, or, to amuſe the Spaniard, feigned to relax, that ſhe might not obſtruct a negotiation, the continuance whereof could not but be advantageous to her. Be this as it will, ſhe went ſo far as to be ſatisfied that the exerciſe of the reformed religion ſhould be tolerated two years only in the United Provinces. As for the places in her poſſeſſion, ſhe refuſed not to reſtore them, provided ſhe were reimburſed. Upon theſe mutual demands, the Spaniards took care to delay the concluſion of the preliminaries, imagining that the hopes of a ſpeedy peace would prevent Elizabeth's preparations againſt their attacks. They refuſed to come to any agreement with reſpect to religion; and as for Elizabeth's charges in ſupporting the confederates, they pretended they were to be balanced by the expences ſhe had

Negotiation for a peace between the Netherlands and Spain. Grotius. Camden. Strype's An. tom. iii.

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[x] Thomas Sackvil lord Buckhurſt, ſir John Norris, and Bartholomew Clerk. Camden, p. 540.

put their king to. At length, the preparations which were making againſt England in all the Spaniſh ports became ſo publick, that this feigned negotiation broke off without any ſucceſs, after laſting till March the next year.

The pope ſides with Philip. Camden.

I have already mentioned Philip's pretenſions to England and Ireland. Ferdinand the Catholick, his great-grandfather, had not ſo plauſible a claim to the kingdom of Naples and Navarre which he ſeized, and which ſtill are part of the Spaniſh monarchy. But beſides theſe pretenſions, Philip made uſe of another thing, very proper to impoſe upon the world, namely, a great zeal for the reſtoration of the catholick religion in the three kingdoms of Great Britain. By that he had perſuaded pope Sixtus V. to come into the project, the execution whereof would be as well glorious as advantageous to both, but of which Philip was to bear the whole charge. As for Sixtus, he had nothing to contribute, but what the popes were wont to ſupply on ſuch occaſions, namely, vows, prayers, and anathemas. To countenance therefore the king of Spain's undertaking, the pope thundered againſt Elizabeth a bull, abſolving her ſubjects from their oath of allegiance, and giving her kingdoms to the firſt that ſhould ſeize them [y]. This was the king of Spain, who was now ready to embrace the pope's offer.

Bull of Sixtus V. againſt Elizabeth. Camden. Speed.

The Invincible Armada. Camden. Stow. Speed. Strype's Ann. tom. iii. Appen. N. 51.

He had prepared in Portugal, at Naples, and in Sicily, a fleet, called the Invincible Armada. It conſiſted of one hundred and fifty great ſhips, in which were embarked nineteen thouſand men, and two thouſand ſix hundred and thirty pieces of cannon [z]. It was to be commanded by the marquiſs De Santa Cruz, but that admiral dying whilſt the fleet was equipping, the duke of Medina-celi was appointed in his room. On the other hand, the duke of Parma had cauſed an army of thirty thouſand men [a] to advance towards the coaſts of the Low

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[y] The bulls of Pius V. and Gregory XIII. were renewed by cardinal Allen, ſent for that purpoſe into the Low-Countries. A cruſade was alſo publiſhed againſt queen Elizabeth. Camden, p. 543.

[z] The Spaniard, the more to advance his glory, and terrify his enemies, publiſhed an account of this fleet in Spaniſh, Latin, French, and Dutch. The Spaniſh book ſoon came into the hands of the lord treaſurer Burleigh, in divers places whereof Strype ſaw notes added by that lord ſoon after the defeat. From this book he has inſerted a brief account of the Spaniſh Armada, in his appendix of original papers, Ann. vol. iii. N. 51. The ſum whereof is this, That there were in all 130 ſhips of 57,868 tuns, 19,295 ſoldiers, and 8,450 mariners, 2088 ſlaves, and 2630 great braſs pieces of all ſorts, beſides 20 caravels for the ſervice of the army, and 10 ſalves with ſix oars a-piece. Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 519, 520. Speed, p. 858.—Queen Elizabeth's fleet conſiſted of not much above a hundred ſail. See Stow, p. 749.

[a] One hundred and three companies of foot, and four thouſand horſe, among which

Elizabeth's preparations. Camden. Stow, p. 749. Fox. Speed. Strype.

Low Countries, and prepared a great number of veſſels to tranſport them, in order to join the Spaniſh fleet, and land in England [b]. The project was to ſtation the fleet at the mouth of the Thames, to aſſiſt the troops who were to march directly to London. Elizabeth, who wanted not good ſpies, having timely notice of theſe great preparations, provided for the defence of her kingdom with great care and diligence. She fitted out a conſiderable fleet, which however was inferior to that of Spain, both in the number and largeneſs of the ſhips, and gave the command to Charles lord Howard of Effingham, high admiral of England, and very expert in ſea-affairs. He had for vice-admirals, Drake, Hawkins, and Forbiſher, three of the beſt ſea-officers then in the world [c]. On the other hand, Henry Seymour, ſecond ſon of the late duke of Somerſet, lay upon the coaſt of Flanders, with forty ſail of Engliſh and Dutch, to hinder the prince of Parma from joining the Spaniſh fleet. Moreover, Elizabeth had in England an army of forty thouſand men, whereof three thouſand, under the command of the earl of Leiceſter, were poſted near the Thames mouth. The reſt were near the queen's perſon, ready to march where it ſhould be deemed neceſſary [d]. Beſides this, there was in each county a body of militia well armed, under leaders who had orders to join one another as occaſion ſhould require. It is certain, there are no trained-bands in the world more proper for a bold action than thoſe of England. So in caſe the Spaniards had landed, they would have met with a warm reception. The ſea-ports were forti-

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which were ſeven hundred Engliſh fugitives, commanded by Stanley; the earl of Weſtmoreland was alſo with them. Camden, p. 543.

[b] Moreover, the duke of Guiſe brought twelve thouſand men down to the coaſt of Normandy, which was to join the Spaniſh Armada as they went by, and land in the weſt of England; but for want of money, or ſome other reaſon, their deſign proved abortive. Stow, p. 746.

[c] Theſe were ordered to lie at the Channel's mouth, and about the weſtern parts of England. Camden, p. 543.

[d] For the land-ſervice there were diſpoſed along the ſouthern coaſts twenty thouſand men. Beſides which, two armies were raiſed of choice well diſciplined men, the one under the command of the earl of Leiceſter, conſiſting of a thouſand horſe, and twenty-two thouſand foot, which encamped at Tilbury, (where the queen was pleaſed to come and review them; and made a very kind ſpeech to them, which ſee in Cabala, p. 373;) the other was under the leading of the lord Hunſdon, conſiſting of thirty-four thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, to guard the queen's perſon. Upon this emergency the city of London lent the queen great ſums of money. And being deſired to furniſh five thouſand men, and fifteen ſhips, they granted ten thouſand men, and thirty ſhips. No words, ſays Stow, can expreſs the great forwardneſs of the people, in their zealous love and duty towards their ſovereign, at this juncture. See Stow, p. 744, 750. Camden, p. 543, 548. Strype's Ann. tom. iii. p. 517.

fied[e] as much as the time would permit, and ſignals were every where appointed to ſhow the places where the troops were to march. In ſhort, it was reſolved, that if the Spaniards made a deſcent, the country about them ſhould be laid waſte, that they might have nothing to ſubſiſt upon but what they brought from the fleet[f]. This was the courſe taken by Francis I. in Provence againſt Charles V. with a ſucceſs that anſwered his expectations. Theſe meaſures being taken, the enemy was expected with uncommon alacrity, though it ſhould ſeem that on ſuch an occaſion every one ſhould have been in the utmoſt conſternation[g].

1588. The queen's perplexities.

Mean while, Elizabeth was not without uneaſineſs. The hour ſhe had always dreaded was at length come. Her crown lay at ſtake, and ſhe was to defend it, without the aſſiſtance of any ally. This ſhe had always endeavoured to prevent, from the beginning of her reign, by all the artifices her policy could ſuggeſt, by fomenting the troubles of Scotland, by making an alliance with France, by feigning to marry the duke of Anjou, by aſſiſting the Huguenots of France and the malecontents of the Netherlands, and finally, by beheading the queen of Scots. She had ſucceeded hitherto, and though ſurrounded with enemies, had found means to employ them at home, and prevent them from directly invading England. But the time was now come that her right muſt be expoſed to the chance of war. Though ſhe was generally beloved by her ſubjects, ſhe was not ignorant that there were many diſaffected perſons in the kingdom, and eſpecially among the catholicks. Nay, ſhe had reaſon to fear, they correſponded with the king of Spain and favoured his invaſion. On the other hand, ſhe was not eaſy with reſpect to Ireland, becauſe of the religion of the Iriſh, and the correſpondents the pope and Philip II. had there. But ſhe was under a ſtill greater concern on account of Scotland. She had juſt put king James's mother to death by the hand of the executioner, and if that prince ſhould be tranſported with the deſire of revenge, he could never have a fairer opportunity, ſince it was in his power to favour the deſcent of the Spaniards in one extremity of the kingdom, by making a diverſion in the other. In a word, if ſhe could not hinder the Spaniards from landing in England, ſhe muſt neceſſarily reſolve to hazard a battle, the country not being proper to prolong the war. All this was more than ſufficient to inſpire her with a juſt dread, which however ſhe very carefully concealed. If ever ſhe diſcovered ability, it was on this important occaſion. Far from ſhowing the leaſt faint-heartedneſs, ſhe encouraged her people by her looks, her reſolution, her affability, which made them think, ſhe was troubled only for their ſakes; and on her own account, regardleſs of the danger. Mean while, ſhe looked to every thing with a wonderful prudence, and a preſence of mind, rarely to be found in the greateſt men, and which gained her the admiration and praiſes of all the world. Some adviſed her to put to death, or ſend beyond ſea, the leading catholicks. But ſhe thought it would be diſcovering too much fear, beſides that it would have been great injuſtice to puniſh men upon bare ſuſpicions. She contented herſelf with cauſing ſome to be arreſted, and put into cuſtody, telling them however, it was only by way of precaution, which, inſtead of injuring, would ſcreen them from the violence of their enemies.

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[e] Particularly Milford-haven, Falmouth, Plymouth, Portland, the iſle of Wight, Portſmouth, the Downs, and about the Thames mouth, Harwich, Yarmouth, Hull, &c. Camden, ibid.

[f] Arthur lord Grey, ſir Francis Knolles, ſir John Norris, ſir Richard Bingham, and ſir Roger Williams, excellent ſoldiers, were made choice of to conſult about the beſt way of managing the war at land. Camden, p. 543, 548.

[g] April 12, this year, died ſir Thomas Bromley lord high chancellor, and was ſucceeded by ſir Chriſtopher Hatton, the queen's vice-chamberlain. Stow, p. 742. This year alſo died, ninety years old, Ann Stanhope, relict of Edward Seymour, duke of Somerſet, and protector of England. And ſir Ralph Sadler, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter. Camden, p. 541. And likewiſe, on April 18, John Fox the martyrologiſt. Strype's Ann. tom. iii. Appen. p. 209.

Camden.

As for Ireland, ſhe ſent orders to ſir William Fitz-williams, who was then lord deputy, diſtinctly pointing out to him what precautions he ſhould uſe to hinder the Iriſh from riſing. But above all things, ſhe took care to careſs the king of Scotland, and put him in hopes of an ample acknowledgment, if on this occaſion he inviolably adhered to the proteſtant religion and the intereſt of Great Britain. She repreſented to him, that, in reſpect to England, he was to conſider the king of Spain as a dangerous competitor, and that the loſs of one of the realms of Great Britain would not fail of being attended with the loſs of the other. But her uneaſineſs with regard to Scotland was not long-lived, ſince ſhe had quickly the ſatiſfaction to hear that James, knowing perfectly his own intereſt, had no correſpondence with the king of Spain, but even ſtood upon his guard for fear of being invaded himſelf.

She careſſes the king of Scotland. Camden.

Expedition of the Spaniſh fleet. Camden. Stow.

The duke of Medina-celi ſailed out of the Tagus with the Invincible Armada the 3d of June [h], and ſteered his courſe towards the north. Within a few days, a ſtorm ariſing, ſo diſperſed the ſhips, that they could not rejoin till they came to the Groyne. This accident occaſioned a report over Europe, that the Spaniſh fleet was entirely deſtroyed. Walſingham himſelf, ſecretary of ſtate, thought his intelligence ſo certain, that he writ to the lord admiral Howard, to ſend home four of the largeſt ſhips, there being no farther danger this year. But the admiral anſwered, he could not think of parting with the four ſhips, though he ſhould be obliged to keep them at his own charge, till he had more certain advice. The better to know the truth, the wind turning to the north, he ſailed with all his fleet towards Spain, with deſign to complete the deſtruction of the enemy's Armada, which was repreſented to him as diſabled. But when he approached Spain, he heard the fleet had not ſuffered ſo much damage as was reported. At the ſame time, the wind changing to the ſouth, he ſailed back to his ſtation at the mouth of the channel, for fear with the ſame wind the enemies fleet ſhould advance towards England.

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[h] May 29, ſays Camden, p. 545.

But it was the 12th of July before the Spaniards departed from the Groyne, and two days after, the duke of Medina-celi ſent a yatcht to notify the ſame to the duke of Parma, that he might be ready to join him. The 19th, the Spaniſh fleet entered the Channel, and the 20th, appeared in ſight of the Engliſh, who let it paſs in order to follow it before the wind. Camden has inſerted in his Annals, a journal of what paſſed in the Channel till the Spaniards retired to the North. I don't think it very neceſſary to copy the journal, which beſides is a little obſcure, and gives but an imperfect idea of the bravery and conduct of the Engliſh. It will ſuffice to ſay, that whilſt the Spaniards were in the Channel, the Engliſh kept cloſe to them, and even took ſome of their ſhips. Of this number were a Galeon, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdis, which was ſent to Dartmouth, and a ſhip of Biſcay, in which was the king's treaſure; but the Spaniards had taken out the money, becauſe the ſhip had been fired.

The 23d of July, the wind being in the north, the duke of Medina-celi ſtood towards the Engliſh fleet. There was that day a ſharp engagement, wherein the Spaniards, though much ſuperior in number of ſhips, obtained no advantage. The unweildineſs of their ſhips, and the agility of the Engliſh, made it eaſy for theſe to ſtand off or on, as they ſaw fit, and ſo to balance the ſuperiority of their enemies. The trial the Spaniards made on this occaſion of the Engliſh valour and ſkill in ſea-engagements, began doubtleſs to give them quite another notion of their enterprize than they had hitherto conceived.

Mean while, the duke of Medina-celi ſent daily meſſengers to preſs the duke of Parma to put to ſea with his army. But that was not practicable, by reaſon of the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, poſted advantageouſly to hinder the junction. It was neceſſary for the Spaniards to approach the coaſt of Flanders, to compel them to retire[i]. But the 27th in the evening, they were no farther than off Calais, where they came to an anchor, being ſtill followed by the Engliſh, who lay within ſhot. Here the Engliſh fleet was joined by a good number of ſhips, not only of the queen's, but of divers private perſons, who had fitted out ſeveral at their own expence[k]. And now the fleet conſiſted of one hundred and forty ſhips of war, ſmall indeed in compariſon of the Spaniſh, but however with the advantage of moving more eaſily, and retiring into the ports of England in caſe of neceſſity. The duke of Parma, who was to ſail from Dunkirk and Newport, was ſtill earneſtly ſollicited by the duke of Medina-celi to put to ſea, and make a deſcent in England, as it had been reſolved. But, beſides that the ſhips which expected him, were not yet withdrawn, notwithſtanding the neighbourhood of the Spaniſh Armada, many of his mariners had deſerted, and his fleet was ill-provided with victuals. In ſhort, he could not or would not embark.

Stow. Camden.

July 28. Whilſt the Spaniards lay before Calais, the Engliſh admiral ſent in the night eight fire-ſhips among their fleet[l]. This ſight ſtruck them with ſuch a terror, that inſtantly cutting their cables, they put to ſea to avoid the impending danger. In this confuſion, the Admiral-galeaſs, commanded by Hugo de Moncada, having loſt her rudder, floated up and down till the next day, when ſhe was taken by the Engliſh after a ſharp engagement, wherein Moncada was ſlain. Though the Spaniſh admiral had ordered every ſhip to return to her ſtation as ſoon as the danger was paſſed, and made a ſignal for that purpoſe, there were but few that endeavoured to obey. So, the fleet remained diſperſed; ſome of the ſhips being driven to the North, and others upon the ſhallows of Flanders, where they were in great danger. They had not only to guard againſt the ſands, but alſo againſt the Engliſh, who ſo played upon them with their cannon, that ſeveral Spaniſh ſhips were that day diſabled, and the galeons, called St. Philip and St. Matthew, fell into the hands of the Zealanders. At laſt, a north-weſt wind driving the fleet upon the coaſt of Zealand, where they were like to be loſt, the Engliſh gave over the chace, for fear of being expoſed to the ſame danger. Happily for the Spaniards, the wind turned to the ſouth-weſt very ſeaſonably, and freed them from their diſtreſs. But now, perceiving the impoſſibility of executing their project, they reſolved to return home by ſailing round Scotland and Ireland, and the rather, as ſome of their ſhips had already ſteered that courſe. The Engliſh admiral ſeeing them ſtand to the northward, left part of his fleet to have an eye upon the coaſt of Flanders, and gave them chace, though at a little diſtance, till they were paſt Edinburgh-frith. The courſe they ſteered gave ſome ſuſpicion, that they were ſure of a retreat in the ports of Scotland. Whereupon the Engliſh ambaſſador at king James's court made him large offers, and even ſome promiſes, which he had not power to make, and which were never performed[m].

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[i] On the 26th, the lord admiral knighted the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Sheffield, Roger Townſend, John Hawkins, and Martin Forbiſher, for their good ſervice; and a reſolution was taken not to attack the enemy any more, till they were come into the ſtreights of Calais. Camden, p. 547.

[k] Amongſt others, the earls of Oxford, Northumberland, Cumberland, Thomas and Robert Cecil, Henry Brooke, Charles Blunt, Walter Raleigh, William Hatton, Robert Carey, Ambroſe Willoughby, Thomas Gerard, Arthur Gorges, ſir Thomas Vavaſor, and others of good quality. Camden, p. 547. Stow, p. 747.

[l] Under the conduct of Young and Prowſe. Camden, p. 547.

July 30.

Mean while, the Spaniſh fleet continuing their courſe, ſuſtained ſome farther damage by contrary winds, which cauſed ſeveral of their ſhips to be loſt on the coaſt of Scotland and Ireland. Seven hundred ſoldiers and mariners, who had eſcaped to land in the king of Scotland's dominions, were ſent to the duke of Parma with Elizabeth's conſent. But thoſe who were ſhipwrecked in Ireland, and caſt aſhore, were all put to the ſword, or periſhed by the hands of the executioner; the lord-deputy, by whoſe orders it was done, fearing they would join with the rebels. At leaſt this was his pretence to excuſe this barbarity[n].

Strype's Annals, t. iii. p. 522.

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[m] Aſhby, the queen's ambaſſador in Scotland, made king James the following offers; namely, the title of a duke in England, a yearly penſion of 5000 l. a guard to be maintained at the queen's charge, and ſome other matters, whether (ſays Camden) of his own head, or by command of others, I cannot tell. Camden, p. 548.

[n] Of the Spaniſh Armada were taken and deſtroyed in July and Auguſt fifteen great ſhips, and 4791 men, in the fight between the Engliſh and Spaniſh navies in the Channel: and on the coaſt of Ireland, in September, ſeventeen ſhips, and 5394 men. In all thirty-two ſhips, and 10185 men. See Strype's Append. Numb. 53. Upon the diſappearance of this mighty fleet, the following writing was faſtened up to Paſquil at Rome: "Pontificem mille annorum indulgentias largiturum eſſe de plenitudine "poteſtatis ſuae, ſiquis certò ſibi indicaverit, quid ſit factum de claſſe Hiſpanicâ, quò abierit: in coelumne "ſublata: an ad tartara detruſa: vel in "aere alicubi pendeat, an in aliquo "mari fluctuet." Strype's Ann. tom. iii, p. 522.

Eliz. 1588.

Philip bears his misfortune patiently. Camden.

Philip II. received the news of the ill ſucceſs of his fleet with an heroic patience. He had ſpent three years in preparing the Armada with an incredible expence, and when he heard of the defeat, ſo contrary to his expectation, thanked God it was no greater [o].

The queen returns God thanks. Nov. 24. Camden. Stow. Speed.

Upon the retreat of this ſo formidable a fleet, England was filled with an univerſal joy. Elizabeth ordered a publick thankſgiving for the deliverance, to be made in all the churches of the kingdom, and went herſelf to St. Paul's [p] in great ſolemnity to perform the ſame duty. After that, ſhe conferred on the lord-admiral a yearly revenue, in recompence of his great ſervice to his country, and beſtowed penſions on the wounded. For the reſt, their rewards conſiſted more in words than in deeds.

King James remains firm to the intereſt of England. Act. Pub. XVI. p. 18. Camden.

Sir Robert Sidney, who had been ſent into Scotland before the arrival of the Spaniſh fleet, at the time the queen was afraid king James would think of being revenged, returned home when the danger was over. He reported, that the king of Scotland had teſtified his ſincere attachment to the intereſt of England, and the proteſtant religion, and had told him, ‘ That he looked for no other favour from the Spaniards, than ‘ what Polyphemus promiſed Ulyſſes, namely, that he ſhould ‘ be devoured the laſt.’

Death of the earl of Leiceſter. Camden. Stow.

On the 4th of September [q] died the earl of Leiceſter, a man little deſerving his greatneſs, if moſt of the hiſtorians are to be credited. His death drew tears from the queen, who nevertheleſs ordered his goods to be ſold at a public ſale, for payment of the ſums ſhe had lent him [r].

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[o] This is Camden's account. But according to Anthoney Coppley, a fugitive gentleman in thoſe times, when the news was brought to Philip, being at maſs, “He ſwore (after maſs was “ over) that he would waſte and con“ſume his crown even to the value of “ a candleſtick) pointing at one that “ ſtood upon the altar) but either he would utterly ruin her majeſty and England, or elſe him and all Spain become tributary to her.” Strype, ibid. p. 525.----The duke of Medina returned to Spain about the end of September, with only ſixty ſail out of his hundred and thirty, and thoſe too very much ſhattered. Stow, p. 749.

[p] Where eleven colours and ſtandards taken from the enemy were hung up. Camden, p. 549. Stow, p. 750.

[q] Rapin, by miſtake, ſays the 14th of December.

[r] Robert Dudley, fifth ſon of John duke of Northumberland, died the 4th of September at Cornbury in Oxfordſhire, in his way to Kenilworth, from whence he was carried to Warwick, and there interred. The titles and places he enjoyed were theſe: knight of the orders of the garter and St. Michael; privy-counſellor; maſter of the horſe; ſteward of the queen's houſhold; conſtable of Windſor-caſtle; chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford; juſtice in eyre of all the foreſts ſouth of the Trent; lieutenant and captain-general of the Engliſh forces in the Netherlands. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 221. Camden. p. 549.

Affairs of the Low-Countries. Strada. Camden.

After the Spaniſh fleet had left the coaſt of Flanders, the duke of Parma ſeeing the enterprize blaſted, beſieged Bergen-op-ſoom, where was an Engliſh governor, with a garriſon of the ſame nation. The ſiege acquired the governor great reputation, who by a gallant defence obliged the duke at length to raiſe it [s].

Affairs of France. Thuanus. Mezerai.

The ſame year, ſo memorable for England, was no leſs ſo for France. The duke of Guiſe, grown more powerful than the king, came to Paris in May, and by the favour of the people, whoſe idol he was, obliged the king to depart, having firſt ſeen the furious populace chaining the ſtreets, and preparing to attack his perſon in the Louvre. This is what was called, The barricadoes of Paris [t]. This inſolent action was followed by an agreement, which the king was forced to make with the heads of the league, whereby he put ſeveral places into their hands. But in December following, Henry perceiving himſelf ruined, if he did not make away with the duke of Guiſe, and his brother the cardinal, cauſed them both to be aſſaſſinated at Blois, where the ſtates of the kingdom were aſſembled. Thus he freed himſelf from a preſent danger, but it was only to fall into another, for this action made the league, and the city of Paris openly declare againſt him.

Affairs of Scotland. Melvil, p. 176.

As for Scotland, all was quiet there during the whole year 1588. So long as the king had about him miniſters and counſellors attached to the intereſts of England, he generally led an eaſy and peaceable life. So, the only thing that troubled him this year was his marriage, which he could not accompliſh, though he paſſionately wiſhed it himſelf. Melvil inſinuates, that chancellor Maitland, who then managed that prince's affairs, was bribed by Elizabeth: that ſhe gave penſions to moſt of the counſellors of Scotland, and that her aim was to hinder the king from marrying. He had ſent ambaſſadors [u] to Copenhagen, to treat of his marriage with the eldeſt daughter of Frederic II. but by the artifice of his miniſters, the ambaſſadors power was ſo limited, that it was impoſſible for them to conclude. On the other hand, whilſt the marriage was negotiating, one Dubartus [w], a French poet, ſervant of the king of Navarre, came to Edinburgh, under colour of paying his reſpects to the king, who had expreſſed ſome eſteem for his works, and propoſed, as of himſelf, the king's marriage with Catherine his maſter's ſiſter. He ſaid ſo many fine things of the lady, that the king, by the advice of his council, ſent the lord Tungland, Melvil's brother, into France to ſee her, on pretence of negotiating ſome affair with the king her brother. The king of Denmark hearing of it, and ſeeing, moreover, the limited power of the Scotch ambaſſadors, believed he was mocked, and gave his daughter to the duke of Brunſwick. Melvil aſcribes, not without great likelihood, this whole intrigue to Elizabeth, and affirms, it was ſhe that informed the king of Denmark of the lord Tungland's being ſent to the court of Navarre. p. 177.

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[s] The lord Willoughby general of the Engliſh, (who had made ſir William Drury governor, though the queen, by her letters, had given the place to Morgan) to reward military valour, knighted ſir Francis Vere, who now began to grow famous, ſir Thomas Knolles, ſir Nicholas Parker, and ſir John Pooley, for their courageous behaviour. Camden, p. 550.

[t] What occaſioned this name was, that the ſtreets were blocked up with barriques, i. e. hogſheads, &c. See Thuanus, l. 90.

[u] The biſhop of St. Andrew's, and the lairds of Sogie and Bairbarrow. Melvil, p. 176.

[w] As this name is thus writ in Melvil's memoirs, it was not thought proper to alter it. But there is room to ſuſpect

1589. Plot in Scotland diſcovered. Camden. Melvil, p. 175.

Shortly after, in the beginning of the year 1589, was diſcovered in Scotland a conſpiracy againſt the king, contrived by the earls of Huntley and Bothwell, ſon of John Prior of Coldingham, natural ſon of James V.[x] Their deſign was to ſeize the king's perſon, and compel him to reſtore the catholic religion in Scotland[y]. It is ſaid, they were excited by emiſſaries from Spain[z]. The king prevented the execution of the plot by his diligence. He purſued the earl of Huntley, who had taken up arms, till at laſt he conſtrained him to yield at diſcretion. As for Bothwell, he withdrew to his own houſe, where he meditated new projects, which I ſhall mention hereafter. I return to the affairs of England.

Trial of the earl of Arundel. April 18. State-Trials. Camden.

Philip Howard earl of Arundel, eldeſt ſon of the late duke of Norfolk, who had been three years priſoner in the Tower, was at laſt brought to his trial before his peers, being accuſed of conſpiring againſt the queen and the ſtate. Camden ſhows, he was convicted at moſt but of being diſaffected to the government, and too much attached to the catholic religion[a]. He was however condemned to die; but the queen gave him his life[b].

The queen ſpares his life.

ſuſpect it ſhould be Du Bartas, a famous poet, who was indeed ſent to Scotland by the king of Navarre, though one cannot be ſure it was this very year. Thuanus, tom. v. p. 100. Rapin---- Melvil ſays, that king James had this Dubartus in great eſteem, for his rare poeſie ſet out in the French tongue; which put it out of all doubt that it was Dubartus. Melvil, p. 176.

[x] And alſo the earls of Arrol and Crawford. Camden, p. 551.

[y] And then invade England, in revenge for the death of the queen of Scots. Ibid.

[z] Namely, Robert Bruce a prieſt, and Chreicton and Hayes jeſuits. Ibid.

[a] He was accuſed of having held private and ſecret conference and communication of ſeveral treaſons, with Allen and other popiſh prieſts; and of having had maſs ſaid for the happy ſucceſs of the Spaniſh Armada. See State Trials, vol. i.

[b] Henry earl of Derby was made lord high-ſteward of England for this purpoſe. Camden, p. 551.

Eliza-

Peaceable ſtate of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth enjoyed now a tranquillity, to which ſhe had been a ſtranger ever ſince the beginning of her reign. The queen of Scotland was no longer in the world; and the king her ſon, in expectation of one day ſucceeding Elizabeth, ſtifled his reſentment, or rather had entirely forgot the tragical death of his mother. The king of Spain was diſabled to make a freſh attempt upon England, ſince the unfortunate ſucceſs of his Invincible Armada. The affairs of the United Provinces began to be reſtored by the valour and prudent conduct of count Maurice, and thoſe of France were in ſuch a ſituation, that England had nothing to fear from that quarter. The duke of Guiſe, Elizabeth's great enemy, was dead, his ſon in priſon, and the duke of Mayenne wholly bent upon revenging the death of his brothers. As for Sixtus V. though very capable of forming great projects, he could not execute them without the aid of ſome catholick potentate; and the king of Spain, on whom alone he could depend, was wholly engroſſed with the thoughts of improving the troubles of France. As for the Engliſh catholicks, there was no likelihood of their ſtirring, at a time when they could not expect any foreign aſſiſtance.

She ſends a fleet againſt Spain. Camden. Stow.

In this proſperous ſtate, Elizabeth having nothing to fear either at home or abroad, had a mind to ſhow the Spaniard, the Engliſh could attack as well as defend. But as ſhe was extremely frugal, and an undertaking againſt Spain could not but be very expenſive, ſhe ſo ordered it, that Drake and Norris took upon them to be at the charge, in hopes of making themſelves amends by the booty they ſhould meet with. So ſhe only found them ſhips of war [c], with leave to raiſe ſoldiers and ſailors for the expedition. Drake had already tried the Spaniards in America and the channel, and was convinced they were more formidable in common opinion, than in reality. Wherefore, joining with Norris, and ſome other private perſons, they equipped a fleet, and embarked eleven thouſand ſoldiers, and fifteen hundred mariners. The Hollanders having alſo added ſome ſhips, the fleet conſiſted of fourſcore ſail [d] of all ſorts. Drake commanded at ſea, and Norris was general of the land-forces. They took with them Don Antonio, who ſtiled himſelf king of Portugal, and hoped, by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, to be put in poſſeſſion of that kingdom, where he pretended to have many friends.

Stow.

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[c] Six ſhips of war, and about 60,000 l. in money. Stow, p. 752.

[d] One hundred and forty-ſix, ſays Stow. He makes the number of the ſoldiers to have been fourteen thouſand, and of the ſailors four thouſand. Ibid.

The expedition. Camden. Stow.

May 6.

They ſailed from Plymouth the 18th of April, and ſoon after arrived at the Groyne, where landing their troops, they aſſaulted the lower-town and carried it by ſtorm. Then they beſieged the upper-town. But Norris having advice that the Condé di Andrada was approaching with a body of troops to relieve the place, ſuddenly raiſed the ſiege to march againſt him; but the Spaniſh Condé thinking proper to retire, he purſued him, and overtaking him ſlew three thouſand of his men. This done, he burned ſeveral villages, and, without returning to the ſiege, reimbarked his troops. The principal deſign of the Engliſh was to exert themſelves chiefly againſt Portugal.

Stow.

May 16.

The Engliſh ſeize ſixty ſhips belonging to the Hans-towns.

June 21.

July 10.

Whilſt they were ſailing towards the coaſts of that kingdom, they met the earl of Eſſex, who joined the fleet with ſome ſhips he had armed at his own charge, and unknown to the queen. Some days after, they arrived at Penicha, a little town of Portugal, and taking it, reſtored it to Don Antonio. From thence Norris marched by land to Liſbon, Drake promiſing to follow with the fleet up the Tagus. The army marched ſixty miles without any oppoſition, and encamping before Liſbon, took the ſuburbs of St. Catherine. But as Drake performed not his promiſe, and the army wanted cannon and ammunition, it was reſolved in a council of war to retire. This reſolution was taken, becauſe there was no appearance that the Portugueze were inclined to revolt, as Don Antonio had expected, and alſo becauſe there was no news of the ſuccours he had boaſted of, from the king of Morocco. The army marching towards the mouth of the Tagus, met Drake, who had taken the town of Caſcaes, and excuſed himſelf upon the impoſſibility of performing his promiſe. Some days after, the caſtle of Caſcaes ſurrendering, it was blown up; and, to make themſelves amends for the charges of the expedition, the Engliſh ſeized ſixty veſſels laden with corn [e] belonging to the Hans-towns. Then they went and took Vigo, which was abandoned by the inhabitants, and firing the town returned to England. This expedition did ſome damage to the king of Spain, but was of no benefit to Elizabeth, and the booty was not ſufficient to pay for equipping the fleet [f]. Beſides this, above ſix thouſand men periſhed by ſickneſs. The only advantage reaped by the

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[e] And all manner of naval ſtores, to equip a new fleet againſt England. Camden, p. 554.

[f] The Engliſh brought home a hundred and fifty pieces of great ordnance, and a very rich booty, ſays Camden, p. 555.

Engliſh was, that they were more convinced of the weakneſs of the Spaniards in their own country.

They complain to the queen.
The court's anſwer.

The Hans-towns made great noiſe on account of the ſeizure of their ſhips in the Tagus, and ſent ambaſſadors to the queen with their compaints. They were told, in the firſt place, that in the patent granted them by Edward III. it was expreſsly provided, they ſhould not import any commodities into the dominions of the profeſſed and open enemies of England. Secondly, that a neutrality was ſo to be ordered, that in aſſiſting one of the parties, the other ſhould not be damaged; and that it was a thing well known, that warlike proviſions carried to one of the contending parties, were contraband goods, and liable to ſeizure. In the third place, they could not juſtly complain of the taking their veſſels, ſince the queen had warned them not to import any proviſions to Spain and Portugal, unleſs they would hazard their being ſeized by the Engliſh.

Affairs of France.
Thuanus.
Mezerai.
Camden.

This affair was of little moment: but what paſſed in France this year was much more conſiderable. The ſtep Henry III. had taken, in cauſing the duke of Guiſe to be ſtabbed, ſerved only to throw him into greater trouble. His ſwearing again to the league in the preſence of the ſtates before he diſmiſſed them ſignified nothing. The leaguers, as they could no longer truſt to his promiſes and oaths, almoſt entirely alienated the whole kingdom from him. Hence he ſaw himſelf forced to call the king of Navarre and the Huguenots to his aſſiſtance, and join with them againſt the league. It is a thing very remarkable, that this prince, who had ſworn to extirpate the Huguenots, and ſolemnly declared he would never keep promiſe with them, ſcarce found any other ſubjects but the Huguenots in whom he could confide. The forces brought him by the king of Navarre, and ten thouſand Switzers, two thouſand Landſquenets, with ſome horſe, which came in ſeaſon, enabled him to beſiege or block up Paris with an army of thirty-eight thouſand men. But juſt as he ſaw himſelf upon the point of compelling the Pariſians to return to their duty, James Clement a Jacobin monk, ſtabbed him in the belly with a dagger, of which he died in two days. Before he expired, he nominated for his ſucceſſor the king of Navarre, head of the houſe of Bourbon, who aſſumed the name of Henry IV.

Henry III. is aſſaſſinated.
Auguſt 1.
Thuanus.
Henry IV. ſucceeds.

Thuanus.
Mezerai.
P. Daniel.

The league refuſed to acknowledge the new king. Nay, he ſaw himſelf deſerted by ſeveral great men of the late king's party; and, in order to retain ſome of the catholick nobility, he was obliged to promiſe them, that he would within ſuch a time be inſtructed in the principles of the Romiſh religion; that is, would turn catholick: for that was the meaning given to theſe words. Mean while he had neither men nor money, the Switzers and Germans who had ſerved Henry III. threatening to leave him, unleſs he would pay them their arrears, which he was not able to do. In this extremity he had recourſe to Elizabeth, who generouſly promiſed him both men and money. In expectation of theſe ſuccours, he ſtood firm againſt the duke of Mayenne, who had forced him into Normandy, and even attacked him at Arques, but without ſucceſs. Henry thought himſelf in ſuch danger, that he would have taken the advice given him by ſome to fly into England, if the marſhal de Biron had not ſtopped him. At laſt, the Engliſh ſupplies arrived, conſiſting of four thouſand men, under the command of Peregrine lord Willoughby [g], and of twenty-two thouſand pounds ſterling in gold. With this reinforcement he was able to approach Paris, and take one of the ſuburbs of that city. But the duke of Mayenne having entered with his army, he was forced to retire. Mean while, the duke of Mayenne had cauſed the old cardinal de Bourbon to be proclaimed king, and himſelf had aſſumed the title of lieutenant-general of the crown of France. Henry leaving the country about Paris, returned into Normandy, where he reduced ſome places to his obedience, after which he ſent home the Engliſh forces.

Camden.
Stow.

The king of Scotland's marriage.
Melvil, p. 177.

Though the king of Denmark had given his eldeſt daughter to the duke of Brunſwick, the king of Scotland perſiſted in his deſign to marry into his family, and demanded his ſecond daughter. Frederick granted his requeſt, but on condition he ſhould cauſe her to be demanded by a ſolemn embaſſy before the firſt day of May. But he died in this interval, leaving his ſucceſſor under age. This did not hinder James from thinking ſeriouſly of his marriage with the princeſs Ann, the new king's ſiſter. But when he moved in council the ſending of an embaſſy to Copenhagen, he was told, he would hazard a rupture with the queen of England, if he married without conſulting her. The authors of this advice knew Elizabeth would raiſe obſtacles to the marriage. And indeed, in her anſwer to the king, ſhe tried to make him ſenſible of ſundry inconveniencies if he eſpouſed the princeſs of Denmark; and, to divert him from it, propoſed to him Catherine, the king of Navarre's ſiſter, who was not yet come to the crown of France,

p. 179.

Camden.

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[g] He was accompanied by ſir Thomas Wilford, ſir John Burroughs, ſir Thomas Drury, and ſir Thomas Baſkervill. Camden, p. 556.

promiſing to ſerve him to the utmoſt of her power. Elizabeth's anſwer being laid before the council, there was not a privy-counſellor but what declared againſt the Daniſh match. James was ſo vexed to be thus contradicted, that by means of a truſty ſervant, he cauſed the inhabitants of Edinburgh to riſe in arms, and threaten to tear the chancellor and privy-counſellors in pieces, if the king's marriage with the princeſs of Denmark was not concluded. Theſe threats terrifying the council, ambaſſadors were inſtantly appointed to negotiate the marriage. But withal care taken to inſert in their inſtructions a clauſe, which put them to a ſtand in the very beginning of their negotiation, and obliged them to ſend home the lord Dingual to demand fuller powers, or leave to return. This lord arriving at court when the chancellor was abſent, the king himſelf drew the power required by his ambaſſadors, whereupon the marriage was ſoon concluded. Preſently after the new queen was delivered to the ambaſſadors to be conducted into Scotland: but a ſtorm ariſing whilſt ſhe was at ſea, drove her upon the coaſt of Norway, where ſhe was forced to land. The wind continued ſo long contrary, that James, impatient to ſee his bride, could not ſtay till it changed. So, embarking in a ſmall veſſel, he went to his queen, and paſſed the whole winter in Norway and Denmark, from whence he returned not to Scotland till May the next year, bringing his queen with him [h].

Camden, p. 180.---182.

Act. Pub. XVI. p. 27.

1590. Elizabeth keeps in a poſture of defence againſt Spain. Camden.

The tranquillity enjoyed by Elizabeth was liable to be diſturbed only from Spain. France was not in condition to create her any uneaſineſs, and the king of Scotland thought only of living peaceably, in expectation of the noble ſucceſſion that was to come to him. Philip II. was therefore the ſole enemy Elizabeth had to fear. But, to ſecure herſelf from all ſurprize, ſhe took the moſt juſt though expenſive precautions. She had always a good fleet ready to put to ſea at the firſt notice [i]. The fortified towns and ſea-ports were likewiſe in good condition [k], and this coſt her as much as if ſhe had been in actual war with Spain. But ſhe ſupplied all by her good œconomy, expending no money but what was abſolutely neceſſary. This diſpleaſed her hungry courtiers, who would have been very glad ſhe had been a little more liberal. But though ſhe knew herſelf taxed with avarice, ſhe thought not proper to alter her conduct. She thereby avoided being troubleſome to the parliament, and when ſhe wanted an extraordinary aid, was ſure to find a ready compliance in the houſe of commons, without any murmurs among the people. This advantage outweighed the ſatisfaction of being called liberal by her courtiers. Beſides, ſhe was perſuaded that what was termed avarice in her, was only good œconomy. The truth is, with the ordinary revenues of the crown, ſhe found means to ſupply the expences of her houſhold, maintain a fleet, pay the publick debts, and aſſiſt her neighbours in their diſtreſs, which none of her predeceſſors had ever done. On the contrary, moſt of them, by their miſtaken bounties, had ruined their ſubjects for the pleaſure of enriching a ſmall number of courtiers. Beſides, Elizabeth had a particular reaſon to ſpare the purſes of her ſubjects, in order to gain their affection, the ſtrongeſt ſupport of her throne. Wherefore, one of the chief objects of her care was a due management of her treaſury, with intent to be always able to withſtand the attacks of her enemies both at home and abroad. Her inſpection in the year 1590 into the cuſtoms, notwithſtanding the endeavours that were uſed to divert her from it, occaſioned her raiſing them from fourteen thouſand pounds a year (at which ſum they were farmed by Sir Thomas Smith) to forty-two thouſand, and at laſt to fifty thouſand. But her great œconomy hindered her not from parting with her money when it was neceſſary. Though, in the two foregoing years ſhe had lent about two hundred thouſand crowns to the king of France, ſhe ſupplied him with ſixty thouſand more, becauſe ſhe plainly ſaw of what conſequence the ruin of that prince might be to England. Moreover, the garriſons of the Briel and Fluſhing, beſides the three thouſand men maintained by her in the Low-

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[h] This year, on February 4, a new parliament met at Weſtminſter, which was diſſolved March 29. The temporality granted the queen ſubſidies, of 2 s. 8 d. in the pound, and four fifteenths, and a tenth beſides, ſays Stow, p. 751. The clergy gave two ſubſidies of 6 s. in the pound, to be paid yearly by two ſhillings in the pound. See Statut---- In this parliament it was enacted, 1. That no perſon, except the party grieved, ſhall be received to inform or ſue upon any penal ſtatute. 2. That no perſon, or body politick or corporate, which hath election or voice, in the nomination and choice of any fellow, ſcholar, or any perſon in any church, college, ſchool, hoſpital, or other ſociety, ſhall take any reward, directly or indirectly, for his vote: nor for preſentation or collation to any benefice or dignity. 3. That no perſon ſhall build, maintain, or uphold any cottage, unleſs he lays to it four acres of ground at leaſt. The penalty for building one is 10 l. and for upholding it 40 s. a month. See Statut. and D'ewes, p. 419, &c.---This year died Frances counteſs of Suſſex, and ſiſter to ſir Henry Sidney; foundreſs of Sidney-Suſſex college in Cambridge. About the ſame time alſo, died ſir Walter Mildmay, chancellor and under-treaſurer of the exchequer, and founder of Emanuel college in the aforeſaid univerſity. Camden, p. 557.

Camden.
Naunton,
p. 15.

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[i] Towards the repairs of which, ſhe appointed a yearly ſum of 8970 l. ſterling. Camden, p. 558.

[k] This year ſhe fortified Milford-haven in Wales, and Dunganon in Ireland. Ibid.

Countries, coſt her yearly above four hundred thouſand florins [l], becauſe ſhe was forced to advance the money till the ſtates ſhould be able to repay her. In fine, ſhe paid alſo conſiderable penſions to ſeveral perſons of the court of Scotland, whoſe buſineſs it was to acquaint her with all that paſſed there, and to keep the king well affected to England, as he had been for ſome time.

Affairs of France. Thuanus. Mezerai.

Whilſt Elizabeth enjoyed ſome tranquillity, France was troubled with the wars between the king and the league. In March the king gained the battle of Yvry againſt the duke of Mayenne, after which he inveſted Paris, and even took the ſuburbs. That great city was now reduced to extremity, when the duke of Parma arrived from the Netherlands, and forced the king to raiſe the blockade. That done, he returned without the king's being able to oblige him to fight.

and of the Low-Countries. Grotius.

On the other hand, in the duke of Parma's abſence, count Maurice, who had already taken Breda by ſurprize, made ſome farther progreſs, which helped to put the affairs of the United Provinces in a better ſituation than before.

The duke of Mercoeur over-runs Bretagne. Thuanus. Mezerai.

The ſame year the duke of Mercœur, of the houſe of Lorrain, became maſter of Bretagne by the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards, who took Hennebond and Blavet. This affair diſturbed Elizabeth, who did not care to have the Spaniards ſo near her, eſpecially as Philip II. might claim Bretagne for his daughter the infanta Iſabella, whoſe mother was daughter of Henry II.

Death of Walſingh. Camden.

Sir Francis Walſingham ſecretary of ſtate, who had long ſerved the queen with great zeal and ability, died this year, ſo poor that he was buried privately to ſave charges [m]. Thomas Randolph, whom I have frequently mentioned, and who had been employed in ſeveral embaſſies, particularly in Scotland, ſoon followed Walſingham.

1591. Henry IV. is in great perplexity.

The civil wars of France were then the moſt material affair of Europe. It could no longer be doubted, that Philip II. was thinking either to diſmember that kingdom, or procure it for his daughter Iſabella, grand-daughter to Henry II.

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[l] She paid 125000 florins every two months, i. e. 750,000 yearly; beſides 26000 more to three thouſand horſe and foot, which ſerved in the Netherlands. Camden, p. 558.

[m] He died April 6, and was buried by night in St. Paul's church. Camden, p. 560. He ſpent his whole time and eſtate in the ſervice of his queen and country; and had the beſt intelligence from all parts that any miniſter ever had. He left only one daughter, who was married, 1ſt, to ſir Philip Sidney; 2dly, to Robert earl of Eſſex; and, 3dly, to Richard Bourk earl of Clanrikard in Ireland. Ibid. This year alſo, on Feb. 21, died Ambroſe Dudley earl of Warwick, without iſſue; and George Talbot the ſeventh earl of Shrewſbury; as alſo ſir James Croftes. Ibid. Stow, p. 760, 761.

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Thuanus. Mezerai. Camden. Act. Pub. xvi. p. 23. 37, 89, &c.

notwithſtanding the Salic law. Sixtus V. ſavoured the project to the utmoſt of his power, under colour of hindering a heretick from being acknowledged king of France. If this deſign was not executed, it muſt be wholly aſcribed to the duke of Mayenne's jealouſy, who did not intend to labour for others. Mean while, Henry IV. was extremely embaraſſed. The forces of the Huguenots alone were not ſufficient to enable him to ſurmount all obſtacles, ſince he had no leſs to do than to conquer the whole kingdom of France, and the catholick nobles in his army ſerved him with reluctance. Nay, they had required him, in return for their ſervice, to be inſtructed, and in ſuch a manner, that the inſtruction ſhould produce in him a change of religion. In this preſſing neceſſity, he could not be without foreign ſuccours, and theſe ſuccours could be had only from Germany or England. It was viſibly the intereſt of Elizabeth and the proteſtant princes to ſupport Henry, not to ſee the king of Spain's power increaſed by the acquiſition of France. But, however, it was not eaſy to perſuade them, that they ought to employ all their forces to maintain a war, of which Henry was to reap all the benefit. They were very ready to ſupply him with troops, but not to pay them. It was his buſineſs to find money. Elizabeth plainly perceived, of what conſequence it was to her to preſerve France; but expected that the ſuccours ſhe gave the king, ſhould be employed in driving the Spaniards out of the maritime provinces of Bretagne, Normandy, and Picardy, for that was what moſt nearly concerned her. It was the king's intereſt, on the contrary, to expel his enemies from the center of the kingdom, before he thought of attacking them on the borders, and the more, as he thereby put Elizabeth under a continual neceſſity of aſſiſting him. However, to receive aid from Elizabeth, he was to promiſe what Elizabeth required. They agreed therefore upon a treaty, whereby Elizabeth ingaged to ſend three thouſand men into Bretagne and Picardy, to hinder the Spaniards from ſettling in thoſe provinces, on condition ſhe ſhould be repaid within a year[n] all her charges in raiſing and keeping the troops. Henry conſented to every thing, not to delay the negotiation, though he was fully convinced of the impoſſibility to perform his promiſe by the time appointed. Preſently after, the three thouſand Engliſh paſſed, part into Bretagne under the conduct of Norris, and part into Picardy, under the command of Sir Roger Williams.

Elizabeth engages to aid him. Act. Pub. xvi. p. 43. 125. Camden. Stow.

Act. Pub. xvi. p. 94. Three thouſand Engliſhmen are ſent into France.

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[n] Provided the enemy were diſpoſſeſſed by that time. Camden p. 561.

Elizabeth ſends a farther aid of 4000 men under the earl of Eſſex.
July.
Act. Pub. xvi. p. 98, 102, 149.
Camden.
Stow.
Speed.

At the ſame time Henry had negotiated in Germany a levy of eleven thouſand men, by means of the elector of Brandenburgh and Caſimir prince palatine. But this ſupply not ſufficing, he ſent and demanded a ſecond from Elizabeth, and, to obtain it the more eaſily, gave her to underſtand that with this reinforcement he ſhould be able to undertake the ſiege of Roan. Elizabeth's great deſire to ſee the maritime towns of France out of the power of the leaguers, cauſed her to fall into the ſnare. She made therefore with Henry a new treaty, whereby ſhe engaged to ſupply him with four thouſand men more, and pay them two months, imagining that time was ſufficient for the ſiege of Roan. When theſe ſupplies were ready, ſhe gave the command to the earl of Eſſex [o], a young nobleman, who had much of her favour, and for whom it was believed ſhe felt ſomething more than a bare eſteem, though ſhe was then fifty-eight years of age. The earl of Eſſex, greedy of glory, departed from England full of hopes to ſignalize himſelf at the ſiege of Roan, but at his arrival in France, found the ſiege had not been ſo much as thought of; that the king was employed before Noyon, and intended to ſend the Engliſh forces into Champagne. Whereupon he returned into England, having firſt given the king his parole of honour to come and join him as ſoon as the ſiege of Roan ſhould be undertaken. He left his troops however in France under the command of ſir Roger Williams.

The earl returns into England.
Act. Pub. xvi. p. 140, 146.

The queen complains of Henry's proceedings.
Camden.
Act. Pub. xvi. p. 111, 116, 128, 142, 149.

Elizabeth was extremely offended to be thus deceived. She writ to Henry, that ſince he had broke his word, he might for the future proceed without her aſſiſtance, and that ſhe intended to recall all her troops, unleſs he immediately performed his promiſe. Elizabeth's letter embarraſſed Henry greatly. He had certain advice that the duke of Parma was preparing to return into France, and in ſuch a juncture the recalling of the Engliſh forces would have been very unſeaſonable. He was forced therefore, in order to ſatisfy Elizabeth, to cauſe Roan to be inveſted by the marſhal de Biron. But he took a freſh occaſion from thence to demand of Elizabeth a new ſupply of five thouſand men, on pretence that the troops already ſent were extremely diminiſhed by ſickneſs and deſertion. At the ſame time the earl of Eſſex, knowing Roan was inveſted, went over to the ſiege [p], contrary to the queen's expreſs orders; ſuppoſing, that ſince he had given the king his parole, nothing could free him from his engagement.

He cauſes Roan to be inveſted.
Ib. p. 138.

The earl of Eſſex goes to the ſiege againſt the queen's order.
Ib. p. 119, 122, 141.

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[o] Sir Thomas Leighton and ſir Henry Killigrew were appointed as aſſiſtants to him. Camden, p. 562.

[p] During which his brother Walter was ſlain. Stow, p. 762.

Act. Pub. xvi. p. 123, 175.

Henry comes to the ſiege, and demands a farther aid.

He ſends Du Pleſſis,

ment. Elizabeth was ſo diſpleaſed with the king and the earl, that ſhe returned a very rough anſwer to the French ambaſſador, who preſſed her for the five thouſand men demanded by the king his maſter, and left him no hopes of obtaining them. At the ſame time ſhe diſpatched ſir Thomas Leyton, the earl of Eſſex's uncle, with an expreſs order to him inſtantly to return, if he would not be entirely diſgraced. Mean while, Henry hearing the duke of Parma was departed from Bruſſels about the end of November, repaired to his army before Roan to carry on the ſiege, hoping to take the city before the duke of Parma's arrival. Shortly after, he ſent Du Pleſſis Mornay to Elizabeth, to try to obtain the deſired ſupply.

who can obtain nothing. Du Pleſſis's Memoirs. Camden.

Du Pleſſis, accompanied with the ambaſſador in ordinary, being admitted to audience, and telling the queen his buſineſs, ſhe plainly anſwered, ſhe would not be the French king's dupe; neither would ſhe for the future concern herſelf any more with his affairs, nor was he to expect any other aſſiſtance from her than her prayers: That he had demanded a ſpeedy aid for the ſiege of Roan, which ſhe had accordingly ſent him; but inſtead of executing their treaty, he had loſt his time before Noyon, and ſuffered the Engliſh troops to decay, whilſt he was making war in Champagne: That he had given the duke of Parma four months to prepare, and then a ſpeedy ſupply was deſired of her, which would not have been wanted, had things been done in time. To this ſhe added great threats againſt the earl of Eſſex, ſaying, he would have it thought that he ruled in England, but nothing was more falſe, and ſhe would make him the moſt pitiful fellow in the kingdom; that, inſtead of ſending freſh troops into France, ſhe was determined to recall thoſe that were there. Then pretending to be indiſpoſed, ſhe deſired the ambaſſadors to be contented with this ſhort audience, hardly giving Du Pleſſis time to return any anſwer to her complaints. But he had taken care beforehand to prepare a memorial which he would have preſented her, but ſhe bid him give it the lord treaſurer. In ſhort, Du Pleſſis returned without obtaining any thing, and the earl of Eſſex was forced to go back to England, where he found means to appeaſe the queen. Mean while, the duke of Parma having entered France, and being joined by the duke of Mayenne and the young duke of Guiſe, who had eſcaped out of priſon, raiſed the ſiege of Roan. Henry eaſily perceived by Elizabeth's conduct, ſhe would not ſuffer herſelf to be amuſed by his artifices, and for fear of loſing ſo neceſſary an aſſiſtance, laboured ſo effectually to be recon-

Eſſex returns to England, and the duke of Parma raiſes the ſiege of Roan. Act. Pub. xvi. p. 146. Mezerai, reconciled with her, that at laſt ſhe ſent him two thouſand freſh men; but it was not till after the raiſing of the ſiege.

Thomas Howard's fruitleſs expedition. Camden.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the late duke of Norfolk's ſon was gone with ſix men of war to the Azores, to wait for the Spaniſh plate-fleet, homeward bound from America. Having ſtayed ſix months in the Iſle of Flores, he was himſelf almoſt ſurpriſed by Alphonſo Baſſano, who was ſent to convoy home the fleet with fifty-three ſhips of war. He had the good fortune to eſcape the danger by a timely retreat, but one of his ſhips that was not ſpeedy enough, was taken by the Spaniards after a ſharp engagement [q]. The Engliſh made themſelves ample amends for this loſs by ſeveral prizes, and particularly by taking a ſhip richly laden, bound for the Weſt-Indies, in which, 'tis ſaid, they found two and twenty thouſand indulgences for the Spaniards of America [r].

Two proclamations. Camden. Stow.

This year the queen publiſhed two proclamations, the firſt of which prohibited the carrying of any warlike ſtores or proviſions into the king of Spain's dominions. The ſecond, publiſhed in October, expreſly forbid the harbouring any perſon who ſhould come from the Engliſh ſeminaries, at Rome or Rheims, or from a third lately founded by the king of Spain at Valladolid [s].

1592. New treaty with Henry IV. Camden. Act. Pub. xvi. p. 151, 168, 173.

The war which was continued in France made Elizabeth ever uneaſy, becauſe the Spaniards had got footing in Bretagne, from whence they might readily make ſome attempt upon England. Henry perfectly knowing her extreme deſire to diſlodge them from that poſt, demanded a farther aid to carry the war into that province. Though Elizabeth had experienced that ſhe could not much rely on his word, becauſe it was not always in his power to make war where he pleaſed, ſhe concluded with him however a new treaty to this effect: That ſhe ſhould furniſh him with four thouſand men, ſome pieces of ordnance, and a certain quantity of ammunition: That he ſhould add to the Engliſh troops four thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe; and this army be employed to recover Bretagne: That he ſhould within a year repay all her charges: That he ſhould not make peace with the leaguers till they promiſed to aſſiſt him in driving the Spaniards out of the kingdom: That England ſhould be expreſly included in the peace he ſhould make with Spain. Elizabeth ſincerely performed her engagement, and ſent four thouſand men into Bretagne, under the command of Norris [t]. But Henry, inſtead of joining his troops with the Engliſh and carrying the war into Bretagne, ordered them to ſerve in Normandy, whether he was moſt preſſed in thoſe parts, or had made the treaty only to amuſe the queen. However this be, Elizabeth reſented it extremely to be again deceived. She often writ to the king, complaining of his proceedings, but to no purpoſe. In her anger, ſhe was going to recall all her troops; but hearing the duke of Parma was preparing to make a third expedition into France, ſacrificed her reſentment to the good of that kingdom, which was in ſome meaſure her own. Indeed the duke of Parma was upon the point of re-entering France; but death, which ſeized him at the ſame time, freed Henry as well as Elizabeth from their uneaſineſs.

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[q] Sir Richard Greenvil, in the vice-admiral called the Revenge, out of a raſh piece of bravery, would not let his men ſail, and being pent up between the iſland and the Spaniſh fleet, reſolutely attempted to break through; but was taken after a hot fight of fifteen hours. Greenvil himſelf was ſlain. Camden, p. 565.

[r] About this time George Riman, an able ſeaman, and James Lancaſter, made a voyage to the Eaſt-Indies, and had the good fortune to double the Cape of Good Hope. Ibid.

[s] In the year 1593, March 26, the queen granted a commiſſion to thirty four perſons, to ſearch and find out all ſuſpicious perſons, as well Engliſh as ſtrangers, that had, ſince the 31ſt of the queen, come, or ſhould thereafter repair into the kingdom from beyond ſea; and alſo thoſe that wilfully abſtained from reſorting to church, or depraved and contemned the laws made in that behalf; and finally, all thoſe that were guilty of counterfeiting, clipping, and carrying the coin out of the kingdom. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xvi. p. 201, &c. -- November 20, 1591, died ſir Chriſtopher Hatton, lord chancellor of England, and was ſucceeded by ſir John Puckering, who was made only lord keeper. Stow, p. 764, 765. --- The 3d of the ſame month, Bren O Royrk lord of Breny o Royrke in Ireland, was executed at Tyburn for treaſon. Stow, p. 764.

Act. Pub. xvi. p. 171, 173.

Henry deceives Elizabeth, who reſents it highly. Camden.

Act. Pub. xvi. p. 159, 163. Camden.

Scotland was then diſturbed by Bothwell, who made this year a freſh attempt to become maſter of the king's perſon. As his deſign was diſcovered before it could be executed, he was forced to fly into England. Elizabeth being informed of it, writ to the king that ſhe would cauſe thoſe who had harboured the fugitive to be ſeverely puniſhed. And yet, when James ſent and required her to deliver him up purſuant to their treaty, ſhe evaded his demand, being well pleaſed to keep that prince always in a ſort of uneaſineſs which ſhould oblige him to regard her.

Affairs of Scotland. Camden. Melvil, p. 194, 196. Act. Pub. xvi. p. 100, 108, 109, 123. Camden.

The riches brought by the Spaniſh fleets from the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies were a continual allurement to the Engliſh, who attempted almoſt every year to take them. Sir Walter Raleigh with that deſign departing this year with fifteen ſail, met near the Azores a ſeven-decked carrack, one hundred and ſixty-five feet long, moſt richly laden, which he took without much difficulty. This prize made him ſome amends for his charges in fitting out his fleet. But the contrary winds hin-

Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition. Camden.

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[t] Who had been called home to inform the queen of the ſtate of affairs in Bretagne. Camden, p. 569.

dered him from executing a more important enterprize projected againſt America [u].

The Thames dried up. Sept. 6. Stow.

There was a ſort of prodigy this ſummer at London: the Thames was ſo dried up and the channel ſo ſhallow, that a man might ride over it near London-bridge [w].

1593.

Statute againſt the nonconformiſts. Statut. c. 2. D'ewes, p. 465. Townſhend, p. 31.

The parliament meeting in February, 1593 [x], paſſed an act which troubled not only the catholicks, but even proteſtants who differed in certain points from the church of England, and were called Puritans. By this act, thoſe who neglected to be preſent at divine ſervice, eſtabliſhed by law, were liable to certain penalties [y]; and ſo, not only was it no longer permitted to be a Roman catholick with impunity, but even a proteſtant without conforming to the church of England. Thus in ſome meaſure were renewed the days of Henry VIII, when it was unlawful to ſwerve ever ſo little from the religion of their ſovereign; with this difference, that under Elizabeth the penalty was not death as in the reign of her father. Nevertheleſs there was in this laſt act ſomething more hard than in thoſe of Henry VIII. That prince, abſolute as he was, contented himſelf with puniſhing ſuch as by ſome overt-act oppoſed the eſtabliſhed religion; but by this new ſtatute, the ſubjects were obliged openly to profeſs the religion of the church of England. Elizabeth, exaſperated againſt the catholicks who had made frequent attempts upon her crown and even her life, would have been very glad to have cleared the kingdom of them. On the other hand, ſhe could not endure the puritans, looking upon them as obſtinate people, who for very frivolous cauſes bred a ſchiſm in the proteſtant church. Whilſt ſhe was in danger from the queen of Scots, France, and Spain; in a word, whilſt her affairs remained in a ſort of uncertainty, ſhe left the puritans unmoleſted, for fear of uniting them in the ſame intereſt with the catholicks. But no ſooner was ſhe firmly eſtabliſhed, but ſhe hearkened to the ſuggeſtions of the clergy, who repreſented the puritans as ſeditious perſons, who rebelled againſt the laws, and by their diſobedience ſhook the foundations of the government. This is not the only time, nor is England the only ſtate, where diſobedience in point of religion has been confounded with rebellion againſt the ſovereign. There is ſcarce a chriſtian ſtate, where the prevailing ſect will ſuffer the leaſt diviſion, or the leaſt ſwerving from the eſtabliſhed opinions, no, not even in private. Shall I venture to ſay it? 'Tis the clergy chiefly who ſupport this ſtrange principle of non-toleration, ſo little agreeable to chriſtian charity. The ſeverity which from this time began to be exerciſed in England upon the nonconformiſts [z] produced terrible effects in the following reigns, and occaſioned troubles and factions which remain to this day, and of which perhaps there will be no end theſe many years.

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[u] This prize was valued at 150,000l. ſterling. Raleigh's deſign was to make himſelf maſter of Panama, or elſe to intercept the Spaniſh fleet. Camden, p. 569.

[w] It was occaſioned by a very ſtrong weſterly wind, which blew vehemently for two days together. There had been a very great drought the ſummer before. Stow, p. 765. Camden, p. 570. ---- October 19, died Anthony Brown viſcount Montacute. Camden, ibid.

[x] It met Feb. 19, and was diſſolved April 10. D'ewes, p. 456, &c. Townſhend, p. 31, &c. Whilſt it was ſitting, viz. Feb. 14, Peter Wentworth, Eſq; and ſir Henry Bromley prepared a petition for entailing the ſucceſſion of the crown; for which Wentworth was ſent to the Tower, and Bromley to the Fleet. D'ewes, p. 470.

[y] In the preamble it is ſaid, That this act was made for the preventing and avoiding ſuch great inconveniencies and perils as might happen and grow by the wicked and dangerous practices of ſeditious ſectaries and diſloyal perſons. The act ran, That if any perſon above the age of ſixteen years, ſhall refuſe to repair to ſome church, or forbear to do the ſame for the ſpace of a month, --- ſhall be committed to priſon, there to remain without bail or mainprize, till they ſhall conform --- and make ſuch open ſubmiſſion and declaration of their conformity, as by this act is appointed. The offenders againſt this ſtatute, who refuſed to make the ſubmiſſion, were to abjure the realm, and not to return without her majeſty's licence, under the penalty of ſuffering as felons, without benefit of the clergy. This bill met with great oppoſition in the houſe of commons, as the reader may ſee in D'ewes, p. 474, &c, where the ſpeeches on both ſides are inſerted. There was an act made alſo againſt popiſh recuſants, by which they were confined within five miles of their reſpective dwellings, on forfeiture of all their goods and chattels, together with lands, during life. By another act, all the abbey-lands are confirmed to the crown and grantees.

Unuſual ſubſidy granted to the queen. D'ewes. Townſhend.

The ſame parliament taking into conſideration the queen's great expences, both in defending the kingdom againſt the Spaniſh invaſion, and in aſſiſting the French king and the United Provinces, granted her an extraordinary aid of money. But it was inſerted in the act, that ſo large and unuſual a ſupply, granted to a moſt excellent queen, who made ſo good uſe of the publick money, ſhould not be drawn into a precedent [a]. The queen coming to the houſe to give the royal aſſent to this act, made a fine ſpeech, wherein ſhe forgot not to extol her love and care of her ſubjects, and her attachment to the proteſtant religion. She ſpoke in lofty terms of the bravery of the Engliſh, and ſhowed how formidable they were to all the nations of Europe [b]. No perſon was ever more maſter of the art of gaining the affection of her people, by expreſſing an uncommon value and tenderneſs for them.

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[z] Theſe ſeverities were probably occaſioned by the diſturbances cauſed by Hacket, and ſome other enthuſiaſts. However this be, the ſame Hacket, on July 28, 1591, and alſo Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, Daniel Studley, and two more, were executed April 6, 1593, for writing and publiſhing ſeditious books; as was the next year John Penry, for writing a book called Martin-Mar-Prelate. See Stow, p. 764--766.

[a] The laity granted three ſubſidies, of 2s. 8d. in the pound of goods, and 4s. of lands; together with ſix fifteenths and tenths, amounting in all to 280,000 l. And the clergy advanced two whole ſubſidies of 4s. in the pound, to be paid in two years. This ſubſidy-bill paſſed with great difficulty the lower houſe, being debated on February 16, March 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 16, and 19. See the debates in D'ewes, p. 473, 477, &c. 483. Let it be obſerved here, that a fifteenth and a tenth was a certain tax on every city, borough and town, not upon every man in particular, but a general

She thanks the parliament. Stow, p. 765.

Suſpicions againſt the king of Scotland. Camden. Act. Pub. xvi. p. 190—194, 198. D'ewes, p. 457.

Amidſt all the occaſions the queen had to congratulate herſelf upon her good fortune, ſhe ſtill felt ſome uneaſineſs with reſpect to the tranſactions of Scotland. King James began to be ruled by ſuſpicious perſons, and the queen received advice that the Spaniards aſſiſted by the catholicks, were contriving ſome dangerous plot [c], and were countenanced by the earls of Huntley, Angus, and Errol. She heard farther that the king acted not with the vigour neceſſary to prevent their deſigns, and thereby gave cauſe to ſuſpect he was himſelf inclined to innovations. She did not entirely rely on that prince. Beſides his ſuffering himſelf to be always guided by thoſe whom he entruſted with the adminiſtration of his affairs, ſhe was afraid he had been inſpired with the deſire to revenge the queen his mother's death; and that his proteſtations of being ever attached to her intereſt, were only intended to amuſe her. For this reaſon, ſhe ſent the lord Borough to give him advice, and deſire him to inform her of what he knew concerning the plots of the Spaniards and catholicks. She wiſhed moreover, he would ſhow himſelf a little more ſevere to thoſe who endeavoured to raiſe troubles in Scotland, and would admit to his council only perſons of known loyalty. James anſwered, he would do what the queen deſired, as far as his own intereſt and the laws of the land would allow, But withal he told the ambaſſador, that his revenues being extremely diminiſhed, he expected the queen to furniſh him with means to puniſh thoſe who ſhould dare to diſturb the publick peace. He alſo required ſhe ſhould deliver up Bothwell, who had twice attempted his life, and even ſent Robert Melvil to Elizabeth, to demand him ex-

The queen ſends an ambaſſador to him. Act. Pub. xvi. p. 193, 197. Camden.

The king's anſwer.

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general ſum, in proportion to the fifteenth part of the wealth of the reſpective places. Subſidy was impoſed on every ſingle perſon, as they are aſſeſſed by poll, according to the value of their goods and lands.

[b] She made this ſpeech the laſt day of the ſeſſion, April 10, 1593.

[c] This plot was, to raiſe a ſubſcription for a large ſum of money in Scotland; and then an army of thirty thouſand Spaniards was to land in that kingdom, about the end of the year 1592, which was to be joined by Bothwell, &c. with a body of troops: and all theſe were to march into England, to revenge the queen of Scots' death. See Rymer's Foed. tom. xvi. p. 190--194.

preſly. But ſhe refuſed to ſurrender him, and only baniſhed him out of England, as ſhe was bound by the treaty of league made with the king.

Elizabeth refuſes to give up Bothwell. Camden. Spotiſwood. Affairs of Scotland. Melvil. Act. Pub. xvi. p. 186. Camden.

Bothwell not being able to ſtay longer in England, returned into Scotland, and withdrew to his own houſe. Shortly after, his party ſo increaſed, by accidents which it is needleſs to mention, that he had the boldneſs to come into the king's preſence, under colour of begging his pardon. James was ſurpriſed to ſee him, but was more ſo, when he perceived that his whole court, except ſome of his miniſters, were Bothwell's friends. He was therefore forced as it were to grant him a pardon, on condition that he ſhould depart the kingdom, and not return unleſs recalled. Bothwell accepted the condition, and concealed himſelf on the borders of England. But at his departure, he left ſo ſtrong a party in the court, that the king was at laſt obliged to diſmiſs the chancellor, the lord treaſurer, and others whom he moſt truſted. Bothwell was ready to improve this change, but the king broke his meaſures by declaring to the ſtates, he was compelled to pardon him, and by deſiring their aid to free him from his yoke. The ſtates declaring for the king, he recalled his miniſters, and Bothwell's friends were driven from the court.

The people of Scotland ſuſpect the king of inclining to the catholicks. Spotiſwood, p. 399.

In this aſſembly of the ſtates, an ordinance was made for ſupporting the proteſtant religion, as eſtabliſhed in Scotland. But as the king and his council were ſuſpected of favouring the plots of the catholicks, this ordinance was not deemed ſtrong enough by the people, who thought that in ſuch a juncture, the ſtates ſhould have taken more vigorous reſolutions. However this be, the king's obſtinacy in keeping in the miniſtry and about his perſon, men who ſeemed to have no zeal for the proteſtant religion, gave occaſion to ſuſpect ſome dangerous plot was contriving for its deſtruction.

Henry continues to deceive Elizabeth. Camden.

Act. Pub. xvi. p. 194, 199.

What paſſed in France made Elizabeth no leſs uneaſy than the king of Scotland's inconſtancy. General Norris was ſtill in Bretagne with the Engliſh forces. He had been promiſed a place in that province for a retreat, and that the duke d'Aumont and Eſpinay ſhould join him; but he was long left there without being thought of. At laſt, Eſpinay being arrived, they made together ſome little conqueſts, too inconſiderable to requite Elizabeth for the maintenance of her troops, which coſt her weekly three thouſand two hundred pounds ſterling [d]. Thus, inſtead of employing the Engliſh to drive the Spaniards out of Bretagne, Henry uſed them only to keep his enemies in awe, and hinder them from making greater progreſs, whilſt he was warring elſewhere. Elizabeth ſeeing herſelf thus deceived, would have recalled her troops, but was perſuaded by the marſhal d'Aumont, not only to leave them, but even to ſend freſh ſupplies, upon the hopes he gave her that the king would very ſoon make a powerful effort to reduce that province.

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[d] It appears by a paper in Rymer's Foed. tom. xvi. p. 194, that the king of France was then indebted to her 52,783 l.

He changes his religion. Act. Pub. xvi. p. 156, 157. Camden.

The queen's vexation at Henry's proceedings was nothing in compariſon of her concern when ſhe heard he was going to change his religion. At the firſt news, ſhe diſpatched Thomas Wilks to diſſuade him, if poſſible, from that deſign; but at his arrival, Wilks found the thing already done. However Henry thought proper to inform him of the reaſons of his change, that he might acquaint the queen his miſtreſs with the ſame. All he ſaid on the occaſion tended to this [c], that he had changed his religion againſt his will, and after as long a delay as poſſible; but being at laſt convinced he ſhould never be fixed in his throne whilſt a proteſtant, he had determined to embrace the catholick religion: that is, in other words, having put his conſcience in the balance with his crown, he had given it for the latter. After ſo expreſs a declaration of the inſincerity of his converſion, it is no wonder Elizabeth ſhould loſe much of her eſteem for him, and the pope and leaguers not conſider him as a true catholick; or rather, it is ſtrange they ſhould be ſatisfied with an outward profeſſion. Morlant the French ambaſſador at London, having told Elizabeth the ſubſtance of the king's diſcourſe to Wilks, ſhe writ the king the following lines.

Elizabeth's letter to Henry IV. Camden.

‘IT is hardly poſſible to expreſs the extreme grief and diſſatiſfaction which has ſeized me upon Morlant's repreſentation of things. Good God! what a miſerable world do we live in? Could I ever have thought, Sir, that any ſecular conſideration could have prevailed with you to diſcard a juſt ſenſe of God and his fear? Or can you ever reaſonably expect that providence will grant this change of your's a happy iſſue? Or could you entertain a jealouſy that the gracious being, who had ſo long ſupported and preſerved you, would fail and abandon you at laſt? It is, believe me, a dangerous experiment, To do evil that good may come. But I hope you may be yet recovered to a better inclination, even the ſpirit of a ſound mind. In the mean time I ſhall

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[c] The king's whole diſcourſe to Wilks is to be ſeen in Camden's Annals. Rapin.

'not ceaſe to recommend your caſe to God in my daily prayers, 'and earneſtly to beſeech him that Eſau's hands may not pollute the bleſſings and birth-right of Jacob. The promiſe you 'make of a ſacred and friendly alliance, I conceive myſelf to 'have deſired, and even earned at a vaſt expence: but I had 'not mattered that, had you ſtill kept yourſelf the ſon of the 'ſame father. From henceforth I cannot look on myſelf as 'your ſiſter, in reſpect to our common father; for I muſt and 'ſhall always pay a much greater regard to nature than choice 'in that relation: as I may appeal to God, whom I beſeech 'to recover you into the path of a ſafer and ſounder judgment.'

Your ſiſter after the old-faſhioned way.
As for the new I have nothing to do
with it.

ELIZABETH.

Henry gives the queen reaſons to complain of him. Camden.

This was not the only affair Wilks was charged to mention to the king of France. He had orders to complain from the queen, that the late treaty was not executed, and d'Aumont's delay had been very expenſive to the queen. Henry threw all the blame on the marſhal, and poſitively promiſed to march himſelf into Bretagne, when the truce for that province was expired. He added, that in the mean time he would adviſe with his council concerning the place of retreat for the Engliſh troops. But theſe were only empty words. The king's intention was not to employ his forces againſt Bretagne, before he had reduced the reſt of France, but only to uſe the Engliſh troops by way of diverſion to the duke of Mercœur, for fear, when he had made himſelf abſolute maſter of Bretagne, he ſhould aſſiſt the duke of Mayenne. Still leſs did he intend to give a place of retreat to the Engliſh in that province, leſt he ſhould find it very difficult to diſlodge them. Theſe things troubled the queen exceedingly, and certainly had ſhe aided Henry only from a motive of friendſhip and generoſity, as ſhe would have made him believe, ſhe would never have ſuffered ſuch infringements of the treaties. But it was manifeſtly her intereſt to oppoſe the Spaniard's deſigns, who had a mind to become maſter of France, under pretence of maintaining the catholick religion.

League offenſive and defenſive between Henry and Elizabeth. Camden.

Henry perfectly knew Elizabeth's policy, and therefore gave her only good words, well knowing ſhe was concerned to aſſiſt him. At length the king of Spain preparing to exert his utmoſt in ſupport of the league, which was declining ſince the king's turning catholick, Elizabeth readily made a

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league offenſive and defenſive with Henry, whatever reaſon ſhe had to complain of him. This league was concluded and ſigned at Melun in October, and among other articles it was agreed, that a peace ſhould not be made without a mutual conſent.

Heſquet is hanged. Camden.

About this time it was diſcovered in England, that one Heſquet had been ſent by ſome Engliſh fugitives, to perſuade Ferdinand earl of Derby to aſſume the title of king, as great grandſon of Mary daughter of Henry VII [f]. When this was propoſed to the earl, Heſquet added, he might rely on the aſſiſtance of Philip II, but if he refuſed to do what he propoſed, or did not keep the thing ſecret, he might be aſſured he ſhould not live long. The earl of Derby fearing to be inſnared, informed againſt Heſquet, who was taken and hanged. But he died himſelf within four months by a ſtrange poiſon, which made him vomit himſelf to death [g]. His gentleman of the horſe was ſuſpected of the deed, becauſe he rid away the firſt day of his lord's illneſs. The Engliſh fugitives imagined there were ſuch numbers of malecontents in England, that ſome great man's declaring againſt the queen would be ſufficient to raiſe a general rebellion. This is not the only time, that in the like juncture fugitives have flattered themſelves with ſuch vain hopes [h].

Death of the earl of Derby. Stow.

The Low-Countries governed by the count de Fuentes, and D. Diego d'Ibarra. Grotius.

The duke of Parma's death had not entirely hindered the expedition deſigned by the Spaniards againſt France. Their army had entered Picardy and taken Noyon, and was returned into Flanders. After Parma's death, the count de Fuentes and D. Diego d'Ibarra were at the head of the council, expecting a new governor. While the adminiſtration of affairs reſted in their hands, they inceſſantly endeavoured to excite troubles in Scotland, by aſſuring the catholicks of a powerful aſſiſtance from the king of Spain. Their project was to ſend a Spaniſh army into Scotland to aſſaſſinate or poiſon queen Elizabeth, and then invade England with their army from Scotland, which the general conſternation upon her

1594.

They form conſpiracies againſt the queen of England, Camden.

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[f] Henry Stanley earl of Derby, father of this Ferdinand, died juſt before. Camden, p. 574.

[g] He died, April 16, in the very flower of his youth. There was found in his chamber an image of wax, with hairs thruſt through the belly of it, of the ſame colour with his own, which was thought to be placed there on purpoſe to avoid the ſuſpicion of his being poiſoned. He was ſucceeded by his brother William, who had afterwards a famous trial with Ferdinand's three daughters, for the dominion of the Iſle of Man. Camden, ibid. Stow, p. 767, &c.

[h] This year queen Elizabeth ordered a garriſon to be kept in the iſles of Scilly, and a fort to be built in the iſland of St. Mary: She alſo fortified the iſles of Jerſey and Guernſey. Camden, p. 574. --- There died of the plague this year in London 10,675 perſons. Stow, p. 760.

Eliz. 1594.

death would render leſs difficult. To execute the deſign upon Elizabeth, they had caſt their eyes on Roderigo Lopez a Jew and two Portugueſe. Lopez the queen's phyſician had promiſed to poiſon her for fifty thouſand crowns. This plot being diſcovered, the three accomplices confeſſed they had been corrupted by the count de Fuentes and Don Diego d'Ibarra, to undertake ſo execrable a deſign. Lopez however pleaded in his excuſe, that his intention was only to draw money from the king of Spain, and that he had even preſented to the queen a rich jewel received from that prince. But as he had given no intimation of the plot, his excuſe was not allowed. At the gallows he affirmed, 'That he loved the queen as well 'as Jeſus Chriſt.' This was a plain indication that he was not unjuſtly condemned.

and ſuborn perſons to poiſon her. The conſpirators diſcovered. Stow.

and executed. Camden.

The day after theſe three villains were executed, a fourth, one Patrick Cullen, an Iriſh fencing-maſter, who had been ſent from the Low-Countries to kill the queen, underwent the ſame fate. Edmund York and Richard Williams, who had been ſuborned by Ibarra to commit the ſame crime, were alſo arreſted, and others were diſcovered who had engaged to fire the navy. Elizabeth on this occaſion writ to the archduke Erneſt, who had been appointed governor of the Low Countries, to demand the puniſhment of the authors. She told him moreover, that to clear the king of Spain from ſuſpicion, the moſt proper way would be to ſurrender all the fugitive Engliſh in his dominions, or at leaſt thoſe who were concerned in the conſpiracies [i]. But foreſeeing that Antonio Perez, who had endeavoured to excite troubles in Arragon, and was then in England, might likewiſe be demanded, ſhe told the archduke, the king of France had ſent him to his ambaſſador at London without her knowledge, and he had never been aſſiſted by her; but all this was to no purpoſe. On the other hand, the earl of Eſſex received Perez into his houſe, to learn of him the ſecrets of the Spaniſh monarchy.

Other perſons engaged to kill the queen. Camden.

She complains of it to the archduke, but has no redreſs. Camden.

It was not only in England that the Spaniards had the mortification to ſee their projects miſcarry. In France likewiſe their affairs were in a very ill ſituation ſince Henry's embracing the catholick religion. The cities and great men who had been for the league, returned in crowds to the obedience of the king, and all the people manifeſtly tended to ſhake off the Spaniſh yoke. The 22d of March, the city of Paris was ſurrendered to the king by count Briſſac, and the duke of Feria who was there was obliged to take a ſafe-conduct from

Henry IV. makes himſelf maſter of Paris. Thuanus. Mezerai. Camden.

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[i] Namely, Hugh Owen, Thomas Throckmorton, Holt the jeſuit, Gifford, and Worthington, &c. Camden, p. 577.

the king, to retire with his Spaniſh troops to the duke of Guiſe's army. It was then only that Henry ſeriouſly reſolved to drive the Spaniards out of Bretagne, who were in poſſeſſion of many places in that province. The marſhal d'Aumont having been intruſted with the management of the war, made good uſe of the Engliſh troops, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves with that bravery, that the queen was obliged to write to Norris, not to be ſo laviſh of the blood of her ſubjects. Martin Forbiſher, a famous ſea-officer, was killed at a ſiege in this war [k]. Some time after, the queen recalled Norris, to ſend him into Ireland.

War in Bretagne. Camden.

The affairs of Scotland gave Elizabeth perpetual uneaſineſs. She had intimations from thence, that the Spaniſh faction was powerful at court, that ſomething was contriving againſt the proteſtant religion, and that the king ſeemed to incline to the popiſh party. This filling the queen with ſuſpicions, ſhe reſolved to ſend the lord Zouch into Scotland, as well to be informed of the truth, as to fortify the Engliſh party and inſtruct king James in his true intereſt. The ambaſſador repreſented to the king from his miſtreſs, that the late act of the ſtates was not capable to reſtrain the inſolence of the Roman catholicks, who affected publickly to exerciſe their religion, and held an almoſt open correſpondence with the king of Spain. James anſwered, that he would proceed againſt the catholicks by the eſtabliſhed laws; and if they refuſed a ſubmiſſion to the laws, he would proſecute them with the ſword, provided the queen, who had the ſame intereſt as himſelf, would contribute to the expence of the war. The ambaſſador, not ſatisfied with this anſwer, earneſtly preſſed him to procure other laws againſt the catholicks more ſevere than the preſent. To this James, with ſome heat, replied, he was not at the queen's command, nor did it belong to her to preſcribe in what manner he ſhould govern his kingdom. After that, he demanded Bothwell, who was retired into England.

Elizabeth's uneaſineſs with relation to Scotland.

She ſends an ambaſſador to that king. Act. Pub. xvi. p. 225, ------- 245. Spotiſwood.

His anſwer. Act. Pub. xvi. p. 233, ------- 235.

A ſecond more reſolute than the firſt. Ib. p. 235.

But Elizabeth was very far from giving him this ſatisfaction. On the contrary, it was probably from her that Bothwell was enabled to enter Scotland at the head of four hundred men, with whom he ſurprized the town of Leith. He afterwards publiſhed a manifeſto, importing, "That perſons dangerous "to the church and ſtate, having by ſome artifice procured "admiſſion into the council, gave occaſion by their conduct "to believe, they were forming deſigns againſt the evangeli-

Affairs of Scotland. Camden. Melvil. Spotiſwood.

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[k] He was wounded in the hip at the ſiege of Crodon, and died juſt after his return, with the fleet, to Plymouth. In the ſame ſiege, ſir Anthony Wingfield, and Bruder, Jackſon, and Barker, all brave officers, were ſlain. Camden, p. 578.

Eliz. 1594.

"cal religion: That for ſome time the Romiſh prieſts had "been ſeen running from village to village, and celebrating "the maſs in the moſt publick manner: That they endeavoured to animate the people againſt the Engliſh, in order "to kindle a war between the two nations, which could not "but prove fatal to Scotland: That to give a check to theſe "dangerous conſpiracies, he had, with the concurrence of "divers lords and gentlemen, taken up arms to drive theſe "pernicious counſellors out of the kingdom, or bring them "to an account for their actions: That the thing was the "more urgent, as the Spaniards were going to invade the "kingdom; and therefore he exhorted the Scots to join with "him to prevent greater miſchiefs, and induce the king to "favour ſo juſt a deſign." He writ in the ſame manner to the general ſynod of the kirk aſſembled at Dunbar, and to the Engliſh ambaſſadors. When the coherence between Bothwell's manifeſto and the lord Zouche's repreſentation to the king is conſidered, Elizabeth muſt be ſuſpected of being concerned in this undertaking.

Camden.

Mean time the king having aſſembled ſome forces, prepared to oppoſe Bothwell's deſigns, who declined not however to meet him. But the rebel, having ſome diſadvantage in the firſt engagement, and finding himſelf not ſupported, was ſeized with fear, and retired to the borders. Whereupon Elizabeth forbid any to harbour or conceal him. This was very agreeable to the Scotch king, who was afraid ſhe would think of ſupporting him. Tho' Bothwell's undertaking miſcarried, it however produced a very good effect. James perceiving the danger he might incur by a breach with Elizabeth, reſolved at laſt to alter his conduct, leſt his vain projects ſhould cauſe him in the end to forfeit the Engliſh crown. He therefore aſſembled the ſtates, and prevailed to have the catholick lords, who had appeared too zealous for the Spaniard, to be baniſhed the kingdom. They made ſome efforts to reſiſt, but were at laſt obliged to obey. Then the ſtates enacted new laws againſt the catholicks, and even formed an aſſociation like that in England ſome years before. One Graham Feintry, a zealous adherent of Spain, endeavouring to excite new troubles, was puniſhed with death[1].

James changes his conduct. Camden. Act. Pub. xvi. p. 286.

Winwood's Mem. tom. i. p. 11.

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[1] This year died William Allen, cardinal, and founder of the Engliſh Roman catholick ſeminaries at Douay, Rheims, Rome, and in Spain. He was educated at Oriel-college in Oxford, and was proctor of the univerſity in queen Mary's reign, and canon of York. But upon queen Elizabeth's acceſſion, he retired beyond ſea.---This year alſo died Gregory Fienes, the laſt lord Dacres of that ſirname. Camden, p. 580. Bevis Bulmar, gentleman, ſet up this year an engine

Projects to place the crown of England upon the head of the Infanta of Spain. Camden.

The king of Scotland's change, and the vigour he exerted on this occasion, destroyed the hopes entertained by the catholicks of engaging him in their intereſt. They therefore formed new projects to place the crown of England on the head of some perſon devoted to their religion, or at leaſt not very zealous for the proteſtant. The Engliſh catholicks caſt their eyes on the earl of Eſſex, who, they had obſerved, approved not the laws made againſt them [m]. But the Engliſh fugitives in the Low Countries were for the Infanta Iſabella, daughter of Philip II. They even publiſhed a genealogy, to ſhow, that the king of Scotland being a heretick, the crown was devolved to the king of Spain, whence they inferred, he had power to diſpoſe of it in favour of his daughter. Nor was this a bare project founded on the paſſion of the Engliſh catholicks. It is certain, Philip, though he wanted not employment ſince the king of France had declared war againſt him, intended to make extraordinary efforts to procure his daughter the crown offered her by the Engliſh fugitives. The fame of his preparations was now flown over Europe, and produced miſchievous effects in Ireland, where Hugh O-Neal earl of Tir-oen had rebelled, in expectation of the aſſiſtance promiſed by the Spaniard. This obliged Elizabeth to prepare for the defence of her dominions, and to ſend a ſtrong reinforcement to Norris now in Ireland.

Philip's preparations to ſecond them.

Tir-oen's rebellion in Ireland. Camden.

Camden.

Henry IV. had, as I ſaid, declared war againſt Spain, tho' unadviſedly, if it could have been avoided, conſidering the miſerable ſituation of France. But Philip II. by his continual and powerful ſupport of the league, had ſufficiently declared war againſt Henry, though he pretended to make war not upon but *for* France. However this be, Henry was indiſpenſably obliged to maintain a war againſt Spain, and therefore believed it would be better to attack Philip directly, than to ſtand upon the defenſive. But as France was drained both of men and money, it was not eaſy for him to ſupport the war alone, and come off with honour. He had therefore recourſe to Elizabeth, as to his laſt refuge in his preſſing neceſſities. And perhaps he was encouraged to break openly with Spain, by the hopes of a powerful aſſiſtance from England. To that end, he writ to the queen, that the recalling of Norris and his forces had broke all his meaſures, and he rather expected ſhe would ſend greater ſuccours, ſince he had

Henry IV. demands ſuccours from England.

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engine at Broken-wharf, for conveying the Thames water through the ſeveral parts of the city of London; and by pipes of lead, into each houſe. Stow, p. 769.

[m] Camden's words are: He could never indure the maxim of murdering people for the ſake of their religion.

declared

Eliz. 1595.

She anſwers him with complaints, and refuſes his requeſt.

declared war againſt Spain. Elizabeth anſwered, "That "ſhe commended his reſolution to attack the king of Spain's "dominions: That this was a good expedient to prevent an "invaſion, as ſhe had experienced: That as to the recalling "of her troops out of Bretagne, he could not juſtly com- "plain of it, ſince they had not only remained there longer "than their treaty required, but even notwithſtanding the "manifeſt breach of that treaty and the violation of his "promiſe: That he had poſitively engaged to ſurrender to "the Engliſh the town of Morlaix, when taken, for a place "of retreat: But that this very place, conquered at the ex- "pence of Engliſh blood, had been denied to the juſt expecta- "tion of the Engliſh, by a fraudulent capitulation of the "marſhal d'Aumont, to have none but catholicks admitted "into it: That he ought not to be ſurprized, if ſhe was un- "willing to be his dupe any longer, ſince ſhe could rely "neither on his promiſes nor his treaties: That beſides, ſhe "wanted her forces in Ireland, where there was danger of a "general revolt." It is certain, Henry's behaviour to Elizabeth was no encouragement to her to grant him any great aſſiſtance. And therefore, it was only her fear of the Spaniards taking advantage of the weakneſs of France which ſtill kept her attached to Henry's intereſt, for whom ſhe had no longer her former eſteem and regard. It may alſo be ſaid, that ſince his acceſſion to the throne of France, he had done nothing tending to preſerve Elizabeth's friendſhip.

The queen and king of the Scots heartily united. Camden.

The queen, in the preſent ſituation of her affairs, not being able to rely much on the king of France, and looking upon all her expence, on his account, as entirely fruitleſs, reſolved to keep her forces and treaſure for the defence of her own dominions, in caſe they ſhould be attacked by the Spaniard. England was properly in danger only from Scotland; but the news ſhe received of the change in king James, freed her from all uneaſineſs. That prince perceiving Philip's aims were levelled as much againſt Scotland as England, ſaw at laſt that the beſt way to break his meaſures, was to live in union with Elizabeth. So, to ſhow that he meant to preſerve that union, he publiſhed a proclamation, forbidding, under ſevere penalties, his ſubjects on the borders to injure the Engliſh; and the queen put forth another to the ſame purpoſe. From this time he lived with Elizabeth in a good underſtanding, which nothing was capable to diſturb, being ſenſible this was the ſureſt way to aſcend one day the throne of England.

Act. Pub. xvi. p. 287.

York and Williams executed. Camden.

Edmund York and Richard Williams, who had been arreſted the laſt year, being tried and convicted of a deſign to murder the queen, were executed in February. They confeſſed that Ibarra had promiſed them forty thouſand florins, if they accompliſhed their enterprize.

Henry IV. is in a great ſtrait. Mezerai. Camden.

Henry IV. after his declaration of war with Spain, formed a deſign of penetrating into the Low Countries, and making conſiderable conqueſts; but he was ſoon ſenſible, his meaſures were not juſt. In April 1595, Ferdinand de Velaſco, conſtable of Caſtile, came into Franche-Comté at the head of eighteen thouſand men, and threatened the duchy of Burgundy. This obliged Henry to lead thither in perſon the beſt part of his army. Whilſt he was thus employed in Burgundy, the count de Fuentes, who commanded in the Netherlands after the death of the archduke Erneſt, entered Picardy, and became maſter of Catelet. Then he beſieged Dourlens, beat the French who came to its relief, and took the town by ſtorm. Henry, upon this mortifying news, ſent Chevalier immediately into England to demand a ſupply of forces for the defence of Picardy, according to his treaty with the queen. In the inſtructions given to his envoy, he ordered him to take care, that this ſupply ſhould be ready in a fortnight after the date: but Chevalier ſpent twelve days in his voyage. The queen anſwered, ſhe would not fail to ſend a body of troops into Picardy, as ſoon as they could be ready, to defend Calais, Dieppe, and Boulogne. Indeed the ſole motive of her treaty with Henry, was to prevent the Spaniards from becoming maſters of thoſe maritime places; but ſhe had never pretended to defend the inland towns of that province, for which ſhe was little concerned. This was not what the king wanted, having no deſire to put the Engliſh into theſe places. He pretended that, without any diſtinction, the queen ſhould ſend him a body of troops, to aſſiſt him in driving the Spaniards out of all Picardy. At the ſame time, the deputies of the province of Bretagne arrived at London, to demand ſupplies of the queen, without ſpecifying either the number or ſervice, and without offering a place of retreat; but this demand of troops was rejected by the queen.

He demands aid of Elizabeth. Camden.

Progreſs of the Spaniſh conqueſts in France.

The Spaniards, after the taking of Dourlens, beſieged Cambray, and became maſters of that important place. Henry ſeeing himſelf thus preſſed, ſent Lomenie, ſecretary of ſtate, to Elizabeth, to demand of her a ſpeedy and powerful aid. He expected, by entering into a league with Elizabeth, to engage her to make war with Spain in the kingdom of France, ſo that it ſhould ſeem, ſhe was obliged to ſend him forces and

Henry ſends Lomenie into England, Camden.

Eliz. 1595.

money whenever he had occaſion, though the treaty contained nothing like it. But Elizabeth had no ſuch intention, being unwilling to ſend her forces into France, when her own dominions were in danger, or ſo to make war with Spain that all the profit ſhould be Henry's, and the loſs her's [n]. Therefore ſhe told the ambaſſador, ſhe could not comply with his maſter's demand. Lomenie, vexed with the ill ſucceſs of his negotiation, ſpoke to her very haughtily, and charged her with being the cauſe of the loſs of Cambray, by her having not ſent the deſired ſupplies into Picardy. He added, that ſhe ſeemed to rejoice at the misfortunes of France, but ſhe might ſoon repent, and by her conduct be forced to make a diſadvantageous peace with Spain [o]. Theſe menaces, and the haughtineſs wherewith they were ſpoken by Lomenie, entirely offended Elizabeth. Nevertheleſs, as Henry's affairs were in a very ill ſituation, ſhe thought it not proper to deprive him of all hopes of her future aſſiſtance. She anſwered Lomenie however ſuitable to her dignity, but leſs ſharply than ſhe would have done at another juncture. Afterwards, when he demanded a ſecond audience, her anſwer was, that ſhe would acquaint the king of France by her ambaſſador [p], with her reaſons for keeping her troops and money.

who threatens the queen.

Elizabeth cold to the intereſt of Henry. Camden.

Elizabeth's refuſal offended Henry's council, in which the leaguers had now too great an influence. Several adviſed him to make a ſeparate peace with Spain, ſince he could hope for no aſſiſtance from Elizabeth. They ſeemed to talk as if ſhe had been obliged to ſend forces to Henry whenever they were demanded, and had violated her engagements. This was doubtleſs what was intended by the league: the French had reckoned to manage her as they pleaſed, but being diſappointed were very angry with her. Beſides, Henry's council being moſtly compoſed of the declared enemies of the proteſtant religion, and of whom ſome had been the moſt zealous leaguers, conſidered Elizabeth not as a friend whom they were hereafter to regard, but as a temporary friend, from whom they were to draw all poſſible advantages. It was not without reaſon that Elizabeth miſtruſted the king of France, who, to obtain his abſolution from the pope, had ſubmitted to terms unbecoming a king, and tending to the ruin of the

Camden.

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[n] The expedition to Bretagne had ſtood the nation in 47,248 crowns de ſoleil, and above 2,000,640 more were ſpent upon the forces under the earl of Eſſex, beſides the money lent. Camden, p. 582.

[o] According to Camden, Lomenie ſaid, ſhe would by her conduct oblige the king of France to make peace with Spain, p. 582.

[p] Sir Thomas Edmonds.

Proteſtants[q], thereby ſhowing, he no longer conſidered them his friends. It was not therefore proper for her to aſſiſt powerfully a friend, who was only ſo in name. Wherefore ſhe left him to manage his affairs as he pleaſed, without giving herſelf any concern. Beſides, ſhe could expect from him only a bare diverſion to the arms of Spain, which probably would laſt no longer than required by the intereſts of France. Henry's conduct gave her no room to expect any thing farther, ſince he had left the Spaniards unmoleſted in Bretagne, though her greateſt danger was from thence. And indeed, in July this year, the Spaniards, who were ſettled in Bretagne, made a deſcent in Cornwall and burnt ſome villages[r]. Tho' this expedition was inconſiderable, it however obliged Elizabeth to be upon her guard, and demonſtrated the neceſſity of diſlodging the common enemy from that province. But the intereſt of England was not the motive of Henry's actions.

The Spaniards make a deſcent upon England. July. Camden. Stow.

It was not of Elizabeth only that the king of France complained after the loſs of Cambray. He accuſed alſo the ſtates of the United Provinces of violating their alliance with him, in ſuffering a town of that importance to be taken, and threatened to make a ſeparate peace. The ſtates, ſeeing the advantage of a war between France and Spain, appeaſed the king with a round ſum of money, two regiments, and a conſiderable quantity of corn.

Henry complains of the States, Camden.

who ſend him money and troops.

This proceeding of the ſtates cauſed Elizabeth to tell them[s], ſince they had money enough to lend the king of France, they were doubtleſs able to pay their debts, and therefore ſhe demanded to be reimburſed of what ſhe had advanced for them. Adding, that unleſs ſpeedy ſatisfaction was given her, by a diſcharge of part of the debt, and an aſſurance of the remainder within ſuch a time, ſhe would take proper meaſures to do herſelf juſtice. The ſtates being thus preſſed, had recourſe to intreaties and ſubmiſſions to appeaſe her. They repreſented, that the ſtate of their affairs did not permit them to ſatisfy her. But as excuſes ſignified little, they urged their treaty with her, by which they were not obliged to repay her, till the end of the war. She replied, that when ſhe aſſiſted them, they were reduced to a deplorable ſtate, and ſhe ſhowed her bounty and generoſity in not requiring a reimburſement till after the peace, becauſe it was not likely they ſhould be

Elizabeth demands of them a payment of her debt. Camden.

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[q] See the terms at length in Camden, p. 583.

[r] They came only with four gallies, and burnt St. Paul's church, which ſtood alone in the fields, beſides Mouſehole, Neulin, and Penſance, three poor fiſher-towns, without taking or killing one man. Theſe were the only Spaniards that ever ſet foot in England as enemies. Camden, p. 583.

[s] By ſir Thomas Bodley her envoy to the States. Camden, p. 585.

able to pay her before. But ſince they were rich enough to lend the king of France money, it was evidently in their power to reimburſe her. That therefore the article of the treaty on which they inſiſted, ought naturally to be thus interpreted, "That they ſhould not be in a condition to repay "her before the concluſion of the war." There were great and even warm conteſts upon this ſubject. But at laſt the affair was adjuſted for a time, on theſe conditions: That the ſtates ſhould promiſe for the future to pay the Engliſh forces in their ſervice [t], and to join the queen's fleet with a certain number of ſhips, in caſe ſhe ſhould be attacked by the Spaniards.

The differences accommodated for a time. Camden.

Complaints of the Hanſe towns. Camden.

Elizabeth had alſo a conteſt to maintain with the Hanſe-towns, who complained to the diet of the Empire, that their corn was ſeized by the Engliſh in Portugal, and their privileges infringed, formerly granted them by Edward III. As this affair was more warmly puſhed ſome years after, I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of it elſewhere.

Sir Walter Raleigh goes upon a ſecond voyage into America. Camden. Act. Pub. xvi. p. 277.

This year, ſir Walter Raleigh made, at his own charge, a ſecond expedition into America, from which he reaped no great advantage. The queen likewiſe fitted out twenty-ſix ſhips to carry the war into that country, under the command of ſir Francis Drake and ſir John Hawkins [u]. But as the Spaniards had taken great precautions, the Engliſh admirals performed nothing memorable. Nay, they both died in this expedition.

Affairs of Ireland. Camden.

Norris, as I ſaid, was diſpatched into Ireland to command the forces againſt the rebels, at the head of which was the earl of Tir-oen. The jealouſy which aroſe between that general and the lord Ruſſel lieutenant of Ireland, was the reaſon the Engliſh made no greater progreſs in that kingdom. The earl of Tir-oen even obtained a truce, upon giving hopes he would lay down his arms, and ſubmit to the queen. But this was only a feint to gain time till the arrival of the ſuccours promiſed him from Spain. The war was continued for ſome years; but my deſign is not to relate the Iriſh affairs, which would require a ſeparate hiſtory. Beſides, the manner in which hiſtorians deliver them is ſo confuſed, and the Iriſh names as well of perſons as places are ſo barbarous and hard to remember, that it is difficult to form a clear idea of this war[w].

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[t] The charges of which were computed at 40,000 l. a year. Beſides that, they promiſed to pay 20,000 l. ſterling for ſome years: and upon the concluſion of a peace, a yearly ſum of 100,000 l. for four years. Camden, p. 586.

[u] Sir Thomas Baſkerville was appointed general of the land-forces. Rymer's Foed. tom. xvi. p. 277. He and captain Troughton had a warm engagement, near Cuba, with the Spaniſh fleet that was come to intercept them; but the Engliſh fleet got clear of them. Camden, p. 585.

Succeſs of the Spaniſh arms in France. Mezerai. Camden. Stow. Thuanus.

Henry demands aſſiſtance of Elizabeth. Camden. Thuanus.

Calais taken by the Spaniards. Thuanus.

Whatever reſolution had been made by Elizabeth to concern herſelf no more with the affairs of France, ſhe was however forced to take other meaſures, by reaſon of the great ſucceſs of the Spaniſh arms in that kingdom. Cardinal Albert of Auſtria, who had ſucceeded his brother Erneſt in the government of the Low Countries, arrived there the beginning of the year 1596. He immediately made great preparations as if he intended to relieve La Fere, which had been for ſome time blockaded by the French king, and at laſt beſieged in form. But ſuddenly, after throwing ſuccours into the town, the archduke marched to Calais and inveſted it. This place had been formerly of great repute, but whether from the change in the method of beſieging towns, or from being neglected ſince it was recovered by France, it was now of little note. Henry alarmed at the ſiege, diſpatched Sancy into England to demand ſuccours. The marſhal de Bouillon quickly followed him, and ſo preſſed the queen, that ſhe ordered eight thouſand men to be ready under the command of the earl of Eſſex. But ſhe required, in caſe the ſiege was raiſed by the Engliſh, to have the town delivered to them, ſince it was in effect loſt to France. The marſhal and Sancy evaded this demand, by ſaying, they had no inſtructions upon that ſubject, knowing the king had rather ſee the place in the hands of the Spaniards than reſtored to the Engliſh. So, under pretence that the relief of Calais was too preſſing to allow time to diſcuſs that propoſal, they ſo managed, that the queen gave orders for the imbarkation of the troops. But at the ſame time, new came that the place was taken, after a reſiſtance but of twelve days. Then the archduke alſo took Ardres with the ſame eaſe. This was the ſixth place taken from France by the Spaniards within a year. The ſuccours deſigned for Calais not having been ready in time, the new-levied troops were diſmiſſed; but the queen lent money to Henry on the ſecurity of his two ambaſſadors.

Elizabeth ſends a fleet againſt Spain. Camden. Stow. Speed.

Mean time, the queen having advice that the king of Spain was preparing to invade England and Ireland, reſolved to prevent him. For that purpoſe, ſhe fitted out a fleet of one hundred and fifty ſail, with two and twenty Dutch ſhips and ſeven thouſand ſoldiers. Charles Howard commanded as admiral,

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[w] This year, on Novemb. 19, died, in his confinement in the Tower, Philip Howard earl of Arundel. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 277.---This year alſo died ſir Roger Williams, and ſir Thomas Morgan, two brave officers. Camden, p. 587.

Eliz. 1596.

and the earl of Eſſex was appointed general of the land forces [x].

Expedition of the Engliſh to Cadiz. June 3. Camden. Stow, p. 771, &c. Speed. June 18. Thuanus.

The fleet ſailed from Plymouth the beginning of June, and kept at a diſtance from the coaſts of France and Spain, for fear of alarming the Spaniards, the commanders intending to ſurprize Cadiz. It was with great joy that they learned from the maſter of an Iriſh veſſel returning from that port, that every thing there was in the greateſt ſecurity: That the garriſon was weak, and the port full of ſhips of war, galeons, gallies, and merchant-men freighted for the Indies. This news filling them with hopes, they arrived the 20th of June on the weſt-ſide of the iſle of Cadiz, and at their approach the Spaniſh ſhips retired to the Puntals. The next day the Engliſh attacked them with great reſolution [y], but met with ſo warm a reception, that the fight laſted from break of day till noon. At laſt, the Spaniards deſpairing to make a longer defence, reſolved to ſink their ſhips, and eſcape to land. Their admiral-ſhip called the St. Philip was burnt to aſhes, with two others near her, the Spaniards themſelves ſetting it on fire to prevent its falling into the hands of the Engliſh. The St. Matthew and St. Andrew were taken, and moſt of the others ran aſhore.

During the engagement at ſea, the earl of Eſſex with eight hundred men landed at the Puntals, and marched directly to Cadiz. Three or four hundred paces from the city, he met with five hundred Spaniards, who, when they ſaw him, retired into the town, and were ſo cloſely purſued, that the Engliſh had like to have entered with them. The conſternation was ſo great in the town, that before any meaſures could be taken for its defence, the Engliſh had time to force the gate [z] and throw themſelves into the town. Though they found ſome reſiſtance in the ſtreets, yet in half an hour they made themſelves maſters of the market-place. Then the garriſon and inhabitants retired into the caſtle and town-houſe, but the ſame or the following day, were obliged to ſurrender. By the capitulation, they were to have their lives on payment of ſeventy thouſand ducats, for which four principal citizens were given in hoſtage [a]. The town being thus in the power of the Engliſh, the earl of Eſſex turned out all the inhabitants, and then ordered to be carried on board a great quantity of ſilver, ammunition, and other valuable things; beſides what the ſoldiers had plundered.

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[x] The fleet was divided into four ſquadrons; whereof the firſt was commanded by the lord admiral Howard, the ſecond by the earl of Eſſex, the third by the lord Thomas Howard, and the fourth by ſir Walter Raleigh. The officers of the army (of which the lord admiral and the earl of Eſſex were joint generals) were, ſir Francis Vere lord-marſhal, ſir John Wingfield camp-maſter general, ſir Conyers Clifford ſerjeant-major, ſir George Carew maſter of the ordnance. The colonels were, Robert earl of Suſſex, ſir Chriſtopher Blunt, ſir Thomas Gerrard, ſir Richard Wingfield, ſir Edward Wingfield captain of the voluntiers; Anthony Aſhley was ſecretary at war. Stow, p. 772. Camden, p. 591.

[y] This was done by the lord Thomas Howard, ſir Walter Raleigh, ſir Thomas Southwell, ſir Francis Vere, ſir George Carew, ſir Robert Croſs, &c. Camden, p. 592.

[z] It was done by ſir Francis Vere. Idem. p. 593.

On the other hand, admiral Howard ſent ſir Walter Raleigh to burn the merchant-ſhips at Port-Real. The admiral was offered two millions of ducats for their ranſom, but rejected the offer, ſaying, he came to burn and not to ranſom the ſhips. Mean time, the duke of Medina found means to unload ſome of theſe ſhips and fire others, to deprive the Engliſh of their riches. Beſides the merchantmen, the king of Spain loſt two galeons, taken by the Engliſh, with above a hundred braſs guns [b], thirteen men of war, eleven ſhips freighted for the Indies, and thirteen others, without reckoning the ſtores prepared for the intended expedition againſt England. The Engliſh eſtimated his loſs at twenty millions of ducats.

The earl of Eſſex propoſed in a council of war to keep Cadiz, and even offered to ſtay there, provided he might have four hundred men and three months proviſions; but his advice was not followed, every one being impatient to return with his plunder to England. So the fleet ſet ſail, after burning the town with ſome adjacent villages. While the fleet was ſailing for England, a north wind ariſing, the earl of Eſſex propoſed to ſteer for the Azores, and wait for the Indian carracks: but he was not heard, every one fearing to loſe what he had gained.

July 5.

Mortification given to the earl of Eſſex.
Camden.

The queen received theſe brave men with great marks of eſteem, and expreſſed her acknowledgment of the ſervice they had done her. But the earl of Eſſex met with a mortification on his arrival at court, for having, before his departure, recommended Sir Thomas Bodley to be ſecretary of ſtate, the queen, without regarding his recommendation, had conferred that office on ſir Robert Cecil the lord treaſurer's ſon, who was not his friend. Some days after, he had alſo the vexation to ſee Francis Vere made governor of the Briel [c], though he had ſtrongly ſollicited for another. This convinced him that his credit was declining, and his uneaſineſs at it engaged him in extravagant projects which coſt him his life.

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[a] The Spaniards were to pay 520,000 ducats, (or, according to Stow, 620,000) and to give forty hoſtages. No Engliſhman of note, except ſir John Wingfield, was killed. Ibid.

[b] Twelve hundred pieces of ordnance, ſays Stow, were either taken or ſunk in the ſea, p. 775.

[c] Upon the lord Sheffield's voluntary reſignation. Camden, p. 594.

Elizabeth demands payment of the ſtates. Grotius.

The king of Spain having been for ſome time unable to purſue his deſigns againſt England, Elizabeth renewed her applications to the ſtates of the United Provinces for payment of her arrears. The ſtates, to be excuſed, alledged the ſame reaſons as before, which were no better received. The queen ſaid, it was unjuſt her payment ſhould depend on a peace, which the ſtates might defer as long as they pleaſed. That beſides, the treaty ſhe had made with them contained in expreſs terms, that the war ſhould continue no longer than ſhe ſaw convenient. But the ſtates pretended, this article was inſerted in the treaty only in honour to her. This conteſt held till the report of new preparations in Spain for an invaſion of England cauſed the queen to ceaſe by degrees her ſollicitations. The truth is, the ſtates delayed to pay her, not ſo much out of inability, as to keep her always attached to their intereſt. On the other hand, the queen did not make theſe preſſing inſtances for want of money, but becauſe ſhe would not have her payment depend on the ſucceſs of the affairs of her debtors. They were then able to pay, but ſhe knew not what alterations time might produce.

A new treaty between France and England. Camden. Thuanus. Mezerai. Stow.

When the marſhal de Bouillon was ſent into England to demand aid, he had made ſome propoſal of a ſtricter alliance between France and England. But the French king had neglected the affair, becauſe he ſaw Elizabeth upon her guard, and unwilling to furniſh him with either men or money, but upon good grounds. Mean while, the deſigns and preparations of the Spaniard becoming publick, Henry believed Elizabeth would be more tractable, and he might treat with her upon better terms. In this belief he diſpatched the marſhal de Bouillon and Sancy into England, to negotiate with the queen a league offenſive and defenſive. The treaty was ſoon concluded, for the queen was afraid the ill ſituation of the king's affairs would force him to a ſeparate peace with Spain. The principal articles of the league were, That the queen ſhould furniſh four thouſand men for the defence of Picardy and Normandy: That the king of France, in caſe the queen was invaded, ſhould find the like number for the defence of England, not to ſerve above fifty miles from the ſea: That neither of the two crowns ſhould make peace without the conſent of the other. By a ſecret article it was agreed, that Elizabeth ſhould this year furniſh

Articles of it. Thuanus. Camden.

furniſh no more than two thouſand men [d]. Very probably, Elizabeth concluded this league with France, with the ſole view of keeping Henry engaged in the Spaniſh war, by means of the ſupplies ſhe was to ſend him. But it is unlikely, ſhe expected the ſame aſſiſtance in caſe of need, becauſe Henry could not himſelf be without the Engliſh auxiliaries. On the other hand, Henry knowing that Elizabeth had conſented to the treaty from the ſole motive of intereſt, ſcrupled not to act on the ſame motive; that is, to uſe the queen's aſſiſtance, till he could with honour diſengage himſelf from a war he had ſo unſeaſonably declared againſt Spain. There are few leagues but what have the like foundation. Wherefore they are commonly ſeen to ceaſe, when the intereſt of one of the parties begins to change. The ſtates of the United Provinces entered into the league, with ſome additional articles which concerned them in particular. But Elizabeth's jealouſy of their attachment to France, retarded ſome time the concluſion of their treaty. She pretended, they ought not to come into it as ſovereigns, but as aſſociated towns which had put themſelves under her protection. But the king of France prevailed with her to deſiſt from that pretenſion.

The ſtates are received into it. Thuanus.

The king of Spain makes a ſtrong effort to conquer England. Camden.

Philip II. was inraged to be prevented by Elizabeth, and to be unable to defend his own dominions, he who had his whole life been ſo greedy of thoſe of others. So, reſolving neither to deſiſt from his projects, nor ſuffer Elizabeth to enjoy the ſatiſfaction of her happy ſucceſs, he determined to make another effort, not only to be revenged of Elizabeth, but alſo to conquer England. Though he had received great damage from the Engliſh, yet as it was only in one of the places where he made his preparations, he ſtill believed himſelf in condition to purſue his deſigns. He therefore aſſembled all the ſhips he had left, freighted many foreign ones, and by that means had a formidable fleet, when Elizabeth thought him entirely unable to act againſt her. This fleet ſailed from Liſbon to take up the land-forces at Fariola, and then ſteered directly for England. But a violent ſtorm ariſing in the midſt of the voyage, ſeveral of the ſhips were loſt, and the reſt ſo diſperſed, that the fleet was rendered unſerviceable for this year. Thus Elizabeth had the pleaſure to hear it was unable to hurt her, before ſhe knew of its ſailing. But

His fleet diſperſed by a tempeſt.

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[d] Gilbert Talbot earl of Shrewſbury, was ſent ambaſſador to France, to ſee the king ſwear to this treaty; and alſo to preſent Sir Anthony Mildmay to be the queen's ambaſſador, in the room of Sir Henry Unton deceaſed; and to inveſt Henry with the order of the garter. Camden, p. 595. See an account of his magnificent reception, in Stow, p. 777.

not to be expoſed again to the like danger, ſhe took care to fortify the places where the Spaniards could moſt eaſily have landed [e], if heaven had not blaſted their projects [f].

Battle of Turnhout in the Low-Countries. The Spaniards ſurprize Amiens. Thuanus. Mezerai.

In the beginning of the year 1597, during a moſt ſevere winter, prince Maurice gained a battle againſt the Spaniards at Turnhout. But on the other ſide, in March, Hernando Tellez Portocarrero governor of Dourlens, found means to ſurprize Amiens. This accident diſturbed the ſecret negotiations of peace, which by the mediation of the pope were on foot between Henry and Philip. The treaty was now well advanced without Elizabeth's knowledge, notwithſtanding Henry's late treaty with her, of which the principal article was, that no peace ſhould be made without a mutual conſent.

Philip forms projects againſt Ireland. Camden.

The queen ſends a fleet againſt Spain; Camden. Thuanus. Stow. Speed.

which returns without having done any thing of moment.

Philip II. relying on a ſeparate peace with France, had reſolved to make an effort againſt Ireland, where he had correſpondents, and even prepared a fleet to execute his deſign. The notice the queen received of it, made her reſolve to prevent him, as ſhe had often done with ſucceſs. For that purpoſe, ſhe equipped a fleet of ſix-ſcore veſſels, with ſix thouſand land-forces, and gave the command to the earl of Eſſex [g]. The earl's project was to ſail to the Groyne, and deſtroy the armament preparing there, then to wait at the Azores for the Spaniſh fleet returning from the Indies. But contrary winds, ſtorms, and a quarrel betwixt the earl of Eſſex and ſir Walter Raleigh, broke theſe meaſures, and the fleet returned to England without any memorable action. It is needleſs therefore to be more particular concerning an expedition from which Elizabeth received but little advantage. I ſhall only ſay, that whilſt the Engliſh were returning, a fleet from Fariola was ſteering the ſame courſe, in order to make a deſcent in Cornwal.

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[e] She cauſed the following caſtles to be fortified, Sandsfort, Portland, Hurſt, Southſea, Calſhot, St. Andrew's, and St. Maudit's. Camden, p. 594.

[f] This year, Thomas Arundel of Wardour returned to England, after having done the emperor ſignal ſervice againſt the Turks, and been, as a reward for it, created count of the Holy Empire; the queen was highly offended at Arundel's accepting that title, as the reader may ſee in Camden, p. 595, &c. and Rymer's Foed. tom. 16. p. 284, 289, 301.---Within the courſe of this year died Henry Carey lord Hunſdon; ſir Francis Knolles; as alſo ſir John Puckering lord keeper of the great ſeal, who was ſucceeded by ſir Thomas Egerton maſter of the rolls. Stow, p. 771. Camden, p. 596.

[g] The fleet was divided into three ſquadrons. The firſt commanded by the earl of Eſſex; the ſecond by the lord Thomas Howard; and the third by ſir Walter Raleigh, Charles Blount lord Montjoy commanded the land-forces under the earl of Eſſex, ſir Francis Vere was marſhal de camp, ſir George Carew lieutenant of the ordnance, and ſir Chriſtopher Blount firſt colonel. Camden, p. 597. Stow, p. 783.

Eliz. 1597.

But a tempeſt from the north ſo diſperſed the two fleets, that they could not even get ſight of each other.

The earl of Eſſex in ill humour againſt the court. Octob. 23. Camden. Stow.

The earl of Eſſex being returned to court about the end of October, met with a freſh cauſe of diſcontent. The queen had created admiral Howard earl of Nottingham, and inſerted in his patent, that it was for his ſervices to his country in 1588 againſt the fleet of Spain, and afterwards in taking the town of Cadiz jointly with the earl of Eſſex. This patent offended the earl, who thought himſelf affronted by the queen, in her aſcribing any ſhare of the taking of Cadiz to the admiral. Beſides, by this creation the new earl of Nottingham was to take place of him by an act of Henry VIII. which gave the precedence to the lord high-ſteward, the lord chancellor, the lord treaſurer, the lord preſident, the lord privy-ſeal, the lord chamberlain, the lord high-conſtable, the earl marſhal, the lord high-admiral, and the lord ſteward, who are called the great officers of the crown, before all the peers of equal degree [h]. But the queen, to ſoften his reſentment, created him earl-marſhal of England, which preſerved him the precedence of the lord-admiral.

The diſpute of the Hans towns revived. Camden. Thuanus.

The Hans-towns, as I ſaid, had made great complaints to the diet of the empire, concerning the corn taken from them in Portugal, and their privileges loſt in England. Elizabeth ſent an ambaſſador to the diet to anſwer theſe accuſations. He repreſented, That the Hans-towns, by the abuſe of their privileges, had cauſed them to be anulled by an act of parliament in the reign of Edward IV. That afterwards Mary had for a time ſuſpended the execution of that act; but at laſt, even in her reign, thoſe privileges had been entirely aboliſhed, for which he alledged ſeveral reaſons mentioned in Edward's reign. That as to the ſeizure of their ſhips in Portugal, they were freighted with proviſions for the Spaniards, and by the law of nations the Engliſh could ſeize proviſions which were carrying to their enemies, and even confiſcate the ſhips, which, however, were reſtored to the owners. This affair ſeemed ſuppreſſed, and it had not been mentioned for two years, when ſuddenly the emperor, at the ſollicitation of the Hans-towns, prohibited the commerce of the Engliſh merchants, called the Adventurers, with the empire. This obliged the queen to prohibit the commerce of the Hans-towns in England.

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[h] The chancellor, treaſurer, preſident of the council, privy-ſeal, being barons, ſit above dukes in parliament. The reſt of the great officers ſit after the privy-ſeal, above all of their degree only. See Statut. 31 Henry VIII. c. 10.

Henry demands ſuccours of Elizabeth. Camden.

Her anſwer.

Henry threatens to make a peace without her. Camden. Mezerai.

She juſtifies her conduct from the words of the treaty.

Camden.

Mean time, the king of France was greatly embarraſſed; ſince the Spaniards were become maſters of Amiens, from whence they could make incurſions to the gates of Paris. He reſolved therefore at any rate to recover that place, and formed the ſiege about the end of May. At the ſame time, he ſummoned queen Elizabeth to ſend him four thouſand men, according to their treaty. The queen anſwered, ſhe was ready to ſend the forces, provided he would pay them, becauſe her expences in equipping a fleet, and maintaining an army in Ireland, rendered her unable. Troops without money did not ſuit with Henry, whoſe exchequer was exhauſted. Wherefore, to induce Elizabeth to comply with his demand, he ordered her to be told, that offers of peace had been made him, with the reſtitution of all his places, except Calais and Ardres, if he would abandon England. He meant to inſinuate, that it was ſolely on her account he had refuſed a ſeparate peace, though in truth, the ſurprize of Amiens was the real cauſe of the diſcontinuance of the treaty, which he would not have begun without her participation, if he had retained the leaſt regard for her. However, the queen, yet ignorant of the ſecret, told him, by her ambaſſador, ſhe could never believe that ſo great a prince would violate a ſolemn treaty ſo lately made, and confirmed with reciprocal oaths. She prayed him to look into the treaty, where he would find this article in expreſs terms: 'The queen of England ſhall ſend this year, four thouſand foot to ſerve the king for the ſpace of ſix months: They ſhall likewiſe ſerve him as long in the following years, if the queen of England's affairs will conveniently permit, in which point the king of France is to take her honour and conſcience for ſecurity.' That therefore it was manifeſt, the treaty was not violated by her, as ſhe offered to ſend forces, provided he would promiſe to pay them. All this ended at laſt, in what probably Henry propoſed, which was, that Elizabeth, inſtead of forces, ſhould ſupply him with money. For ſecurity, Henry offered her Calais, provided ſhe would recover it within ſuch a time with her own forces. This was ingaging her to make a diverſion more advantagious to France, than the four thouſand men he demanded. It was even uncertain, whether the town could be taken within the limited time, which probably would have been very ſhort. But Elizabeth was not to be thus enſnared, eſpecially as ſhe knew, the king of France had rather ſee Calais in the hands of the Spaniards than of the Engliſh. But the retaking of Amiens, which ſurrendered in September, finiſhed this diſpute.

The

Henry negotiates a peace with Spain, without the participation of Elizabeth. Camden. Thuanus.

The ſurrender of Amiens renewed the negotiations between France and Spain, which had been interrupted. Henry's conduct on this occaſion did not correſpond with the ſervices he had received from Elizabeth in his moſt preſſing neceſſities. He deferred to acquaint her, that a peace was abſolutely neceſſary for him, till he had privately ſettled the principal articles. He thought, probably, as Elizabeth had only conſulted her own intereſt in their league, he might likewiſe conſider only his own advantage. Such a principle allows the breach of any alliance without ſcruple. He could not however ſo ſecretly tranſact the affair, but Elizabeth had notice of his proceedings and deſigns. For that reaſon ſhe called a parliament [i] to demand an aid in ſuch a juncture, intimating, ſhe was going to be abandoned by her ally, though he ſtill pretended not to treat without her. The parliament perceiving the danger of an immediate invaſion, voted an extraordinary ſupply, on condition it ſhould not be drawn into a precedent [k].

D'ewes, p. 532, &c. Townſhend. p. 79. The parliament grants a large ſupply.

1598. Henry makes peace without his allies. Camden. Thuanus. Stow.

Elizabeth knew Henry was treating with Spain, but was ignorant the peace was now almoſt concluded, and the more, as he had deſired her to ſend ambaſſadors to ſettle the points on which they were to treat. She ſent therefore Thomas Wilks, Sir Robert Cecil, and John Herbert maſter of requeſts. The firſt died preſently after his arrival at Paris. The two others waited on the king at Angers, to know upon what terms the negotiation ſtood with Spain. Henry gave a general anſwer, declaring, he wanted a peace, and that the welfare of his people, which he preferred to all other conſiderations, abſolutely required it. Cecil anſwered, the queen his miſtreſs deſired it no leſs, but wanted to know upon what conditions it was propoſed by the king of Spain, and whether the ſtates of the United Provinces were to be included. Henry replied, the king of Spain offered to reſtore all the places taken in France, Calais not excepted; that this offer could not be rejected, without expoſing his kingdom to utter ruin. Adding, he would ſoon cauſe the king of Spain to grant honourable conditions to the queen and the United Provinces.

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[i] This parliament met at Weſtminſter October 24. 1597, and was diſſolved February 9. 1598. D'ewes, p. 522. --The acts made in this parliament were theſe: 1. An act for the puniſhment of rogues, vagabonds, and ſturdy beggars. By this ſtatute, all the following perſons are to be adjudged rogues and vagabonds, People that go about begging, as poor ſcholars; or on pretence of loſſes by fire or ſhipwreck; collectors for gaols; or perſons delivered out of gaol, and begging for their fees; ſuch as uſe any ſubtle craft, or unlawful games; fortune-tellers; gypſies; fencers; bear-wards; common players, and minſtrels; juglers; tinkers; pedlers; and petty chapmen; fellows not working for reaſonable wages, when they are able, and the like. Their puniſhment is to be whipped, and ſent from pariſh to pariſh, by the officer in each, the next ſtraight way to the pariſh where they were born, or laſt dwelt for the ſpace of a whole year. 2. An act for erecting of hoſpitals, houſes of correction, and work-houſes for the poor. 3. One for the increaſe of mariners, and maintenance of the navigation. 4. An act againſt lewd and wandering perſons, pretending to be ſoldiers or mariners, and travelling without teſtimonials from juſtices of peace.

[k] The laity granted three ſubſidies of 2 s. 8 d. in the pound of goods, and 4 s. of lands, with ſix fifteenths and tenths. The clergy gave three ſubſidies to be paid on ſix ſeveral days. Theſe ſeveral ſubſidies were granted without any oppoſition or difficulty. See D'Ewes, p. 569.

Grotius. Camden.

They complain to no purpoſe. Camden. Thuanus.

This was ſufficient to ſhow the ambaſſadors, that the peace between France and Spain was already concluded, and no care taken of Henry's allies. Elizabeth having ſome intelligence of it, ordered her ambaſſadors to complain to the king; and the ambaſſadors of the ſtates received alſo the ſame orders from their maſters. But Henry, not to hear himſelf reproached, which muſt have been very mortifying to him, appointed commiſſioners to treat with the ambaſſadors, inſtead of granting the audience they demanded. The commiſſioners and the ambaſſadors being met, Oldenbarnevelt, one of the ſtates ambaſſadors, ſpoke boldly of the inſincerity wherewith the king had treated his maſters. He adjured the king, though abſent, to declare in his conſcience, if he thought it becoming a prince, to ſeparate from his allies without any provocation. Then, to confound the French commiſſioners, he read aloud the treaty of league, concluding with theſe words: 'That ſome kings preferred their private intereſts to 'their alliances; but that this often proved fatal to them; 'for when princes have parted with their faith and honour, 'it is in vain to think of ſupporting themſelves by mere 'power [1].' The chancellor, who was one of the commiſſioners, anſwered the ambaſſador, that what he ſaid deſerved great regard, and ſhould be reported to the king, proteſting, however, that France could not ſubſiſt without peace.

Camden.

Cecil ſpoke next, and ſaid, That being impowered only to treat of a general peace, ſince the ſtates of the United Provinces were not to be included in the king's treaty with Spain, he could proceed no farther. Then, after a juſtification of Elizabeth's conduct, and a bold cenſure of the French king's, he demanded time to inform the queen of what paſſed. But his demand being eluded, he prayed the commiſſioners to remind the king of the oath he had taken before God and man. He concluded with ſaying, That the queen expected to be repaid, the ſums lent the king in his preſſing neceſſities. But whatever the ambaſſadors alledged ſignified nothing, ſince the peace between France and Spain was concluded, and nothing was wanting but the formality of having it publickly ſigned by plenipotentiaries, who were to meet at Vervins.

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[1] Then he propoſed, that if the king of France would lay aſide the thoughts of peace, and beſiege Calais, the ſtates would advance pay for ſeven thouſand men to aſſiſt in it, and furniſh twenty-five men of war; and at the ſame time lay ſiege to ſome other place, to divide the enemies forces. Camden, p. 605.

Elizabeth enraged. Camden.

Elizabeth was extremely provoked with the French king's proceedings, and the more, as ſhe ſaw no other cauſe which could oblige him to negotiate a peace without giving her notice, than complaiſance to the pope and the king of Spain. It is certain, Henry might have diſengaged himſelf with ſome appearance of good faith, if he had but pretended an unwillingneſs to treat without his allies, and afterwards, upon the difficulties which ſhould ariſe, had urged the neceſſity he was under of making a peace. But concluding it without their knowledge, he clearly diſcovered, that he preferred the king of Spain's intereſt before that of his ancient allies. This was indeed his character. He was ſo impatient to ſee himſelf in peaceable poſſeſſion of the crown of France, that to compaſs his ends, he never ſcrupled to ſacrifice his old friends, who were unable to hurt him, to his moſt mortal enemies, who might ſtill create him diſturbance. He had no perſon about him who dared to cenſure ſuch a conduct; but in Elizabeth he found one of an equal rank, who uſed him with leſs ceremony. She ſent him a letter, in which, after other ſevere expreſſions, ſhe told him, 'That if in temporal concerns, 'there was ſuch a thing as a ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, it 'was doubtleſs ingratitude: That if he had obtained advantagious terms from Spain, he ought to thank England for 'them: And that ſolemn oaths, and mutual compacts, were 'never intended for ſnares, unleſs by the worſt of men.' Henry was ſtung with theſe reproaches, but as they admitted of no reply, choſe to take no notice of them. He excuſed himſelf upon the urgent neceſſity which forced him to make peace, and endeavoured to perſuade Elizabeth, that whereas he had hitherto been only a burden to her, he would for the future give her marks of his acknowledgment, in procuring her a ſafe and honourable peace, and in never forſaking her intereſts. But this was only words, which were not much regarded by the queen.

Writes to him a letter full of reſentment. Camden.

He ſigns the peace without his allies. May 10. Thuanus.

During theſe tranſactions, ſome articles of little moment, which had remained undecided, were finiſhed at Vervins. Mezerai owns, the peace might have been concluded and ſigned in leſs than three weeks, if Henry had not affected to perſuade the public he would not abandon his allies. But all this tended only to obtain for the ambaſſadors of England and of the ſtates, an admiſſion to the conferences, without any declaration of what he would do in their favour. But Philip, who knew how far he ſhould be ſollicited, remained inflexible, and would never grant a power to his plenipotentiaries to treat either with England or the ſtates. At laſt, after Henry had made all the neceſſary excuſes to clear himſelf to the publick, he gave orders to his plenipotentiaries to ſign the treaty, promiſing however his allies, that he would not ratify it till forty days after, as if that time had been ſufficient to make their peace with the Spaniard, who even refuſed to treat with them. Mean while, he exhorted them, whether ſeriouſly or jeſtingly, to embrace the opportunity he was procuring them. This peace was ſigned at Vervins the ſecond of May, and ratified by Henry the 12th of June.

Elizabeth's reaſons for continuing the war. Grotius. Camden.

It was now incumbent upon the queen and the ſtates to take proper meaſures to ſuſtain the war againſt all the forces of Spain; and, in order to this, Elizabeth ſent Francis Vere to the ſtates to know their reſolution. Mean while, it was debated in council, whether it was proper to make peace or continue the war. The council being divided upon this queſtion, ſeveral reaſons were alledged on both ſides. But the queen, who knew perfectly her intereſt, readily declared for war. She perceived, that in making a ſeparate peace, as it would have been very eaſy, ſhe ſhould oblige the ſtates to put themſelves again under the Spaniſh yoke. In that caſe, ſhe foreſaw, ſhe ſhould ſtand ſingle without any ally, and expoſed to the inſults of Philip, who would never want pretences to quarrel with her, and reſume his former projects againſt England. Nay, it was to be feared, the king of France, incited by the pope and a catholic council, where the antient leaguers had great influence, would ſuffer himſelf to be engaged in a plot to dethrone her. She was alſo apprehenſive, the king of Scots, in order to aſcend the ſooner the throne of England, would be tempted by promiſes to abandon the intereſts of the proteſtant religion. In a word, by forſaking the ſtates, ſhe expoſed herſelf to the danger of ſeeing the ſtorm fall upon her own head, which ſhe had all her life been labouring to turn upon her neighbours. On the contrary, in ſupporting them ſhe employed the Spaniard, and hindered him from making any conſiderable attempts upon England. Moreover, if by a vigorous war ſhe could oblige Philip to a peace, without any danger to the liberty of the ſtates, ſhe would thereby ſecure friends, who might be very ſerviceable on occaſion.

Theſe were the reaſons which determined the queen to continue the war. But ſhe was very careful to conceal her intentions from the ſtates, and rather ſhowed a great inclination to peace, pretending ſhe was unable to carry on ſo burdenſome a war. She intimated to them, that her intereſt was not concerned, and that Philip's efforts againſt England plainly ſhowed ſhe was in no danger from him. The ſtates not being able to diſſemble like her, becauſe their all was at ſtake, ſhe brought them to acknowledge, that if the war was continued, it was ſolely for the preſervation of their liberty, and therefore it was neceſſary to treat anew upon that foundation. In ſhort, ſhe ſo artfully managed, that they came to a new agreement with her, entirely to her advantage. The ſtates choſe rather to ſubmit to her terms than be forced to make a peace, by which, in that juncture, they muſt have loſt their liberty, their religion, and the fruits of thirty years labour. The articles of the new treaty were [m].

A new treaty between Elizabeth and the ſtates. Auguſt 16. Act. Pub. xvi. p. 340. Camden.

Articles of it.

That the ſtates ſhould give ſecurity to Elizabeth for eight hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, to which all her claims were limited.

That the half of this ſum ſhould be diſcharged by yearly payments of thirty thouſand pounds ſterling, as long as the war ſhould continue; and if, at the end of the war, any thing remained of this half, the annual payments ſhould be but twenty thouſand pounds.

That as to the other half, and the reſtitution of the places which were in the queen's hands, there ſhould be an amicable agreement, when the peace was concluded.

That for the garriſons of Fluſhing, the Briel, and other forts, the queen ſhould furniſh eleven hundred and fifty men, to be paid by the ſtates, at the rate of one hundred and ſeventy pounds ſterling a month, beſides utenſils, and other uſeful neceſſaries for ſoldiers in garriſon.

That for the future the queen ſhould be diſcharged of her engagement to furniſh the ſtates with auxiliaries, and that the Engliſh who now ſerved, or ſhould hereafter ſerve in the Low-Countries, ſhould be paid by the ſtates, take an oath to them, and obey the orders of their generals.

That by this means, the authority of the Engliſh deputy, ſtipulated in the former treaty, would be aboliſhed, the queen

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[m] It does not appear from whence Rapin has taken this treaty. His abſtract of it is extremely faulty, which is here rectified from the original in Rymer's Fœd. tom. 16. p. 340, &c.

Eliz. 1598.

nevertheleſs reſerving a power to put one perſon into the council of ſtate.

That if, during the war, the common enemy or his adherents ſhould ſet out a fleet to invade England, or the iſles belonging to it, namely, thoſe of Wight, Scilly, Guernſey, and Jerſey, the ſtates ſhould be obliged to aſſiſt her majeſty with a fleet of thirty or forty ſhips of war; and, in caſe of an invaſion, with five thouſand foot and five hundred horſe: That if her majeſty ſhould equip a fleet of fifty or ſixty ſhips to act offenſively, either in Spain, Portugal, or the Weſt-Indies, the ſtates ſhould join her with the ſame number of ſhips. And if any Engliſh forces, as ten thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe at the leaſt, were ſent over into Flanders or Brabant, the ſtates ſhould furniſh out half the ſame number of men.

The earl of Tir-oen formidable in Ireland.

The king of Scots inſiſts to be declared ſucceſſor to Elizabeth. Camden.

He writes to the pope. Winwood's Mem. t. i. Camden.

A conſpiracy diſcovered againſt the queen. Stow.

It is eaſy to obſerve from this treaty, how well the queen knew to improve the preſent circumſtances of the ſtates, and their fear of being forced to make a diſadvantageous peace with Spain, though, for reaſons beforementioned, it was her intereſt to continue the war. Beſides, when this treaty was negotiating, the earl of Tir-oen was very formidable in Ireland. In fine, the king of Scotland almoſt openly demanded to be declared the queen's preſumptive heir. He diſperſed written or printed books, in which he pretended to prove that no perſon whatever could deprive him of his right. A letter was even ſhown to Elizabeth ſubſcribed with his own hand, and addreſſed to the pope [n]. Camden ſays; he had been ſurpriſed into this letter, but that author is too partial in every thing concerning king James to deſerve entire credit. Shortly after, one Edward Squire was apprehended in London, for having undertaken to kill the queen by poiſoning the pummel of her ſaddle. All this ſhows ſhe had no leſs reaſon to fear for herſelf than for the ſtates, and that it was her intereſt to ſupport them, and procure them a peace which ſhould ſecure their liberty.

Death of Philip. Septem. 13. Camden.

The death of Philip of Spain, which happened in September this year, ſomething allayed Elizabeth's uneaſineſs. That prince was ſeventy-two years old, and had reigned forty-two, in continual troubles to enlarge the bounds of his monarchy. He caſt his ambitious views upon France, England, and Portugal, and of all theſe grand projects, the laſt only ſucceeded. But he loſt ſeven provinces in the Netherlands, which were well worth the kingdom he acquired. He died a dreadful death, being devoured by lice ſwarming from ulcers with which he had been ſome time afflicted: but he bore his calamity with admirable conſtancy. Some time before his death, he had aſſigned the ſovereignty of the Low-Countries in dower to the infanta Iſabella his daughter, when he married her to archduke Albert. But the conditions annexed to this grant ſhew he had no intention to diſmember thoſe provinces from the Spaniſh monarchy. Beſides the reſervation of homage, and a power to keep garriſons in the citadels of Antwerp and Cambray, he had ſtipulated the reverſion of theſe provinces to the crown of Spain, in default of heirs deſcending from the princeſs his daughter; and it is even pretended he had rendered her incapable of ever having any. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Philip III.

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[n] This letter is extant in Winwood's Memorials, tom. i. p. 1.

The queen gives the earl of Eſſex a box on the ear. Camden.

This year a troubleſome affair happened at the Engliſh court. The queen conſulting the earl of Eſſex and the admiral [o], concerning a fit perſon to be ſent into Ireland, diſcovered an inclination for ſir William Knolles; but the earl of Eſſex, tho' his nephew, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, contending for ſir George Carew, in order to remove him from court, as being jealous of him. He ſupported his opinion with great haughtineſs and obſtinacy, and perceiving the queen immoveable, turned his back upon her with ſuch an air of contempt, that, provoked at his inſolence, ſhe gave him a box on the ear [p]. He immediately laid his hand on his ſword, and being prevented from drawing it by the admiral, ſwore, 'That he 'neither could nor would put up ſo great an indignity; nor 'would he have taken it from Henry VIII. himſelf were he 'alive,' and inſtantly retired from court. The lord privy-ſeal repreſenting to him in a letter, the folly of his menaces, and adviſing him to aſk the queen's pardon, he ſent a long and paſſionate anſwer, wherein he ſpoke very diſreſpectfully of the queen [q]. But at laſt being brought to himſelf by the advice of his friends, he was re-admitted to favour. Few believed this reconciliation ſincere, and the earl's friends were in great fear for him.

Death of lord Burleigh. Camden. Stow.

William Cecil baron Burleigh lord treaſurer, and for many years prime miniſter and confident of the queen, died this year in extreme old age [r]. The lord Buckhurſt ſucceeded him in his office of treaſurer.

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[o] There was none preſent then but the earl of Eſſex, the admiral, ſir Robert Cecil, and Windebank, keeper of the privy-ſeal. Camden, p. 608.

[p] And bid him go and be hanged. Ibid.

[q] Rapin ſays here by miſtake, that the lord privy-ſeal talked with him inſtead of ſending a letter; but the reader may ſee Eſſex's anſwer at length, in Camden, p. 609. vol. ii. Compl. Hiſt.

Affairs of Ireland. Hiſt. of Ireland. Camden.

Camden.

The affairs of Ireland were in ſo ill a ſituation, that a ſpeedy remedy was to be applied, or the kingdom expoſed to the hazard of being entirely loſt. Since the advantages gained by the earl of Tir-oen over the Engliſh, the whole province of Munſter had revolted. The natives in every other part of the iſle were in the ſame diſpoſition, flattering themſelves that with the aſſiſtance of the pope and the Spaniards [s], the earl of Tir-oen would free them entirely from the Engliſh yoke. The queen, informed of the ſtate of affairs, believed no time was to be loſt to reduce the Iriſh to their duty, and ordered her council to conſider in her preſence, how to execute her reſolution. The earl of Eſſex ſpoke long upon the ſubject, blaming the conduct of the former lord deputies, who, he ſaid, amuſed themſelves with trifles, inſtead of acting directly againſt the earl of Tir-oen, without giving him any reſpite: that by truces granted him from time to time he had reſtored his affairs; and withal, the queen had been put to a needleſs expence, ſince her troops were paid in a truce as well as during the war. This opinion was grateful to the queen, who loved not to be laviſh of her money without occaſion. When a deputy came to be named, moſt of the council were for the lord Montjoy. This was oppoſed by the earl of Eſſex, becauſe that lord had never commanded in chief, and was too much addicted to books; whereas the affairs of Ireland required an active and a warlike general. He added, that to put a ſpeedy end to the war in Ireland, the management of it ought to be given to a general of reputation, and who was acceptable to the people. In a word, he ſo plainly pointed out himſelf, that he was choſen to the employ. His friends thought to oblige him, and his enemies hoped that this poſt, and his abſence from the court, would afford them means to ruin him.

The earl of Eſſex ſent lieutenant. Camden. Speed.

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[r] This great man was born at Bourn in Lincolnſhire, in 1521, and died this year, on Auguſt 4, and was buried in the church of St. Martin in Stanford. Camden, p. 609. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 406. He uſed often to tell the queen, that the treaſury was not her own money, but committed to her care for the ſafety of her people; and therefore it was not to be ſpent in uſeleſs ways, or in ſatisfying the avarice and knavery of her miniſters, but for the benefit and welfare of the ſtate; and that the beſt thing which could poſſibly be done by any perſon, was to do that which tended to the good of his country. Bohun. Charac. of Queen Eliz. p. 96. --- This year alſo died the famous poet Edmund Spenſer. Camden.

[s] King James ſent queen Elizabeth notice, that he was informed there were twelve thouſand men preparing in Spain to land in Ireland by the beginning of April this year. Rymer's Foed. tom. xvi. p. 336.

What this lord's deſigns were is not known, but for ſome time he had made himſelf ſo popular, and gained ſo far upon the people by his affable behaviour, that he was almoſt adored [t]. He only wanted to gain the affection of the ſoldiery, and probably this was his aim in deſiring to command in Ireland. But as he had enemies intent upon his ruin, it was on this employment they founded their hopes of ſucceſs. On the other hand, his friends in ſerving him too zealouſly did him a diſkindneſs. They affected to publiſh his deſcent from the royal houſe of Scotland, and from that of England by his great-grandmother, who numbered amongſt her anceſtors Edmund de Langley duke of York and Thomas of Woodſtock, both ſons of Edward III. Hence it was intended to inſinuate, that after the queen's death it would be better to place him on the throne than a foreign prince. A book was alſo dedicated to him, in which the author overthrew the titles of all the pretenders to the crown, except the Spaniſh infantas [u]. His enemies, perceiving he was forming ſome dangerous conſpiracy, took care not to divert him from it. On the contrary, they every-where and on all occaſions, extolled his valour, his prudence, and his attachment to the proteſtant intereſt, in order to engage him in meaſures which would more clearly diſcover his deſigns. He had a lively wit and many amiable qualities, but was too much intoxicated with his own merit, and regarded the reſt of the nobility as very much his inferiors. He was made lord deputy with a very extenſive commiſſion, to continue or end the war as he pleaſed; and even to pardon the earl of Tir-oen, and the other rebels, which was an authority never before granted to any of his predeceſſors. But it was inſerted in his commiſſion, that laying aſide all other affairs, he ſhould apply himſelf wholly to purſue and ruin the earl of Tir-oen, chief of the rebels. He could not complain of this clauſe, becauſe it was only what was propoſed by himſelf in the council.

A remark upon his conduct.

Treaſons of E. of Eſſex, p. 7.

Friends and enemies do him ill offices.

Camden.

Oſborn.

His character.

He is inveſted with great power.

Act. Pub. xvi. p. 366.

About the end of March the earl of Eſſex ſailed for Ireland with an army of 20,000 foot and 1300 horſe [w]. The Engliſh had never before ſeen ſo formidable an army in that iſland. The queen had made this great effort purſuant to the earl's advice, in order to put a ſpeedy end to the rebellion, and ter-

Acts in Ireland contrary to his own advice.

Camden.

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[t] Sir Robert Naunton ſays, that there were in this young lord, together with a moſt goodly perſon, a kind of urbanity or innate courteſy, which both won the queen, and too much took upon the people: --- but then he was noted for too bold an ingroſſer both of fame and favour, p. 64, 65. See Declarat. of his Treaſons, p. 6, &c.

[u] This was the book writ by Parſons, under the feigned name of Doleman of the Succeſſion.

[w] Which was afterwards made up two thouſand. Camden, p. 614.

minate

Eliz. 1599.

minate the war in one campaign. On his arrival he affected, whether of himſelf or by the advice of his pretended friends, to act directly contrary to his inſtructions. He immediately gave the command of the horſe to his intimate friend the earl of Southampton, contrary to the queen's expreſs orders, who was offended with that lord for marrying without her permiſſion [x]. Then, inſtead of marching againſt Tir-oen, he turned his arms againſt ſome rebels in Munſter, whom he drove indeed into the woods and mountains, but with the loſs of many of his men [y]. This expedition of little importance, detained him in thoſe parts till the end of July. Mean time, the queen informed of his proceedings, writ to him in an angry ſtile, and reproached him with acting contrary to orders founded upon his own advice, commanding him withal to march into Ulſter againſt Tir-oen himſelf. He excuſed himſelf, by ſaying, that the council of Ireland, which knew beſt the affairs of that kingdom, had adviſed him firſt to clear Munſter; and promiſed poſitively to march the firſt opportunity againſt the chief rebel. But ſhortly after, he writ to the court, that he was obliged to return to Dublin [z], to chaſtiſe ſome Iriſh who infeſted the country, and indeed he ſuppreſſed them. But after this ſecond expedition, his army was ſo diminiſhed that he writ for a reinforcement, without which, he ſaid he could not perform any great exploits in Ulſter. He began however to march thither, but his vanguard conſiſting of 1500 men, under the command of ſir Conyers Clifford, fell into an ambuſh and was entirely defeated.

Though it was aſtoniſhing that with ſo fine an army he had done nothing conſiderable, but on the contrary was forced to demand a reinforcement, the queen immediately ſent him ſome freſh troops. But ſoon after, he let the court know that all he could do this campaign was to poſt himſelf on the frontiers of Ulſter with thirteen hundred foot and three hundred horſe. On his arrival in that province, the earl of Tir-oen deſired a parley, which he refuſed. The next day, when the armies were near one another, Tir-oen ſent Hagan, an officer, to tell him he was ready to ſubmit to the queen, and deſired him to grant him a conference on the banks of a ſmall river [a], where they might confer, each remaining on his own ſide. The earl of Eſſex conſented, and they talked together about an hour, without any witneſs. Two hours after, Tir-oen demanded a ſecond conference, in preſence of ſome of the chief officers of the two armies [b]. The earl of Eſſex granted his requeſt, and in this ſecond conference it was agreed that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to treat of a peace the next day. This negotiation ended in a treaty of truce which was ſpeedily concluded. The truce was to continue from ſix weeks to ſix weeks, till May the next year, with this condition, that either party ſhould be at liberty to break it upon giving fourteen days notice.

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[x] He had married Elizabeth Vernon, daughter of John Vernon, Eſq; and of the earl of Eſſex's aunt, without the queen's permiſſion, which men of quality uſed to aſk in ſuch caſes. Camden, p. 616.

[y] A party of Engliſh, under the command of Henry Harrington, were ſhamefully defeated. Ibid.

[z] To Ophalie near Dublin, to quell the O-Conors O-moils, who were up in arms. Ibid.

[a] At Balla-clinch, near Louth, Ibid. p. 615.

Treats with Tir-oen. Camden. Speed.

and grants him a truce.

Mean time, the queen having received the earl of Eſſex's laſt letter, was extremely provoked. She could not forbear ſaying, ſhe ſuſpected him of ill deſigns. She was adviſed to recall him immediately; but ſhe feared to incenſe him too much, whilſt he had the ſword in his hand. Nevertheleſs ſhe writ to him very ſharply, and reproached him with his contempt of her orders. The letter made ſuch impreſſion on the earl, that he inſtantly reſolved to return into England with the flower of his army, and be revenged of his enemies, flattering himſelf with a general inſurrection in his favour. But the earl of Southampton diſſuaded him from ſo dangerous a reſolution. The queen, informed of this project, countenanced a report that a fleet was preparing in Spain to invade England, and under that pretence raiſed ſix thouſand men. Some time after ſhe augmented her army, and gave the command to the lord admiral, who was no friend to the earl of Eſſex. But this terror being diſpelled by advices from Ireland, ſhe diſbanded the greateſt part of her forces.

Is ſuſpected by the queen. Camden.

Writes to him in anger. He meditates a dangerous deſign,

but is diverted. Camden.

Act. Pub. xvi. p. 383. Stow, p. 788, &c.

The news of what paſſed in England convincing the earl of Eſſex that he was ſuſpected by the queen, he took a ſudden reſolution to go and juſtify himſelf, without demanding the queen's leave. He was accompanied by the earl of Southampton and ſeveral officers, who on their arrival in England diſpoſed of themſelves different ways. He reſerved only ſix men to attend him, and poſted with all diligence in order to be with the queen before ſhe had notice of his arrival, but he found, notwithſtanding his care, he had been prevented. The queen was then at Nonſuch, ten miles from London. She received him without any emotion, and with ſome marks of favour; but after ſome reproaches for his irregular conduct, ſhe commanded him to his apartment till farther orders.

Comes into England without leave. Camden.

Treaſons of E. of Eſſex. Stow.

Sept. 28.

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[b] The Engliſh officers that attended the earl of Eſſex, were, the earl of Southampton, ſir George Bourchier, ſir Warham St. Leger, ſir Henry Danvers, ſir Edward Wingfield, and ſir William Conſtable. Camden.

Defends himſelf ill.

After that, being aſked why he made a truce with the earl of Tir-oen, which might at any time be broken at a fortnight's warning, ſince he was empowered to conclude a peace: he anſwered, that the earl of Tir-oen was ſo unreaſonable in his demands, that they could not be granted [c]; but it was his opinion, that a truce might bring him to more equitable terms. This anſwer did not ſatisfy the queen, who was moreover provoked at his leaving his government without her permiſſion; beſides that the perſons who attended him into England were very apt to cauſe her to ſuſpect him. Wherefore ſhe committed him to cuſtody at the lord keeper's, to prevent his running into new exceſſes.

Is put under arreſt.

He makes his own apology. Camden.

In Camden's Annals, there is an apology writ by the earl himſelf, in which it appears that he very lamely anſwered the accuſation of having neglected to attack the earl of Tir-oen, and employed his army in expeditions of little conſequence. He contented himſelf with ſaying, that he had put the Iriſh affairs in ſuch a ſituation, that, during his nine months government, the Engliſh had ſuſtained no damage. But he was not entruſted with an army of twenty thouſand men to ſtand upon the defenſive. As for his return without leave, he mentioned it not. Concerning the perſons who attended him, he ſaid only, that not above ſix came to court with him, but of the reſt who accompanied him from Ireland, he did not ſpeak. The commiſſion given to the earl of Southampton, contrary to the queen's expreſs orders, he alſo paſſed over in ſilence. The reſt conſiſted wholly in exclamations upon the injuſtice of ſuſpecting him, and in magnifying the merits of his father and his brother (killed in the queen's ſervice) and his own. At the ſame time his friends and relations loudly complained of the rigour with which he was treated, repreſenting it as exceſſive. Some even plotted to reſcue him by force, but he would not conſent to it.

The earl of Tir-oen breaks the truce Camden. Speed.

Mean while, the earl of Tir-oen, hearing the earl of Eſſex was arreſted, broke the truce, and did great miſchief to the Engliſh inhabitants in Ireland. He flattered himſelf with a great and ſpeedy aſſiſtance from Spain [d], and the pope, who had made him a preſent of a pretended Phœnix plume. In this expectation, he formed a no leſs project than to drive the Engliſh entirely out of Ireland.

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[c] The earl ſaid, that theſe demands were, a general amneſty; the reſtoring of the Iriſh to their eſtates then poſſeſſed by the Engliſh; and the free exerciſe of the Romiſh religion all over Ireland. Camden, p. 616.

[d] From whence he had lately received ſome ſupplies of ammunition, money, and proviſions. Camden, p. 617.

In the mean time, the earl of Eſſex's friends were inciting the people to an inſurrection in his favour, repreſenting him as the moſt accompliſhed lord England ever ſaw ſince the foundation of the monarchy. At the ſame time they inveighed againſt the miniſtry, not without malicious reflections on the queen's conduct, as if ſhe took no care of the Iriſh affairs. This extremely injured the earl, and increaſed the queen's ſuſpicions of him. As ſhe had provoked him, ſhe eaſily believed he was meditating revenge. Wherefore, in the beginning of October, ſhe aſſembled the council in the Star-chamber, where the earl's conduct was examined, and unanimouſly condemned by all the privy-counſellors. Nothing more however was done againſt him, the queen only deſiring to ſatisfy the people, that it was not out of caprice that he was under confinement. He remained therefore at the lord keeper's houſe, where he gave himſelf up to devotion, ſpending his time in prayer, and writing letters to his friends in ſo devout a ſtrain, that he was thought to have renounced all worldly vanities [e].

The friends of the earl of Eſſex cabal in his favour.

His conduct examined before the privy-council.
Camden.
Cabala.

Grows devout.

In the cloſe of the year, the archduke Andrew, governor of the Low-Countries in his brother Albert's abſence, who was gone into Spain to marry the infanta, propoſed a peace to Elizabeth. She anſwered, ſhe would freely conſent to it, if the ſtates of the United Provinces were included. This condition put a ſtop to the negotiation at once. The queen ſuſpected the propoſal was made only to amuſe her till a fleet, then preparing in Spain, ſhould be ready to invade England. But this pretended fleet, which gave her ſome uneaſineſs, ended at laſt in a few gallies, put to ſea by Frederick Spinola, a Genoeſe in the king of Spain's ſervice, and carried by him into the harbour of Sluys.

The archduke tries to amuſe Elizabeth.
Camden.
Thuanus.

1600.

The earl of Tir-oen improved the diſorder created by the earl of Eſſex in the Iriſh affairs. He reduced the whole province of Ulſter to his obedience, and hoped to be ſoon maſter of the whole kingdom. For his encouragement, pope Clement VIII, ſent him a bull, by which he granted to him and his adherents the ſame indulgences as to thoſe who fought againſt the Turks for the recovery of the Holy Land. But Charles Blount lord Montjoy, appointed lieutenant of Ireland in the room of the earl of Eſſex, found means to ſtop the progreſs of the rebels, and give a check to their inſolence.

The earl of Tir-oen's progreſs in Ireland.
Camden.

Lord Montjoy ſent thither.
Feb. 7.

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[e] This year died the learned Richard Hooker, maſter of the Temple, and author of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity. Camden.

A fruitleſs conference for a peace. Camden. Winwood's Memorials, tom. i.

At the ſame time archduke Albert, called alſo the Cardinal Infant, being returned from Spain, made new propoſals of peace to Elizabeth. Henry IV. ſupported them with all his intereſt, and ſucceeded ſo far that the queen ſent plenipotentiaries to Boulogne, where the peace was to be negotiated. But after the ambaſſadors of the two contending crowns had been four months in that place, they parted without ever aſſembling, by reaſon of a diſpute of precedency between England and Spain. After great conteſts on that ſubject, queen Elizabeth had at laſt conſented to an equality, but the Spaniard would not quit his pretenſions. If the plenipotentiaries had met, another obſtacle would have occurred, which would never have been ſurmounted. This was, that the Spaniards were for a ſeparate peace or truce with England, to which Elizabeth doubtleſs would not have conſented. Beſides, the king of Spain pretended that Elizabeth ſhould ſurrender the places mortgaged to her by the States. The Spaniſh ambaſſadors having ſounded the Engliſh on theſe two articles, and finding they ſhould never obtain their deſires, uſed the pretence of precedency to break off the negotiation.

Battle of Newport. Grotius. Camden.

The ſecond day of July, prince Maurice gained the famous battle of Newport over the archduke. The Engliſh, to the number of fifteen hundred, under the conduct of ſir Francis Vere, diſtinguiſhed themſelves gloriouſly; but there remained eight hundred dead upon the ſpot.

Briefs ſent to the Engliſh catholicks by pope Clement. Camden.

Elizabeth being now ſixty-ſeven years old, it was with extreme vexation, that the catholicks ſaw the Engliſh crown ready to fall on the head of a proteſtant prince. Clement VIII. being deſirous to prevent it to the utmoſt of his power, ſent two briefs into England, one addreſſed to the Romiſh clergy, and one to the people. In theſe briefs they were forbid to acknowledge, after Elizabeth's death, any prince who would not ſwear not only to tolerate their religion, but even to ſupport it with all his power. Theſe briefs were privately conveyed into the nation, and communicated but to few, all dreading the penalties enacted by law.

A conſpiracy againſt the king of Scots. Auguſt 5. Camden. Spotiſwood. Burnet's Hiſt.

But at the ſame time ſome found a more ready and effectual way to prevent the king of Scots aſcending the throne of England. The Ruthvens, ſons to earl Goury beheaded in 1584, conſpired againſt him, and inviting him to their houſe at Perth on ſome pretence, deſigned to murder him, but he eſcaped by a ſort of miracle [f]. The two Ruthvens were killed,

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[f] Chiefly through the aſſiſtance of ſir Thomas Areſkin and John Ramſey. Spotiſwood, p. 458. Some imagined this conſpiracy was a contrivance of the king's, to get rid of the earl of Goury, who was then held in great eſteem. But

Burnet

killed, and their complices condemned to die. Afterwards, by an act of parliament, all who bore the name of Ruthven, were obliged to quit it, that the very name of the family might be aboliſhed.

The earl of Eſſex's ſtory continued. Camden. Cabala, p. 232, &c. Speed.

The earl of Eſſex was ſtill under arreſt at the lord privy ſeal's, where he cloſely applied himſelf to devotion. He writ from time to time ſuch ſubmiſſive letters to the queen, that he ſeemed to have loſt that extreme haughtineſs ſo prejudicial to him. At laſt the queen, content with having humbled him, permitted him to retire to his own houſe, under the free cuſtody of ſir Richard Berkley, who was to watch him. Probably he had been ſoon reſtored to favour, the queen clearly diſcovering her ſentiments in that reſpect[g]; but his friends and domeſticks ruined him. They had made ſuch ſtrong cabals among the people, that nothing was talked of but the earl of Eſſex's innocence. Whereas the queen pretended to have treated him with great lenity and moderation, it was given out that he was unjuſtly perſecuted, and even his life attempted on falſe ſuggeſtions. Elizabeth, who was very nice in ſuch a point, and conſidered the people's prejudices againſt her as a great misfortune, reſolved to ſhow the earl had more reaſon to praiſe her moderation than complain of her rigour. To that purpoſe, ſhe ordered him to be brought before the privy-council, to which ſhe had added four earls, two barons, and four judges. But ſhe told theſe commiſſioners, it was not her intention to condemn him to any infamous puniſhment as guilty of treaſon or treachery, but only to convince him of having failed in his allegiance, and ſlighted her orders and inſtructions through exceſs of vanity. The queen's deſign was to ſhow the prejudiced people, that the earl of Eſſex deſerved a ſeverer puniſhment than a few months impriſonment.

Is brought to an examination before the privy-council. Camden. Speed. Treaſons of E. of Eſſex.

Articles of his accuſation.

When he appeared before his judges, he was firſt accuſed of contemning the queen's orders, in making the earl of Southampton general of the horſe. Secondly, of making knights, contrary to the expreſs words of his patent. Thirdly, of neglecting to purſue the earl of Tir-oen, though that was the principal end of his commiſſion. Fourthly, of ſecretly conferring with that rebel. Fifthly, of granting a truce very prejudicial to the queen's affairs. Sixthly, of abandoning his

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Burnet thinks it was a real conſpiracy, and the rather as' the earl of Goury, upon the king's death, ſtood next to the ſucceſſion of the crown, as being deſcended from Margaret, daughter of king Henry VII. See Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, p. 18.

[g] She proteſted that all ſhe did or deſigned againſt him was for his reformation, not his ruin. Camden, p. 626.

Eliz. 1600.

government, without vouchſafing to aſk the queen's permiſſion. Some inferences were likewiſe drawn from his diſreſpectful expreſſions in his apology, and from certain dangerous principles contained in a book dedicated to him, concerning the depoſing of Richard II.

He is declared guilty.

After hearing the articles of his accuſation, he kneeled down, and thanked God for all his mercies, and his ſovereign for not ordering him a hearing in the Star-chamber. He declared, he would neither excuſe his faults, either in whole or in part, nor contend with the queen: he acknowledged his guilt, but proteſted upon his honour, that his heart had been always free from the leaſt thought of rebellion. However, in continuing to ſpeak, he began to urge ſome excuſes in his own behalf. But the lord-keeper interrupted him, by reminding him, that he had taken a good method, but was now ſwerving from it: That in extenuating his faults, he likewiſe extenuated the queen's clemency; and that, in fine, a manifeſt diſobedience was but an ill proof of a good intention. The lord-keeper, in preventing him from enlarging on his juſtification, did him a good office. The queen's intention was not to have him rigorouſly tried, but only to ſhow, he had been treated more gently than he deſerved. His confeſſion led him to the ſame end, whereas his juſtification would have obliged his judges to a more ſevere examination. So, whether he underſtood his own intereſt of himſelf, or was warned what to do, he held his peace. After this, the commiſſioners conſulting together, were of opinion, that he ought to be removed from the council-board, ſuſpended from his offices of earl-marſhal, and maſter of the ordnance, and committed to priſon during the queen's pleaſure. His office of maſter of the horſe was untouched at the queen's expreſs command, who was unwilling to give occaſion to believe ſhe had entirely withdrawn her confidence from him. She even ordered, the ſentence ſhould not be recorded. The earl received this chaſtiſement with ſo much humility[h], that the queen, pleaſed with his deportment, removed Berkley from him, and left him at full liberty. But ſhe adviſed him to be his own keeper, and forbid him the court.

He is condemned to certain penalties.

His character.

For ſome years the queen had honoured the earl of Eſſex with a particular eſteem and affection. She had given him marks of it on ſundry occaſions; and particularly by the poſts, offices, and commands he had enjoyed. This diſtinction had ſo filled him with pride, that he ſolely aſcribed to his merit theſe extraordinary favours, which were the pure effect of the queen's inclination. For this cauſe, he had not always that regard for her ſhe had reaſon to expect from him, imagining ſhe could not be without his aſſiſtance. In a word, he was a very bad courtier. It is not ſtrange, that ſo imprudent a conduct altered the queen's affection, and yet, it appeared in all her proceedings, that it was not entirely extinguiſhed. Her deſign was only to humble that proud ſpirit, which ſeemed to vie with her, wherein ſhe believed to have now been ſucceſsful. It ſeemed, he was at laſt ſenſible, that humility was the only way to reſtore him entirely to favour, and had reſolved to purſue that method as the ſureſt. Immediately after his ſentence, while he was preparing to retire into the country, he told the queen by the lord Howard, "That he kiſſed the rod and the queen's hand, which had only corrected and not ruined him, but ſhould enjoy no peace, till he ſaw again thoſe eyes which had once ſhined ſo propitiouſly on him: That he had reſolved to atone for his error, and like Nebuchadnezzar, to dwell with the beaſts of the field, eat graſs as an ox, and be wet with the dew of heaven, till it ſhould pleaſe his queen to reſtore him to his ſenſes." This ſubmiſſion was very agreeable to the queen, and yet ſhe anſwered, ſhe would not be amuſed with vain words; but as he had ſo long abuſed her patience, ſhe would take ſome time to try his humility. This was a plain intimation, that with a little patience he would appeaſe her entirely, and it was in ſome meaſure directing him how to form his conduct. But he was ſo unwiſe as not to improve this advantage, and to follow the intereſted counſels of his domeſticks [i], who adviſed him to petition the queen for the continuation of the farm of the ſweet wines [k], which had been very profitable to him. The queen, to prove his humility, refuſed his petition, knowing it to be in her power to repair the loſs whenever ſhe pleaſed. But inſtead of receiving the denial with the humility and reſignation he had profeſſed ſince his diſgrace, he diſcovered paſſion and reſentment, which made the queen think he was not yet ſufficiently humbled. Whereupon Cuff, his ſecretary and confident, ſuggeſted to him, that the queen not only intended to humble but beggar him, and render him

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[h] He proteſted, "That he had made "an utter divorce with the world, and "he deſired her majeſty's favour, not "for any worldly reſpect, but for a preparative for a Nunc dimittis; and "that the tears of his heart had "quenched in him all humours of ambition." Treaſons of the earl of Eſſex, by Francis Bacon, Eſq; 1601.

He humbles himſelf. Camden.

Returns back to bad counſels. Camden.

Treaſons of E. of Eſſex.

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[i] Particularly of Merrick his ſteward, and Cuff his ſecretary. Camden, p. 628.

[k] So all were called, except French and Rheniſh. Camden.

Eliz. 1600.

Forms dangerous deſigns.

contemptible to all the world. Cuff was ſeconded by other incendiaries, who at laſt inſpired him with the deſign to reſtore himſelf to favour by force, and deſtroy all his enemies about the queen's perſon. After this reſolution, his houſe was open to all the malecontents. The earl of Southampton, who had withdrawn into the Netherlands, returned to England, and the earl of Eſſex, leaving the country, came to reſide in his houſe at London. When he arrived, Merrick his ſteward kept open houſe for all who thought they had cauſe to complain of the queen or her miniſters, and a great number of ſuſpicious perſons reſorted to his houſe. In ſhort, his whole conduct ſhowed he was meditating ſome dangerous deſign. His enemies improving theſe proceedings, found means to infuſe ſuſpicions into the queen, and to have ſpies placed upon him, who informed the court of what paſſed in his houſe [1].

1601. Snares laid for him; Camden.

It is pretended, his enemies, who had projected his ruin, knowing his pride and haughtineſs, cauſed his friends at court to write to him, not to diſcover ſo much impatience in his diſgrace, but to throw himſelf entirely upon the queen's mercy, as the readieſt way to her favour. Theſe advices drew from him anſwers agreeable to the intentions of his enemies, which being told to the queen, compleated his ruin. They were filled with expreſſions denoting his anger and impatience, and even intimating his deſigns. He ſaid, that a ſtorm was fallen upon him when he expected a harveſt: That the queen had reduced him to a private life, which was diſagreeable to him: That he was incapable of ſo vile a ſubmiſſion as was expected from him: That he had been unjuſtly impriſoned: That ſovereigns had not an unlimited power, nor were infallible: That he had been wounded in every pore of his body: That his enemies triumphed, but ſhould never have the ſatiſfaction to ſee him cringe to them. To theſe expreſſions, which were no ſigns of repentance, care was taken to add reports capable to make him forfeit the queen's favour for ever. She was told, he had ſaid, 'She was grown an old woman, and 'no leſs crooked and diſtorted in her mind than in her body.' Camden ſeems to intimate, that he deſignedly paſſes over in ſilence things ſtill more offenſive to the queen.

which he falls into.

His deſigns upon the queen's perſon.

Probably, the earl of Eſſex thought all farther caution needleſs, his project being now formed, though he had laid his measures very ill. Thoſe who ſpeak moſt favourably of it, ſay, his project was to ſeize the queen's perſon, and drive his enemies from court, as was practiſed in Scotland with regard to king James. But he ſeems to have had greater deſigns, ſince he courted the king of Scotland's aſſiſtance, perhaps to place him on the throne before the queen's death. It was known [illegible] he had writ to that prince that a plot was formed to deprive him of the ſucceſſion, and give the crown to the Infanta of Spain: That for this purpoſe, the projectors, who governed at court, had filled the moſt conſiderable poſts with the Infanta's adherents: That ſecretary Cecil, ſon of the late treaſurer, was at the head of the party, and had engaged in it the lord treaſurer Buckhurſt, with the earl of Nottingham the lord admiral: That the better to execute his project, he had committed the government of the maritime places to his creatures[m], where the Spaniards might moſt conveniently land: That the queen was ſo impaired in her underſtanding, that ſhe was incapable to act of herſelf, and was entirely guided by her miniſters: That he was therefore neceſſarily obliged to proceed openly to defeat this conſpiracy; and to that end, ought ſpeedily to diſpatch ambaſſadors to England, to demand a publick declaration of his title to the ſucceſſion, and the removal of his enemies, creatures and penſioners of Spain, from the court and council. At the ſame time he furniſhed him with proofs to be uſed by the ambaſſadors, to ſhow the truth of the plot. Laſtly, he inſinuated that his ambaſſadors ſhould be ſufficiently ſupported. Camden, who writ in the reign of James I. has not thought proper to tell us, how theſe propoſitions were received by that prince: but it may be judged, they were not diſapproved, ſince ambaſſadors were preſently ſent into England, who however came too late. This hiſtorian adds, the earl of Eſſex gained to his party ſome preſbyterian miniſters, and even ſome papiſts, by commiſerating their afflicted condition, under the queen's tyrannical government, and by inſpiring them with hopes of being eaſed. Then he hired the ſwords-men about London, and placed them near his houſe. After that, he eſtabliſhed a council compoſed of the earl of Southampton, ſir Charles Davers, ſir Ferdinando Gorges, governor of Plymouth-fort, ſir John Davis, a great mathematician, and ſurveyor of the ordnance, John Little-

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[1] This year, queen Elizabeth erected the Eaſt-India company, and endowed it with large privileges. James Lancaſter, who in 1594, had taken Fernambuck in Braſil, was the firſt that was ſent by the company to the Eaſt-Indies, with three ſhips. Camden, p. 626.

Writes to the king of Scotland, that a deſign was laid to deprive him of the ſucceſſion. Camden.

Entertains ſuſpected perſons. Camden.

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[m] That in the weſtern parts of England, Raleigh was governor of the Iſle of Jerſey; in the eaſtern, the lord Cobham was warden of the Cinque-ports; the lord Burleigh was preſident of the North; and ſir George Carew, preſident of Munſter in the ſouth of Ireland. Camden, p. 629.

ton, a man of great ſenſe and judgment, and equally qualified for the cabinet and camp.

He plots to ſeize the queen's perſon.
Camden.
Treaſons of E. of Eſſex.

This junto meeting in Drury-houſe, the earl of Eſſex gave them a liſt of certain noblemen whom he believed at his devotion, containing one hundred and twenty earls, barons, knights, and gentlemen, and deſired them to conſult whether it was moſt proper to ſeize the Palace or the Tower, or both at once. The reſult of their deliberations was, that the queen's perſon and palace ſhould firſt be ſeized, and when ſhe was in their power, the earl ſhould diſmiſs certain perſons from her preſence, and turn them out of their places; but that nothing ſhould be done, till the arrival of the Scotch ambaſſadors [n].

Is ſent for to council.
Feb. 7.
Camden.

Mean time, the great reſort of ſuſpected perſons to Eſſex's houſe [o], ſome words unwarily dropped by the conſpirators, and the reports of the ſpies, confirming the court's ſuſpicions, the council met at the treaſurer's houſe, and ſent one of the ſecretaries [p] to the earl of Eſſex, to require his attendance. But at the ſame time a note was delivered him, adviſing him to take care of himſelf. Whereupon he told the ſecretary he was indiſpoſed, and could not ſtir from his houſe. Immediately after, he conſulted whether he ſhould purſue his firſt project of ſeizing the palace, or attempt to raiſe the city of London, or make his eſcape, ſince his plot was undoubtedly diſcovered. The firſt of theſe projects was deemed impracticable, becauſe the guards had been doubled. The ſecond occaſioned long debates on the uncertainty of the execution, becauſe the diſpoſition of the Londoners was not ſufficiently known. In the mean time one of the conſpirators entered, affirming he came from the city, and that the inhabitants were ready to defend the earl againſt all his enemies. He added, that Thomas Smith, the ſheriff, who commanded a thouſand of the trained-bands, had promiſed to join him. Probably, the perſon who made this falſe report had been induced to it by ſome of the principal conſpirators, who finding the earl begin to relent, was willing to engage him ſo far, that it ſhould not be poſſible for him to recede. This was ſufficient to make the earl reſolve to raiſe an inſurrection in the city, being perſuaded the people were inclined to his

Excuſes himſelf from going.

Reſolves to execute his deſign.
Camden.

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[n] Sir Chriſtopher Blunt was with a detachment to poſſeſs himſelf of the palace-gate; Davis was to ſeize the hall; Davers the guard-chamber and preſence-chamber; and Eſſex was to ruſh out of the Meuſe, and come and throw himſelf at the queen's feet. Camden, p. 630.

[o] Under pretence of hearing ſermons. Ibid.

[p] Sir John Herbert. Ibid.

cauſe. It was therefore agreed, that the next day the earl, attended by five[q] hundred men, ſhould repair to the city, and aſſembling the aldermen and people, require their aſſiſtance. That if the citizens were well diſpoſed, they ſhould be employed to gain acceſs to the queen, or, in caſe of diſappointment, the conſpirators ſhould retire to ſome other part of the kingdom.

Purſuant to this reſolution, the earls of Rutland and Southampton went next morning to Eſſex's houſe, with three hundred gentlemen[r], and immediately the gates were ſhut, and no perſon ſuffered to come in or out. But ſir Ferdinando Gorges, one of the moſt zealous of his party, was permitted on ſome pretence to go out[s]. It was probably he who diſcovered the plot to the court; for ſoon after the queen ſent to the mayor of London, to order the trained-bands to be ready to march upon the firſt notice. At the ſame time ſhe ſent the lord-keeper, the earl of Worceſter, and ſir William Knolles[t], to the earl's houſe, who were let in through a wicket, without any of their attendants, except the purſe-bearer. In the court-yard they ſaw the earls of Eſſex, Rutland, and Southampton, ſurrounded with a crowd of armed men, and the lord-keeper advancing towards them, told the earl of Eſſex, he was ſent by the queen to know the reaſon of ſo great a concourſe. Then the earl raiſing his voice, told him, “he “certainly knew that it was deſigned to murder him in his “bed[u]: That his hand-writing was counterfeited, in order “to have a pretence to deſtroy him: That he had aſſembled “his friends for the ſecurity of his life, ſince his enemies “could not be ſatisfied without having his blood.” The lord-keeper anſwering, the queen would do him juſtice, provided he would diſcover his grievances, was interrupted by a voice, crying out, ‘My lord, you are betrayed, they deſign ‘only to ruin you, we loſe time, let us be gone.’ Upon this, the earl made a ſign to thoſe ſent by the queen to follow him[w], and while they were croſſing the court, they heard a confuſed noiſe, ſaying, ‘Kill them, away with that great

Treaſons of E. of Eſſex.

Stow.

The queen ſends ſome perſons of diſtinction to the earl.

Camden.
Treaſons of E. of Eſſex,
Stow.
Speed.

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[q] Three hundred gentlemen. Camden, p. 630, and Treaſons of Eſſex.

[r] And among the reſt the lord Sands, Henry Parker lord Monteagle, &c. Treaſons of Eſſex.

[s] He went to ſir Walter Raleigh, who ſent for him, and waited in a boat for his coming. Camden ſays, Gorges was ſuſpected of having at that time diſcovered the whole matter to Raleigh. Camden, p. 631.

[t] And ſir John Popham, lord chief juſtice of England. Camden, p. 631.

[u] He pretended the lord Cobham, and ſir Walter Raleigh, had formed ſuch a deſign. See Winwood's Mem., tom. i. p. 300.

[w] This he did not: he went abruptly from them into the houſe, and they followed him, thinking he would have private conference with them. See Camden, p. 631, and Treaſons of Eſſex.

‘ ſeal, ſecure them in priſon.’ When they were in the houſe, the earl told them, “ if they would have a little patience, “ he would go and adviſe with the lord-mayor and ſheriffs, “ and return immediately.” Upon theſe words, he left them, and, ordering the door to be ſhut, ſet a guard upon them.

who are impriſoned by him.

He marches into the city to raiſe an inſurrection; Camden.

but without ſucceſs. Stow. Speed.

Is proclaimed a traytor. Camden. Treaſons of E. of Eſſex.

Is oppoſed in his return to his houſe,

Immediately after, he began to march with his company, and entering the city, cried out, “ For the queen! for the “ queen! A plot is laid for my life!” Then he went to the ſheriff's houſe, which was at a diſtance[x], and during his march was not joined by one citizen, though numbers led by curioſity crowded to ſee him paſs. In vain did he cry, ‘ Arm, ‘ my friends, or you can do me no good,’ not a man ſtirred in his favour. The ſheriff, who ſaw him approaching, withdrew himſelf by a back-door to the lord-mayor's. The ſheriff's flight convinced the earl he had been deceived, when he was told he might depend on his aſſiſtance. While he was at the ſheriff's, uncertain what to do, he was informed that a herald[y] had proclaimed him a traitor in one of the wards of the city, and that the earl of Cumberland had done the ſame in another. Upon this, he left the ſheriff's houſe, and crying in the ſtreets, ‘ that England was going to be delivered ‘ to the Infanta of Spain, conjured the inhabitants to take up ‘ arms for the prevention of ſo great a miſfortune.’ But ſeeing no man prepare to ſupport him, and hearing withal, that the lord-admiral was marching againſt him with a ſtrong party, he reſolved to return to his own houſe. But coming to Ludgate, he found ſir John Leviſon poſted there with a company of ſoldiers to oppoſe his paſſage. He inſtantly ſent Gorges to deſire leave to go through; but being denied, was obliged to return to St. Paul's. Here Gorges repreſented to him, that it would be proper to diſcharge the three counſellors, and having the earl's leave, he freed them immediately, and accompanied them himſelf to Whitehall. Probably, Gorges had betrayed him from the very beginning.

Camden. Stow. Speed.

Mean time, the earl perſiſting in his reſolution of returning home, found the ſtreet chained and guarded by ſoldiers[z]. As he ſaw no other way to paſs than by attacking the guard, he ordered Blunt to fall on, and ſeconded him ſword in hand with great reſolution. But he was repulſed and ſhot through the hat[a], and Blunt was taken priſoner. By this reſiſtance, he was forced to go to Queenhithe, and taking boat with a few followers, the reſt being diſperſed, retired to his houſe on the Thames ſide [b]. When he came there, his firſt care was to burn ſome papers, and then fortify his houſe in the beſt manner he could, ſtill expecting to be relieved by the Londoners. Shortly after, the lord-admiral inveſted the houſe, both from the ſtreet and the gardens which reached to the river [c]. Then he ſummoned thoſe within to ſurrender, to which they anſwered, they would die ſword in hand. This was the opinion of the lord Sands, who preſſed the earl of Eſſex to fight his way out, repreſenting, it was more honourable to die by the ſword than the ax. And indeed the beſieged ſeemed to be all fixed to that reſolution. But the earl of Eſſex ſuddenly changed his mind, and offered to ſurrender on theſe three conditions: That they ſhould all be civilly treated; tried according to the laws; and that Aſhton the miniſter ſhould be ſent to him to comfort him in priſon. The lord-admiral anſwered, that he engaged for the firſt; that the queen would doubtleſs perform the ſecond; and as to the third, he promiſed his intereſt to obtain it. Aſhton was a preſbyterian miniſter. This done, the earls of Eſſex, Rutland, Southampton, the lords Sands, Cromwell, Monteagle, with Davers and Bromley, were put into boats and conducted to the Tower. The reſt were committed to other priſons. The next day the queen by proclamation thanked the Londoners for their fidelity, warning them withal to have a watchful eye on whatever paſſed in the city, the conſpiracy being, as ſhe ſaid, more dangerous than was imagined.

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[x] Near Fenchurch. Camden, ibid.

[y] And Thomas lord Burleigh. Camden, ibid.

[z] This was done by the care of the biſhop of London. Camden, p. 631.

[a] Rapin by miſtake ſays in the thigh.

comes to it, and is immediately inveſted; Camden. Treaſons of E. of Eſſex. Stow.

He ſurrenders;

and is with his principal followers committed to the Tower. Act. Pub. xvi. p. 399. Camden. Stow.

The thirteenth of February, Thomas Lee, the earl of Eſſex's creature, and intimate friend of the earl of Tir-oen, was hanged, for ſaying to a certain officer, that it would be a glorious action for ſix brave fellows to force the queen to releaſe Eſſex and the other priſoners. Two days after, the queen publiſhed a proclamation, ordering all vagabonds to leave the city on pain of death. The court had received information, that a great number of ſuch perſons lay hid in the city to reſcue the earl of Eſſex, when an opportunity offered.

Thomas Lee executed. Camden. Stow.

Feb. 15.

At laſt, ſome of the priſoners having diſcovered the moſt ſecret reſolutions of the conſpirators, the earls of Eſſex and Southampton were tried the 19th of February [d]. They were

Eſſex and Southampton are condemned to die. Camden. State-Trials. Treaſons of E. of Eſſex.

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[b] By Temple-bar; where Devereux-court and Eſſex-ſtreet, &c. now ſtand.

[c] The houſe was inveſted on the Strand-ſide, by the earls of Cumberland and Lincoln, the lords Thomas Howard, Gray, Burghley, and Compton, ſir Walter Raleigh, ſir Thomas Gerrard, &c. And on the river-ſide, by the lord-admiral, the lords of Effingham and Cobham, ſir John Stanhope, ſir Robert Sidney, Mr. Fulk Grevil, &c. Treaſons of Eſſex.

[d] The lord Buckhurſt was made high-ſteward upon this occaſion. See the names of the reſt of the peers, (twenty-five in number) in Camden, p. 633, and Treaſons of the earl of Eſſex; as alſo in State-Trials.

accuſed of the crimes I have mentioned, and their ſole defence was, that they had done nothing but for their own preſervation; however, they could not prove their lives had been in danger. The earl of Eſſex expreſſed a diſregard of his life, but the earl of Southampton implored the queen's mercy, and deſired the peers to intercede for him. They were both condemned to die as traitors.

The earl of Eſſex very penitent. Camden.

The earl of Eſſex after his ſentence ſeriouſly reflected on his paſt conduct, and appeared very penitent. Aſhton greatly contributed by his exhortations and remonſtrances, to put him into this diſpoſition. But becauſe this presbyterian miniſter adviſed him to declare whatever he knew, and probably, by that means, the king of Scotland was known to be concerned in the conſpiracy, Camden ſpeaks of it in ſuch a manner as ſhews, he approved not this conduct.

Diſcovers his accomplices.

By the impreſſions "(ſays he) left upon him by his miniſter, Eſſex could think "of nothing but damnation, unleſs he diſcovered the whole "ſcene, and confeſſed who were his complices." An author who talks in this manner, is eaſily perceived to be ſecretly intereſted in the depoſition of the criminal. However, the earl of Eſſex deſiring to ſpeak with ſome of the privy-counſellors; the lord-keeper, the lord-treaſurer, the lord-admiral, and ſecretary Cecil went to him. He immediately aſked the lord-keeper's pardon for detaining him at his houſe, and Cecil's for accuſing him of aſſerting the Infanta's title to the crown of England, and was ſincerely reconciled to both. Then he declared, that the queen could not be ſafe whilſt he lived, and deſired he might ſuffer privately in the Tower. He owned, that ſome of his friends and domeſticks were wicked perſons and publick peſts, and deſired to ſpeak with Blunt and Cuff, who were immediately ſent for. When he ſaw them, he exhorted both to aſk pardon of God and the queen, and told Cuff that this diſloyalty was owing to his advice. He declared that ſir Henry Nevil, ambaſſador to France, was privy to the conſpiracy. This probably occaſioned the recalling of that ambaſſador as he was going to Paris, and his being ordered into the cuſtody of the lord-admiral. The earl of Eſſex ſaid alſo, that Montjoy lord-deputy of Ireland, and ſeveral others in Scotland, France, and the Low Countries were acceſſory to the deſign. But the lord Montjoy's behaviour in Ireland had ſo recommended him to the queen, that ſhe took no notice of the earl's depoſition againſt him. In ſhort, the penitent criminal made a full diſcharge of his conſcience, and concealed nothing of what he knew. 'Eſſex (ſays Camden) 'thought a verbal confeſſion too little, and therefore being

Winwood's Mem. tom. i. p. 299, &c.

Camden.

'moved by the diſmal ſcene preſented to his conſcience, by
' the perſon whom he choſe to guide it, he delivered the ſame
' in writing under his own hand, which his enemies ſhowing
' to king James ſome time after, brought the earl and his
' friends into great diſeſteem with that prince.' If king James had not been concerned in the affair, there is no viſible reaſon why Eſſex's declarations ſhould have made him forfeit his eſteem. But according to the earl's project, the ambaſſadors of Scotland were now on their way to London, and king James ever after ſpoke of this lord as of one who was his martyr.

Is beheaded.
Camden.
Stow.
Speed.

The 25th of February was appointed for the earl of Eſſex's execution. That day the queen appeared a little irreſolute. She even ſent an order to the lieutenant of the Tower to countermand his execution: but preſently after, ordered him to proceed. This irreſolution, pretended or real, has afforded plenty of matter for plays and romances, in which Elizabeth is repreſented as ſtruggling with love and anger, not knowing which of the paſſions ſhe ſhould obey. She was now however in her 68th year, an age wherein the motions of love could not be very violent. But without dwelling on theſe trifles, it ſuffices to ſay, that the earl of Eſſex died like a good Chriſtian, with all the ſigns of a ſerious repentance. His head was not ſeparated from his body till the third ſtroke, but the firſt deprived him of all ſenſe of pain. The marſhal de Biron being told in what manner he died, ridiculed it, and ſaid, ſuch a death was more becoming a prieſt than a ſoldier.

Camden.

Thus ended the life and projects of the earl of Eſſex, projects which were never yet thoroughly known. Tho' they ſeem to have tended only to dethrone Elizabeth, and ſet the crown on the head of the king of Scotland, however it is not unlikely that he only uſed that prince's title as a pretence to ruin Elizabeth, and that his confidence in the people's affection inſpired him with greater deſigns. It is certain, the queen had given occaſion to think ſhe had more than a common eſteem for this lord. When he was but one and twenty years old, ſhe forgave him what ſhe had lent his father for his expedition into Ireland; and he was the only perſon to whom ſhe was ever ſo liberal. The earl of Leiceſter dying ſhortly after, ſhe ordered his goods to be expoſed to ſale, for payment of the ſums ſhe had lent him. Before the earl of Eſſex had done her any great ſervice, ſhe made him knight of the garter, and gave him a place in her privy-council. She continued afterwards to diſtinguiſh him from all other courtiers, not only by the poſts, offices, and commands ſhe honoured him with, but chiefly by particular marks of her favour, which were

viſible

Eliz. 1601.

viſible to all, and made him to be conſidered as a favourite. Theſe favours produced their uſual effect, that is, rendered him proud and vain. He could not bear that any perſon ſhould be promoted but by his means, and was a ſworn enemy to all who were truſted by the queen. Nay, he grew ſo exceſſively proud, that he pretended to lord it over the queen herſelf, and force her to follow his advice in every thing. This procured him that unfortunate box on the ear, which, doubtleſs, inſpired him with thoughts of a ſignal revenge. For, from that time, he began to meditate projects which proved his ruin, and might have been attended with that of the queen herſelf; ſo careful ought ſovereigns to be, not to affront perſons of honour. His family was originally from Evreux in Normandy, and from thence borrowed its ſirname. It was noble and antient, as may be inferred from his alliances with the beſt families in England, ſome of which were derived from the royal family. Walter his father was however the firſt of his houſe honoured with the title of earl[c].

Some others of his accomplices executed. Camden. Treaſons of E. of Eſſex. State-Trials. Stow.

The earl being dead, his principal complices were brought to their trials[f]. In Blunt's examination, Eſſex's written confeſſion was read to him. Blunt, ſeeing it ſigned with the earl's own hand, was ſo confounded that he could only ſay, with his eyes lifted up, 'Lord, thou knoweſt from what deſigns I endeavoured to divert him.' After that, Lee's confeſſion, who had been executed, was read, in which he ſaid, Blunt had permitted him to ſend to the earl of Tir-oen, who told the meſſenger, "that if Eſſex would be guided by him, "he would make him the greateſt man in England." Lee had likewiſe depoſed, that the two earls and Blunt were in the ſame plot, and formed the ſame projects. Blunt made a weak defence, as well as Davers, Davis, Cuff the earl's ſecretary, and Mericke his ſteward, and they all received ſentence of death. Blunt ſaid upon the ſcaffold, that for three years he had obſerved the earl was diſcontented, and fired with ambition. That when they were in Ireland, the earl told him his deſign of taking with him the flower of the army: of ſeizing Milford-haven in Wales: of raiſing men in thoſe parts, and marching directly to London. That he had diſſuaded him from an undertaking ſo dangerous and difficult; but had indeed adviſed him to take a ſelect company of men and ſeize the queen's perſon, and in her name to act afterwards as he ſaw convenient: 'But, added Blunt, though it is true, that in all our 'debates we never thought of embruing our hands in the 'queen's blood, yet had we ſucceeded, I cannot ſay but her 'life might have been in danger.' He declared, that he died a Roman catholick, but ſuch a one, as ſolely relied on the merits of Chriſt's death and ſufferings.

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[c] He was beheaded in the 34th year of his age. Oſborn, and ſome others, affirm, [redacted] was cut off by the intrigues of ſir Robert Cecil, that he might have no competitor in the management of ſtate-affairs Sect. 23, 24. The earl of Eſſex owed his eſtate and barony to his marriage with Cecily daughter of William Bourchier, whoſe grandmother was ſiſter to Edward IV. and her great-grandmother, daughter to Thomas of Woodſtock, by one of the daughters of Humphrey Bohun earl of Hereford and Eſſex. Hence his great-grandfather Walter was made viſcount Hereford by Edward IV. and his father earl of Eſſex by Elizabeth. He left one ſon and two daughters by his wife Frances, daughter of ſir Francis Walſingham. Camden, p. 637.

[f] Sir Chriſtopher Blunt, ſir Charles Davers, ſir John Davis, ſir Gillie Mericke, and Henry Cuff, were tried on March 5, before the lord high admiral, the lord Hunſdon, ſecretary Cecil, ſecretary Herbert, lord chief juſtice Popham, ſir John Forteſcue chancellor of the Exchequer, and divers of the judges. Mericke and Cuff were executed at Tyburn, March 13, and ſir Chriſtopher Blunt, and ſir Charles Davers, beheaded on Tower-hill, March 18. Treaſons of the earl of Eſſex. State-Trials, vol. i.

The queen pardons ſeveral conſpirators. Camden. Act. Pub. xvi. p. 421, &c. 452---458.

The queen and council believed it prudent to end the executions with theſe few perſons, by reaſon of the number and quality of the complices. The earl of Southampton was kept in priſon, and the reſt were fined, though very few paid their fines. Henry Nevil was only condemned to impriſonment at the queen's pleaſure, though it was proved againſt him that he knew of the conſpiracy, and made no diſcovery[g].

Ambaſſadors from Scotland. Act. Pub. xvi. p. 427. Camden. Stow.

The earl of Mar and the lord of Kinloſs, the Scotch ambaſſadors, arrived too late, when the earl of Eſſex was in cuſtody. It is well known with what view the earl of Eſſex had deſired them, but we are ignorant of the inſtructions given them by the king of Scotland concerning the plot. It ſeems, however, it may be inferred from Eſſex's propoſal, and the arrival of theſe ambaſſadors at the very time the conſpiracy was diſcovered, that king James was not againſt it. Be this as it will, theſe ambaſſadors confined themſelves to congratulate the queen upon the diſcovery of ſo dangerous a plot; to demand the puniſhment of one Valentine Thomas, who, in 1598, had accuſed their maſter of ill deſigns againſt the queen, for which he was now in priſon; to complain that two Engliſh fugitives had been drawn out of Scotland by ſtratagem, who had fled thither for protection; and laſtly, to demand the aſſignment of ſome lands in England for the king their maſter[h]. Elizabeth, without taking notice of what ſhe knew, anſwered, She received very kindly the king's congratulation, and wiſhed that no ſuch

Their demands. Act. Pub. xvi.

The queen's anſwer.

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[g] By Winwood's Memorials, it appears, that ſir Henry Nevill was with Eſſex as a ſpy from ſecretary Cecil. Tom. i.

[h] Their buſineſs alſo was to clear king James of the imputations thrown upon him, for dealing with the pope and king of Spain, and for ſuffering his ſubjects to carry proviſions to the Iriſh rebels. Winwood's Mem. tom. i. p. 324.

thing might ever happen in his kingdom: That ſhe had not put Valentine to death, to ſhow how little ſhe credited his depoſition: That the two fugitives had been artfully recovered by the warden of the march, who was to blame for ſuffering them to eſcape, and that ſhe was aſtoniſhed the king of Scotland ſhould demand them, ſince to protect the ſeditious ſubjects of another prince was teaching his own to rebel: That as to the aſſignment of the lands, ſhe had given a ſufficient anſwer before: However, ſhe would make a yearly augmentation of two thouſand pounds, provided he would ſincerely maintain their mutual friendſhip, without ſuffering himſelf to be influenced by men, who ſought their own private advantage in the publick calamities.

Oſtend beſieged. Grotius. Camden.

The ſiege of Oſtend, begun in July this year, furniſhed ample matter for the affairs of the Netherlands. Sir Francis Vere, the firſt governor, and the Engliſh troops which ſerved under him, ſignalized themſelves, and were a great honour to their nation [i].

Mutual compliments between Henry IV. and Elizabeth. Thuanus. Mezerai. Camden.

Henry IV. came to Calais in Auguſt, as it were to ſee more nearly what paſſed at the ſiege, which made the archduke uneaſy. But this journey was not ſo much to obſerve the ſiege, as to confer more eaſily with Elizabeth on his project againſt the houſe of Auſtria. Mezerai pretends, Elizabeth firſt conceived this deſign, and earneſtly deſired to confer in perſon with Henry, in a veſſel between Dover and Calais. But I can hardly believe, that at her age, and having no children, ſhe would form a deſign of this nature, the execution whereof required much time and expence. I ſtill leſs believe, that ſhe would have expoſed herſelf to the dangers of the ſea to confer with Henry, whom for ſome time ſhe had neither valued nor truſted. It is more likely, this prince meditating then the deſign which he would have afterwards executed, was deſirous to engage Elizabeth in it. The Engliſh hiſtorians only ſay, that the queen hearing of the king's arrival at Calais, ſent ſir Thomas Edmunds to pay her compliments, and that in return, Henry ſent the marſhal de Biron and the count d'Avergne, with duke d'Aumont, who were received very graciouſly. Mezerai adds, that the queen ſhowed theſe French lords the earl of Eſſex's ſkull in her cloſet. But Camden has confuted this ſtory in his Annals, by affirming, the head was buried with the body. He ſays only, that the queen ſpeaking to the marſhal de Biron concerning the earl of Eſſex, told him, that

Stow, p. 796. Thuanus.

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[i] See an account of the Engliſh ſlain at this ſiege, in Camden, p. 642. Compl. Hiſt. John Carew of Antony, Eſq; having one of his arms ſhot off in a ſally, and carried at a great diſtance from him, went and took it up without any concern, as if he had felt no pain, and brought it into the town. Ibid.

it was her advice to the king of France, never to ſpare the heads of thoſe who attempted to diſturb his tranquillity.

The parliament meeting in October [k], great complaints were made in the lower houſe, concerning divers monopolies authorized by the queen's letters-patents, which gave private perſons the ſole privilege of ſelling certain commodities, excluſively of all others. The queen being informed, that the commons conſidered theſe monopolies as ſo many breaches of the people's privileges, annulled moſt of theſe grants, and left the reſt to be tried by the laws. This proceeding, even before ſhe had been addreſſed, was ſo pleaſing to the commons, that one hundred and forty of their members were appointed to wait upon her with their thanks. She did not omit this opportunity to teſtify to the houſe her great affection for her people. When ſhe had received the compliment of the members, ſhe returned an anſwer in the following ſpeech:

Monopolies complained of.
D'ewes, p. 597, &c.
Townſhend, p. 192, &c.
The queen annuls them.
She is thanked by the commons.
Camden.

GENTLEMEN,

'I Owe you hearty thanks and commendations for your ſingular good-will towards me, not only in your hearts and thoughts, but which you have openly expreſſed and declared, whereby you have recalled me from an error proceeding from my ignorance, not my will. Theſe things had undeſervedly turned to my diſgrace, (to whom nothing is more dear than the ſafety and love of my people) had not ſuch harpyes and horſe-leaches as theſe been made known and diſcovered to me by you. I had rather my heart or hand ſhould periſh, than that either my heart or hand ſhould allow ſuch privileges to monopoliſts, as may be prejudicial to my people. The ſplendor of regal majeſty hath not ſo blinded mine eyes, that licentious power ſhould prevail with me more than juſtice. The glory of the name of a king may deceive princes that know not how to rule, as gilded pills may deceive a ſick patient. But I am none of thoſe princes: for I know that the commonwealth is to be governed for the good and advantage of thoſe that are committed to me, not of myſelf to whom it is intruſted; and that an account is one day to be given before another judgment-ſeat. I think myſelf moſt happy, that by God's aſſiſtance I have hitherto ſo proſperouſly governed the commonwealth in all reſpects; and that I have ſuch ſubjects, as for their good I would willingly leave both kingdom and life alſo. I beſeech you, that whatever miſdemeanours and miſcarriages others are guilty of by their falſe ſuggeſtions, may not be imputed to me: let the teſtimony of a clear conſcience entirely in all reſpects excuſe me. You

The queen's ſpeech to the deputies of the commons.

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[k] It met October 27, and was diſſolved December 19. D'ewes, p. 597.

Eliz. 1601. ‘ are not ignorant, that princes ſervants are oftentimes too much ‘ ſet upon their own private advantage; that the truth is frequently concealed from princes, and they cannot themſelves ‘ look narrowly into all things, upon whoſe ſhoulders lieth ‘ continually the heavy weight of the greateſt and moſt important affairs.’

Elizabeth had the good fortune to be believed when ſhe ſpoke in this manner, becauſe in reality the Engliſh in her reign were the happieſt people under the ſun. They ſaw no deſigns upon their liberties, nor any infringement of their privileges encouraged. Juſtice was adminiſtered impartially, and the revenues of the crown, and the ſubſidies granted by parliament for the public occaſions, were not idly conſumed. They had therefore reaſon to think the queen truly loved them, ſince ſhe cauſed them to enjoy ſo great happineſs [l]. Some ſucceſſors of this illuſtrious queen have talked in the ſame manner to their parliaments, nay, it is in great meaſure become cuſtomary: but they have not all gained the ſame credit, becauſe it is not words but deeds that perſuade. This affair did not end in mutual compliments. The commons, willing to ſhow their gratitude to the queen, granted her the largeſt ſubſidy they had ever given her ſince the beginning of her reign [m]. Happy are the kings of England, who by a free and ſincere conduct wiſely preſerve ſuch a correſpondence between them and their parliaments [n]!

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[l] Sir Robert Naunton partly aſcribes the cauſe of this mutual love between the queen and her parliaments, to the choice of parliament-men. For, ſays he, I find not that they were at any time given to any violent or pertinacious diſpute, elections being made of grave and diſcreet perſons, not factious and ambitio[illegible]me; ſuch as came not to the houſe with a malevolent ſpirit of contention, but with a preparation to conſult on the public good, p. 14.

[m] The laity granted her four entire ſubſidies, and eight fifteenths and tenths. And the clergy gave four ſubſidies of four ſhillings in the pound. See Statut. c. 17, 18.—The reader may obſerve, that when in 1592, there were granted to the queen three ſubſidies, and ſix fifteenths and tenths, it was eſpecially provided, That it might not hereafter be drawn into a precedent for future times. And yet in the very next parliament, the ſame ſubſidies were granted again; and increaſed in this. From whence it is plain, as ſir Simmonds D'ewes juſtly obſerves, p. 574. “That “ whatſoever is once granted by the “ ſubject, may often be raiſed, but ſeldom falleth.”—The acts made in this parliament, were, 1. An act for the relief of the poor; appointing the chuſing of overſeers, and the manner of raiſing money for the relief of the poor. 2. That every pariſh in England, ſhall pay a weekly ſum for the relief of ſick, hurt, and maimed ſoldiers and mariners. 3. An act to redreſs the miſ-employment of lands, goods, &c. given to charitable uſes. 4. That perſons cutting and carrying away corn growing, robbing orchards, breaking or cutting up hedges, pales, &c. digging or pulling up fruit trees, cutting or ſpoiling wood, or underwood, not being felony by law; ſhall be obliged to make ſatisfaction, or be whipped.

[n] This year died Henry Herbert earl of Pembroke, huſband of the renowned Mary counteſs of Pembroke, ſiſter of ſir Philip Sidney.—This year alſo died Peregrine Bartie lord Willoughby of Ereſby. Camden, p. 643.

Eliz.
1601.

The war in Ireland was carried on this year more ſucceſsfully than in the two former. The rebels received however an aid from Spain, under the command of Don Juan d'Aquila, who landed at Kinſale, and became maſter of the town. He inſtantly publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring that Elizabeth being lawfully depoſed by the pope, her ſubjects were abſolved from their oath of allegiance, and he was come to deliver Ireland 'from the jaws of the devil [o].' But inſtead of making the progreſs he expected, he found himſelf beſieged in Kinſale by the lord-deputy. Shortly after, the earl of Tir-oen approaching the Engliſh to raiſe the ſiege, was utterly routed, after which the Spaniſh general was forced to capitulate. He was permitted to retire with his forces into Spain, having firſt ſurrendered the caſtles he had taken. The capitulation was ſigned the 2d of January 1602. During the reſt of the winter, the lord-deputy had ſuch ſucceſs againſt the rebels, that the earl of Tir-oen's affairs were reduced to a very ill ſtate.

Continuation of the Iriſh war.
Camden.
Stafford's Hib. Pac.
Succours from Spain to the earl of Tir-oen.
Sept. 23.
Stow. p. 789, &c.
Tir-oen is defeated.
The Spaniards return home.

Mean while the queen, to divert the Spaniards from making freſh attempts upon Ireland, armed eight large ſhips, with ſome others of leſſer burthen, under the command of ſir Richard Leviſon and ſir William Mounſon. Theſe two commanders being ſeparated, Leviſon met with thirty-eight Spaniſh veſſels coming from the Weſt Indies, and attacked them, but without ſucceſs. Mounſon joining him ſome time after, they went together and aſſaulted a large carack of ſixteen hundred tuns, richly laden from the Eaſt Indies, and which lay under the caſtle of Zizambra in Portugal, where ſhe was guarded by eleven gallies commanded by Spinola. Notwithſtanding the difficulty of the undertaking, they attacked the carack, and, after diſperſing the gallies, took that rich ſhip, valued at a million of crowns, and brought her to England, with the loſs only of twelve men.

1602.
Fleet againſt Spain.
March.
Camden.
A rich Spaniſh carack taken.

In September following, Spinola, with ſix gallies he had ſaved, ſailing for Flanders, met in the channel ſome Engliſh and Dutch ſhips [p], with whom he had a ſharp engagement. Two of his gallies were ſunk, one taken, and with the other three he retired into Sluys.

Gallies taken by the Engliſh.

This ſame year, there was a great conteſt in England between the jeſuits and the ſecular prieſts. Theſe accuſed the jeſuits of being the ſole cauſe of the ſevere laws enacted againſt the catholicks, becauſe they had been concerned in all the conſpiracies, and had even ſuborned aſſaſſins to murder the queen. In the height of the quarrel, the queen had intelli-

Quarrel between the jeſuits and ſecular prieſts.
Camden.

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[o] Which are his very words. Camden, p. 645.

[p] Sir Robert Manſel waited for him with two or three men of war. Camden, p. 648.

Proclamation againſt the jeſuits. Act. Pub. xvi. p. 473; 489.

gence that the jeſuits, and ſuch of the ſecular prieſts as eſpouſed their principles and party, were contriving ſomething againſt the government. Whereupon ſhe baniſhed them the realm by proclamation, forbidding them ever to return to England on pain of death. The other ſecular prieſts, who joined not with the jeſuits, were alſo liable to the ſame penalty, unleſs they would take the oath of allegiance.

Conſpiracy againſt Hen. IV. Camden. Thuanus.

Bouillon deſires the queen to intercede for him. Camden.

It was likewiſe in the courſe of this year, that Henry IV. ordered the marſhal de Biron's head to be ſtruck off, for conſpiring with ſome others to diſmember the French monarchy. The marſhal had been his right hand, whilſt his affairs were in an ill ſtate. But ſince the peace with Spain, he thought the beſt way to procure quiet was to gain by favours the French lords, who had moſt oppoſed him. This could not be done without neglecting his old friends, and from thence ſprung the plot whereof the marſhal de Biron was head. His complices, as the count d'Auvergne and ſome others, eaſily obtained their pardon. But the marſhal de Bouillon, who was alſo of the number, thought it ſafeſt to withdraw into Germany, from whence he writ to Elizabeth, deſiring her to intercede for him. The king of France writ to her alſo, acquainting her with the conſpiracy, and aſking her advice concerning the marſhal de Bouillon. The queen anſwered, ſhe could not adviſe him, till ſhe certainly knew whether the marſhal was guilty. She warned him alſo to take care that it was not a Spaniſh artifice to cauſe him to entertain ſuſpicions of his beſt ſubjects. But Henry, not conſidering the marſhal as ſuch, told the Engliſh ambaſſador, that the queen his miſtreſs had a better opinion of him than he deſerved, ſince it was certain he was concerned in the earl of Eſſex's plot, and had not even diſowned it.

Tir-oen ſubmits to the queen. Camden. Stafford's Hib. Pac. Stow.

The earl of Tir-oen's affairs in Ireland daily declined. The lord-deputy having cloſely purſued him, without giving him any reſpite, even to the places where he thought himſelf moſt ſafe [q], compelled him at length to caſt himſelf upon the queen's mercy: but he would not receive his ſubmiſſion without an expreſs order from the court. The order coming at laſt, the earl of Tir-oen yielded himſelf to the lord-deputy [r], who reſolved to carry him into England and preſent him to the queen.

[q] Namely, in Ulſter. The lord Montjoy was chiefly indebted for his good ſucceſs againſt Tir-oen, to the bravery and conduct of ſir Henry Docwray, and ſir Arthur Chicheſter, knights; the latter of whom ſucceeded him afterwards in his office of lord-deputy. Camden, p. 651.

[r] He came to the lord-deputy at Milleſont, with a down-caſt look, and in a habit mean and careleſs. The lord-deputy receiving him ſitting in a chair of ſtate, and attended by ſeveral officers; Tir-oen fell on his knees, as ſoon as he came to the threſhold, and continued ſome time in that poſture; then, upon a ſign made to him to come near, he made a few nearer approaches, and fell again upon his knees. Idem, p. 652.

About the end of January 1603, Elizabeth began to feel the firſt attacks of a diſtemper which brought her at length to her grave. Her being obliged to have the ring ſhe wore on her finger filed off, was looked upon as an ill omen, becauſe ſhe was wont to ſay, with that ring ſhe had been married to her people. As ſhe was now very old, it was eaſily believed ſhe would not recover. Accordingly, ſome time before her death, ſhe had the mortification to ſee herſelf forſaken by moſt of her courtiers, who ſtrove with emulation to court the favour of the king of Scotland her preſumptive ſucceſſor. This threw her into a melancholy, of which it was not poſſible to conceal the cauſe, eſpecially as it was openly talked of ſending for king James before ſhe expired. In the beginning of March ſhe was ſeized with a heavineſs in all her limbs, which rendered her motionleſs, and even cauſed her to ſpeak with great difficulty. This was attended with great frowardneſs, ſo that ſhe could not bear any one near her but the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who comforted her, and joined with her in prayer. In ſhort, when it was perceived ſhe was near her laſt hour, the council ſent the lord-admiral, the lord privy-ſeal, and the ſecretary, to pray her to name her ſucceſſor. She faintly anſwered, 'That ſhe had always 'ſaid, her throne was the throne of kings, and ſhe would 'have no mean perſon to ſucceed her.' The ſecretary repreſenting to her, that theſe words were very obſcure, and the council deſired ſhe would declare her pleaſure more plainly, 'I will, (ſaid ſhe) that a king ſucceed me: and who ſhould 'that be but my neareſt kinſman, the king of Scots?' Then being admoniſhed by the archbiſhop to fix her thoughts upon God, 'That I do, (ſaid ſhe) neither doth my mind wander 'from him at all.' When ſhe could no longer pray with her tongue, ſhe lifted up her hands and eyes to heaven, and giving ſome other ſigns of her confidence in the mercy of God, ſhe expired on the 24th of March old ſtyle, in the ſeventieth year of her age, and the forty-fourth of her reign [s].

The queen ſickens. Camden.

Her courtier forſake her. Camden. Welwood.

She grows melancholy Camden, Speed.

She names for her ſucceſſor the king of Scots. Camden.

She dies. Camden.

To diſplay in few words the elogy of this illuſtrious queen, it ſeems to be ſufficient to obſerve, that her name is ſtill of bleſſed memory with the Engliſh, now when flattery cannot be ſuppoſed to have any ſhare in the veneration they pay her. But Elizabeth baniſhed from England the catholick religion, and reſtored the reformation. This alone was the

Elizabeth's character.

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[s] She lived ſixty-nine years, ſix months, and ſeven days; and reigned forty-four years, four months, and eight days; and lies buried at Weſtminſter, in Henry VII's chapel. Her ſucceſſor king James erected a ſtately monument to her memory, which the reader may ſee in Sandford, p. 519; her epitaphs are alſo in Speed, p. 881.

cauſe that two parties have been formed on her account, who mutually tax each other with flattery or animoſity. The proteſtants, conſidering that this queen was the ſole bulwark of their religion, which probably without her would have been deſtroyed in England, Scotland, Ireland, and perhaps in France and the Low-Countries, cannot forbear giving her great commendations, and feel themſelves inclined to excuſe her failings. For the ſame reaſon, the Roman catholicks look upon her with another eye; nay, ſome have not ſcrupled to paint her in the blackeſt colours, and give her the moſt odious epithets. This makes it impoſſible to give her a character that ſhall pleaſe all the world. I ſhall content myſelf therefore with making ſome reflections which will aſſiſt thoſe who ſeek only truth, to paſs an impartial judgment on this famous queen, free from party-paſſion and prejudice.

Her ability. Elizabeth had great ſenſe, and a judgment naturally ſound and ſolid. This appeared in her whole conduct, from the beginning to the end of her reign. Nothing ſhows her capacity more, than her addreſs in ſurmounting the difficulties and troubles created by her enemies, eſpecially when it is conſidered what theſe enemies were, the moſt powerful, the moſt artful, the moſt ſubtle, and the leaſt ſcrupulous in Europe[†]. The bare naming of them is a ſufficient demonſtration. The court of Rome under ſeveral popes, Philip II. king of Spain, the duke of Alva, Henry II. and Charles IX. kings of France, Catherine de Medici, the duke of Guiſe, the cardinal of Lorrain, Mary queen of Scots, all the Romiſh clergy, and particularly the jeſuits. Had her forces been proportionable to thoſe of her enemies united together, there would be nothing very extraordinary. Strength often ſupplies the want of capacity. But in what manner did ſhe withſtand ſo potent, ſo formidable enemies? It was by two or three maxims which ſhe made the rule of her conduct, and from which ſhe never ſwerved: 'To ma[illegible]ſelf beloved by her people: To be frugal of her 'treaſure: To cheriſh diſſenſion amongſt her neighbours.' If things are rightly conſidered, ſhe had no other way to ſecure herſelf. It cannot therefore be denied, that this is a clear evidence of her ability. But as her ability was never queſtioned, it is not this I am chiefly to deſcribe. On the contrary, her enemies have taken occaſion from thence to defame her, by repreſenting as vices diſguiſed, what her friends

Her diſſimulation. extol as ſo many virtues. They pretend, that her ability conſiſted wholly in an overſtrained diſſimulation, and a profound hypocriſy. In a word, they ſay ſhe was a perfect comedian. For my part, I don't pretend to deny that ſhe made great uſe of diſſimulation, as well to the courts of France and Spain; as in regard to the queen of Scotland and the Scots. This would be denying a manifeſt truth. The court of Rome was the only court ſhe never diſſembled with. I am alſo perſuaded, that being ſo much concerned to gain the love and eſteem of her ſubjects, ſhe affected to ſpeak frequently, and with exaggeration, of her tenderneſs for them, and deſired to have it believed, that ſhe did thro' an exceſſive love to her people things wherein her own intereſt was moſtly concerned. But the queſtion is to know, whether in her circumſtances her diſſimulation was blameable. What injury was it to her ſubjects to endeavour to perſuade them, ſhe loved them tenderly, ſince ſhe actually and really did whatever was neceſſary to convince them? As to foreigners, it muſt be carefully obſerved, that her diſſimulation and artifices tended not to invade their poſſeſſions, but to preſerve her own. Her enemies frequently attempted to deprive her both of crown and life, and ſhe ſaved both by her policy and diſſimulation. Where is the harm of ſuch a conduct? Can the diſſimulation and artifices which aim only at ſelf-preſervation, be without extreme prejudice confounded with the diſſimulation and artifices that tend to ſurpriſe the innocent, and invade the property of others; can theſe, I ſay, be conſidered upon the ſame foot? For my part, I am ſo far from thinking that this ſort of diſſimulation is any blemiſh to Elizabeth's reputation, that I rather believe it ought to be reckoned among her commendable qualities.

[†] Pope Sixtus V. uſed to ſpeak of queen Elizabeth, and the king of Navarre, as the only princes that underſtood what it was to govern; and profanely wiſhed that he might enjoy her but one night, ſaying, they would beget a new Alexander the Great between them. Burnet's Ref, tom. II. p. 417.

Concerning her avarice. Oſborn.

Avarice is another failing imputed to her by her own friends. I will not deny that ſhe was too parſimonious, and upon ſome occaſions ſtuck too cloſe to her maxim, not to be at any expence but what was abſolutely neceſſary. However in general I maintain, that her circumſtances required her, if not to be covetous, at leaſt not to part with her money but with the greateſt caution, both to preſerve her people's affection, and enable her to withſtand her enemies. After all, whom did ſhe wrong by her extreme frugality? A dozen of hungry courtiers, who would have been very glad ſhe had laviſhed her treaſure like the king her father in the beginning of his reign. As for the reſt of her ſubjects, inſtead of having cauſe to complain of this pretended avarice, they had reaſon to be pleaſed with it, ſince it conſiſted not in robbing them of their property by illegal methods, as Henry VII. her grandfather had done, but in huſbanding her revenues, and conſequently their own [u].

Slanders upon her chaſtity.

She is alſo accuſed of not being ſo chaſte as ſhe affected to appear. Nay, ſome pretend there are now in England the deſcendants of a daughter ſhe had by the earl of Leiceſter. But as hitherto no proof of this accuſation has been produced, it may be ſafely reckoned among the calumnies with which her reputation has been attacked, as well during her life as after her death.

Reflections on the death of the queen of Scots.

It is not ſo eaſy to juſtify her concerning the death of the queen of Scots. Here it muſt freely be owned that ſhe ſacrificed equity, juſtice, and perhaps her own conſcience, to her ſafety. If Mary was guilty of her huſband's murder, as there is reaſon to believe, it belonged not to Elizabeth to puniſh her. And indeed it was not for that ſhe took away her life; but ſhe uſed that pretence to detain her in priſon, under the deceitful excuſe of making her innocence appear. On this occaſion her diſſimulation was blame-worthy. This firſt injuſtice engaged her afterwards to uſe numberleſs arts and devices to have a pretence to render Mary's impriſonment perpetual. Hence aroſe at laſt the neceſſity of putting her to death on the ſcaffold. In ſhort, this exceſs of violence gave birth to more artifices and acts of diſſimulation to juſtify herſelf, and caſt the blame on the innocent. This doubtleſs is Elizabeth's great blemiſh, which manifeſtly proves to what height ſhe carried the fear of loſing a tottering crown. This continual fear and uneaſineſs is what characterizes her reign, becauſe it was the ſpring of almoſt all her actions. All that can be ſaid for Elizabeth is, that the queen of Scots and her friends had brought things to ſuch a point, that one of the two queens was to periſh, and it was natural that the weakeſt ſhould fall. But this does not excuſe Elizabeth's injuſtice to Mary in detaining her in priſon, which had no other foundation than Elizabeth's fear concerning her crown.

Concerning Elizabeth's religion.

I come now to Elizabeth's religion. I don't believe her being a true proteſtant was ever queſtioned. But as it was her intereſt to be ſo, ſome have taken occaſion to doubt whether the zeal ſhe expreſſed for her religion was the effect of her perſuaſion or policy. What may have occaſioned this doubt is, that it clearly appears in her hiſtory, that in aſſiſting the proteſtants of France and the Netherlands, as well as thoſe of Scotland, ſhe had only temporal views, namely, her own ſafety and defence againſt impending invaſions. But it cannot thence be inferred, ſhe was not a good proteſtant, or had no religion at all, ſince it is not impoſſible that her religion ſhould agree with her temporal intereſt. All that can be ſaid is, that ſhe happened ſometimes to prefer her temporal before her religious concerns.

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[u] She was not ſo covetous, but that four ſubſidies having been granted her in one of her parliaments, and finding that three would do her buſineſs, ſhe by proclamation diſcharged the fourth, and ſo much of the other three as was not levied. Bohun Charac. of Eliz. p. 158.

Concerning her perſecuting the catholicks.

She is warmly accuſed of perſecuting the catholicks, and putting ſeveral to death. 'Tis true, there were ſome that ſuffered death in her reign. But one may venture to affirm, that none were puniſhed but for conſpiring againſt the queen or ſtate, or for attempting to deſtroy the proteſtant religion in England, and reſtore the Romiſh by violent methods. The catholicks, who lived peaceably, were tolerated, tho' with ſome reſtraint as to the exerciſe of their religion, but with none as to their conſciences. If this may be called perſecution, what name ſhall be given to the ſufferings of the proteſtants in the reign of Mary [w]?

The preſbyterians think alſo they have reaſon to complain of the ſtatute enacted in this reign, which deprived them of liberty of conſcience, though they were proteſtants. I ſhall not take upon me to determine whether they had cauſe to complain of this rigour. I ſhall only ſay, that in my opinion they had too much obſtinacy, and their adverſaries too little charity.

Elizabeth's juſt encomium.

To ſum up in two words what may ſerve to form Elizabeth's character, I ſhall add, that ſhe was a good and illuſtrious queen, with many virtues and noble qualities, and few faults. But what ſhe ought to be eſteemed for above all things is, that ſhe cauſed the Engliſh to enjoy a felicity unknown to their anceſtors under moſt of the kings her predeceſſors. This doubtleſs is the teſt, by which we are to judge of thoſe whom God has ſet over us.

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[w] The ſecular prieſts themſelves ſhowed in their writings, That in the eleven firſt years of queen Elizabeth's reign, not one papiſt was perſecuted for religion; in ten years after the publication of pope Pius V's bull, not above twelve prieſts had been put to death, and moſt of them for treaſon, till the year 1580, when the turbulent and reſtleſs jeſuits firſt ſet foot in England; and yet, in the ten next years after that, not above fifty prieſts were executed, and fifty-five baniſhed. See Camden, p. 649.

BY an indenture of the 2d of Elizabeth, a pound weight of gold, of the old ſtandard, of 23 carats 3 grains and a half fine, was coined into 36 pounds by tale; namely, into 24 ſovereigns, at thirty ſhillings a-piece, or 48 rials at fifteen ſhillings, or 72 angels at ten ſhillings a-piece, or 144 half-angels at five ſhillings a-piece: and a pound weight of crown gold of 22 carats fine, and 2 carats allay, was coined into 33 pounds by tale; namely, 33 ſovereigns at twenty ſhillings a-piece, or 66 half-ſovereigns at ten ſhillings a-piece, or

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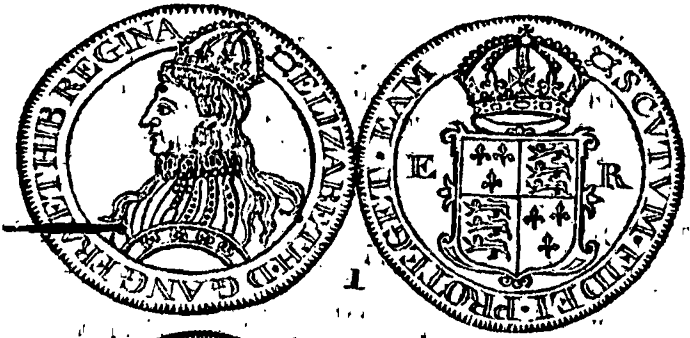
132 crowns at five ſhillings a-piece, or 264 half-crowns. And a pound weight of the old ſterling ſilver, viz. 11 ounces 2 penny-weight fine, and 18 penny-weight allay, was coined into 3 pounds by tale, of half-ſhillings, groats, quarter-ſhillings, half-groats, three-halfpenny pieces, pence, and farthings.——In the 19th of her reign, a pound of gold, of the old ſtandard, was coined into 72 angels, at ten ſhillings a-piece, 144 half-angels at five ſhillings a piece, or 281 quarter-angels, amounting in tale to 36 pounds; and a pound of old ſterling ſilver, into half-ſhillings, threepences, three halfpenny, or three farthing pieces, to make three pounds by tale.——And in the 25th, into ſixty ſhillings, or into three pounds by tale.——In the 26th, a pound troy of old ſtandard gold, was coined into 48 nobles at fifteen ſhillings a-piece, or 24 double nobles at thirty ſhillings a-piece, making 36 pounds.——In the 35th year of this reign, a pound weight of gold, of 22 carats fine, and 2 carats allay, was coined into 33 ſovereigns, at twenty ſhillings a-piece, or 66 half-ſovereigns, or 132 crowns, or 264 half-crowns, making 33 pounds by tale.——In the 43d, the pound weight of old ſtandard gold was coined into 73 angels, at ten ſhillings a-piece, or 146 half-angels, or 292 quarter-angels, making 36 pounds 10 ſhillings in tale; and the pound weight of gold of 22 carats fine, and 2 carats allay, into 33 ſovereigns and a half, at twenty ſhillings a-piece, or 67 half-ſovereigns, or 134 crowns, or 268 half-crowns, making 33 pounds 10 ſhillings in tale; and the pound weight of old ſtandard ſilver into 3 pounds 2 ſhillings by tale, viz. into crowns, half-crowns, ſhillings, ſixpences. twopences, pence, and halfpence.



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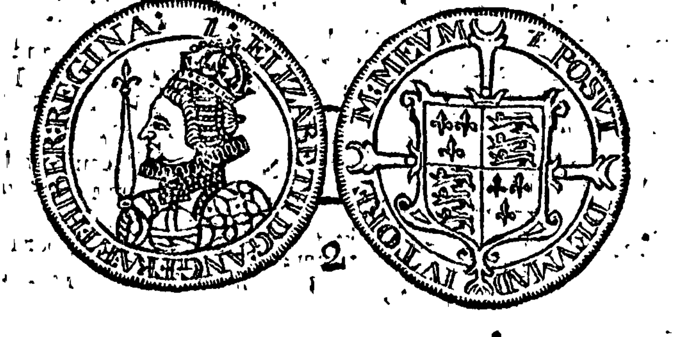
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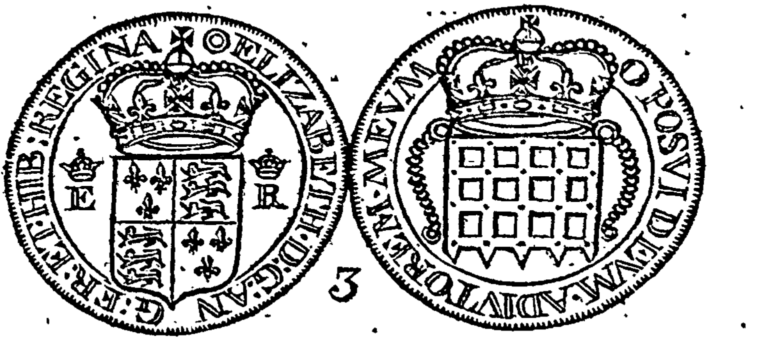

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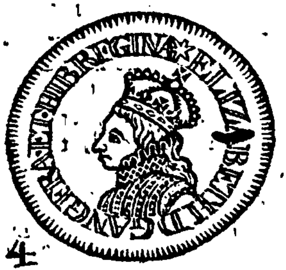

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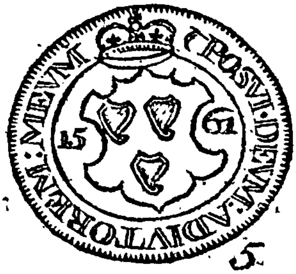

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The corruptions which the laſt year of Henry VIII. had brought into the Engliſh money was not quite rooted out till queen Elizabeth's reign; but her firſt buſineſs was to mark all the baſe pieces, either with a greyhound, portcluſe, lion, harp, roſe, or fleur-de-lis. Her gold coins, as appears from the foregoing indentures, were, ſovereigns, half-ſovereigns, or rials, nobles, double nobles, angels, half-angels, pieces of an angel and a half, and three angels, crowns, and half-crowns. The ſovereign has on one ſide the queen's figure in armour, and ruff, hair diſheveled, crowned with the imperial crown of England (conſiſting of the double arch, as borne ever ſince; all, except Henry VI, having borne it before her with the ſingle arch) ELIZABETH. D G ANG FRA ET HIB REGINA. Reverſe, the arms* crowned between E. R. a woolpack the mark, SCVTVM. FIDEI. PROTEGET. EAM. (Fig. 1.) the half-ſovereign has her head as upon the ſhilling. The angel has her titles as before; reverſe, the ſhip and arms, with E. and a roſe, DNI: FACTVM. EST. ISTVD. ET. EST. MIRABI. The double roſe-noble, or roſe-rial, which is a noble medal, has on one ſide the queen in her robes and crown, ſcepter, and ball, pon her throne, at her feet a portcluſe, ELIZABETH. D. G. NG. FRA. ET. HIB. REGINA. Reverſe, a large roſe filling area, with the arms in the center, A. DNO. FACTV. EST D. ET. MIRAB. IN. OCVL. NRIS.——Queen Eli ney are crowns, half-crowns, ſhillings, ſixpe es, twopences, pennies, penny-halfpe rs, all of ſilver; for there was no gland before James I. Thi

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crown to the three-pence, is the ſame, viz. ELIZABETH. D. G. ANG. FRA. ET. HIB. REGINA. Reverſe, the arms and POSVI, &c. On the crown and half-crown, ſhe appears with the ball and ſcepter (Fig. 2.) which latter never appeared upon the monies from the reign of Henry III. The ſhillings are of ſeveral kinds, ſome with a croſs croſlet, another with a dove or drake upon it, which laſt is ſaid to be in memory of ſir Francis Drake's voyage round the world; a third very fair, mill'd, a ſtar the Mint mark (Fig. 4.) The portcluſe-ſhilling and crown-piece, both which are very rare, inſtead of the queen's head, have the arms crowned between E. R. and ELIZABETH. D, G. ANG. FR. ET. HIB. REGINA. Reverſe, a portcullice crowned, and POSVI, &c. an annulet the Mint mark. The ſixpences are of different mints as the ſhillings; ſome with a roſe behind the queen's head, another marked with the Belgick lion upon the queen's breaſt. Of groats there are the drake, ſtar, or mill'd, and croſs croſlet, Mint marks, &c. Of the threepences, ſome have a croſs, others a ſword for the Mint mark; others the ſtar, cinque-foil, pheon, &c. all having the roſe behind the head, and motto as the larger pieces. The twopence has two dots behind the head, E. D. G. ROSA. SINE. SPINA. Reverſe, the arms, and CIVITAS LONDON. The three halfpenny piece (coined by this queen only) has the roſe without the queen's head, CIVITAS EBORACI. The pennies have the ſame inſcription about the queen's head. Reverſe, the arms, and CIVITAS LONDON. Of theſe there are with the drake, creſcent, croſs croſlet, tun, Figure II. and annulet. They are from ſix grains and a half to ten and a half. The farthings have all the roſe on each ſide, and weigh from three to five grains.—— Beſides theſe, Elizabeth coined alſo Iriſh money, namely, ſhillings called Harpers, from the arms of that kingdom, viz. three harps crowned on the reverſe (Fig. 5.)

The End of the Seventh Volume.

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